
**THE DISCURSIVE REPRESENTATION AND
CONSTRUCTION OF FEMININITIES AND
MASCULINITIES IN *THE GUARDIAN*
(2013-2018)
*A CORPUS-ASSISTED CRITICAL DISCOURSE
ANALYSIS***

by

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Doctor of Philosophy

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature:.....Yolanda Cerda.....

Acknowledgements

This study has been part of my life for nearly 9 years as I started thinking about it in 2012. I had recently married and had been working in the Language department at a University for two years, so the thesis has ‘been around’ for most of my marriage as my husband recently reminded me. This means that during that time my colleagues, supervisors, family and friends have heard or asked about it for the best part of a decade. It also means that I have had the love, encouragement and support of these same people both to start, continue and to reach the end point, even when my life has been rattled by geographic moves, changes of job, the birth of twins, and the tiny inconvenience of a global pandemic.

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Abstract

This thesis is a linguistic study of how gender identities are represented and constructed in *The Guardian* in opinion articles and columns in which gender, gender identities or gender relations is a central or dominant theme. A corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis (CDA) is used to identify discourses in the representation of masculinities and femininities across six years between 2013 and 2018. The analysis focuses on the linguistic representations of social actors, agency and, to an extent, genre analysis. The study of the 700, 000-word corpus aimed to identify dominant, resistant or emergent discourses around gender identities and the ideologies underpinning these in the newspaper which has been described as a self-reflexive publication (Marchi 2019) with arguably unique social and symbolic capital among the UK press. Other aims of the study included the possibility of a joint theorisation of gender which considered masculinities and femininities in relation to each other. The results show that parents and parental identities, feminism and feminists and violence and gender-related pathologies were of particular thematic significance in the corpus. The analysis shows polysemous and evolving discourses of gender over time, especially regarding the representations of parental identities and the relationship of feminism and feminists to masculinity and femininity. However, the results also reveal that the representations of violence, mental ill health and particular pathological representations of gender identities are less nuanced often positioning hegemonic masculinity as both the perpetrator and victim of myriad social as well as interpersonal ills without further interrogation of likely social and structural causes. The thesis argues that the plurality of discourses suggest a lack of clear ideological positioning which is partially indicative of the newspaper's relationship to a broad international readership.

Keywords: corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis (CDA), femininities, feminism, feminists, gender, masculinities, parents, UK press, *The Guardian*, violence, pathologies

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a brief introduction to the thesis starting with an overview of the topic of the study and its contributions. This is followed by a consideration of the relationship between language, gender and the media and the assumptions about language that inform the analysis. It includes a brief outline and rationale for the research methodologies employed to address the research questions as well as the broader theoretical perspectives which have underpinned the study. The effect of the researcher in shaping the analysis is considered as well as the overall contributions of the study to the field of language and gender as well as prospectively to hybrid methodological approaches, which combine different methods. The introduction ends with an overview of each chapter in the thesis.

1.2 Overview of the thesis and contributions

This thesis is a linguistic study of the discursive representation and construction of masculinities and femininities in *The Guardian*. It is based on a corpus of articles collated over a period of six years, between 2013 and 2018, which has been analysed through critical discourse analysis, assisted by corpus linguistic approaches. A full discussion of these approaches and methods is presented in Chapter 3. The newspaper articles collected were primarily comment columns, features, and opinion articles (as well as a few similar texts including published letters, for example), which focused on a discussion of gender, gender identities or gender relations as the principal or core topic of the article.

Newspaper texts have long been the subject of linguistic scrutiny and analysis by (critical) discourse analysts and corpus linguists. Furthermore, as Marchi (2019, p.22) asserts the 'discursive representation(s) of collective or personal identities – which emerge as 'an ordered–or *patterned*–way of speaking about persons' (Barker and Galasinsky 2001, p. 125) – is a dominant focus of corpus research.' However, although related work on gender identities has been the focus of some studies such as Baker's (2005) analysis of the representations of gay identities and discourses in two British tabloids and Dean's (2010) study of the representation of feminists and feminism in *The Guardian*, few studies have analysed how gender identities and gender relations are discursively represented and constructed in texts capturing public debate about gender (through newspaper columns and opinion texts). Fewer linguistic analyses explore comment and opinion articles and those that *do* often

focus on rhetorical features of style rather than commenting on how they contribute to social discourses and representations. Similarly, *The Guardian* is of interest for linguistic analysis not least because it is unique in the British media landscape, as will be explained below. Therefore, this thesis addresses these perceived gaps in the literature.

The study contributes to research on mediated linguistic and discursive representations and constructions of gender or gender identities. It is a thesis with a 'feminist imagination' (Lazar 2017), in that it has a sociopolitical and emancipatory orientation which views gender relations as persistently, though not uniformly, unequal and damaging or dysfunctional in different contexts. It thus seeks to contribute to attempts to redress the negative effects of these dysfunctions on groups and individuals, especially, though not exclusively, women. Therefore, the study contributes to the field of language, gender and the media, language and discourse in the press, as well as to feminist linguistics. In adopting a methodological approach which combines corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis, the thesis also adds to the increasing body of work which combines quantitative with qualitative or interpretative approaches to research (as illustrated by Gabrielatos and Baker 2008, and Taylor and Marchi 2018, among many). It also contributes some methodological innovations such as the inclusion of genre and structural analyses of articles.

In the next section, the relationship between gender, language and the media, as it is understood in this study, is outlined as well as the assumptions about language which inform the analytical approaches.

1.3 Gender, the media and language

The study of gender and language is a mature field and the evolution of feminism throughout the twentieth century has contributed significantly to the development of a sociolinguistics of gender in the academy. However, gender is also of interest to our daily lives and discussions about gender often lie beneath many of the topics, news events and debates which come to the surface in the public sphere through the news media. To give an example, in March 2021, Sarah Everard, a young professional woman living in South London was abducted and killed after walking home from visiting friends in the evening. This event, one of many crimes the press and media report on daily, received international attention and led to intense public debate on gender and the relationships between men and women.

The murder of Sarah Everard reported by the press is on the tragic and sensational end of the kind of news stories from which public debates on gender may emerge, but there are countless more prosaic situations, events and issues which are inflected by questions about how our societies inform and regulate our gendered identities and our relationships to each other. Media topics and debates which may frame concerns about gender relations and gender, as well as other identity categories, can be as diverse as educational attainment across different social groups, pay disparities, new laws and criminalisation of particular acts, power in political life, the labour market, the politics of institutions and so on. In reporting on these spheres and representing the debates, as well as in selecting and conveying news, the media has a very significant role, particularly in the gaining of social consensus.

Newspapers and other media sources direct the focus of particular debates, affecting both popular views as well as individual understandings of what it means to be a man or a woman or queer or non-binary in specific social contexts at particular points in time. Thus newspapers provide a textual record of what is of contemporary interest to a particular society at any given point in history and of what status, expectations, rituals, taboos, prohibitions and privileges are afforded to certain gendered identities. Johnson (2007) expresses this clearly:

Journalism has social effects: through its power to shape issue agendas and public discourse, it can reinforce beliefs; it can shape people's opinion not only of the world but also of their *place* and *role* in the world... in sum, it can help shape social reality by shaping our *views* of social reality (Johnson 2007, p.13).

As textual artefacts, newspapers achieve these effects through language. This thesis concurs with the view of language articulated by many critical linguists and theorists which is succinctly described by Johnson (2007) in his approach to analysing newspapers, through five main assumptions about language. These assumptions are that:

- 1) language is social
- 2) language enacts identity
- 3) language use is active
- 4) language has power
- 5) language use is political

(from Johnson, 2007 pp. 10-13)

The present thesis also understands language in this way and, in doing so, views newspapers, both as institutions and through their journalists, contributors and indeed readers, as producers and reproducers of the discourses that constrain, enact, represent or resist certain gendered identities or their relations.

1.4 Aims of the thesis

The principal overarching aim of this study is to understand and analyse how gender identities and specifically masculinities and femininities, are linguistically encoded and discursively construed by newspaper texts. This discursive analysis seeks in turn to reveal the ideologies that produce these discursive enactments of identity. The reason for this focus on ideology, which I define below, is because I contend that certain beliefs about the material world and the organisation of social and interpersonal relations within it are structurally affected by the governing principles of particular philosophical, ontological, political and social systems of organisation, which I understand as ideological. These beliefs become enshrined in our laws, institutions and all aspects of public life, but they also have an influence at the individual level and in the private sphere, affecting, stabilising or destabilising our relationships and interactions as well as, potentially, our sense of self.

The dialectic between language, discourses, ideology and the real world is central to this thesis. Furthermore, in line with the views of language outlined above, the interest in analysing textual representations and enactments of gender identities and gender relations is an interest in understanding if, how and why gender is a contested ideological site and gender relations remain socially dysfunctional.

In the next section, I describe my personal orientation to this study and the research questions that underpin the analysis are presented.

1.5 Personal orientations to the study

I have always been curious about how femininity and masculinity are represented and written about in the press. As a reader of the UK press and especially the UK broadsheet, *The Guardian*, from late adolescence to the present, I have often gravitated towards the columns and articles where what it means to be a man or a woman (especially the latter) was a central topic of discussion. These articles

engaged me in personal reflections about the existential category of gender and the sociocultural constraints on gendered identities and I often noticed that my responses to these texts were powerful. As my own personal trajectory evolved, I began to search these texts for clues on how different aspects of my (female) identities might intersect, as well as for indications of why differences were perceived between different identities and the contingent inequalities intrinsic to these differences. Thus I found my attention was drawn to opinion articles on working women, on sexuality, on motherhood and parenting, on family relationships, on social and gender inequalities and on class, among others. These articles offered both confirmation of my own beliefs about gender identities forged by my background, education and experiences, but also evidence of alternative perspectives and disruptions to my own preconceptions and identity positions.

Similarly, from an academic perspective, I am interested in the sociolinguistic relationships between gender and language, and as I became increasingly aware of the research and theorising around how power relationships were encoded and enacted linguistically, it struck me that the media's attention to gender identity was worthy of further study.

1.6 Research Questions

Using the corpus of articles on masculinities and femininities selected from *The Guardian* between 2013 and 2018, the analysis that follows in this thesis from Chapter 4 onwards aims to answer the following research questions:

- Research Question (RQ) 1 What dominant masculine and feminine identities are discursively constructed and represented in *The Guardian* and how do they intersect with each other and / or other identity constructs?
- Research Question (RQ) 2 Do these representations show support or resistance to dominant gender ideologies and how is this articulated?
- Research Question (RQ) 3 Do the newspaper texts reveal the possibility of a sophisticated joint theorising of gendered identities?

The rationale for RQ 1 and 2 relates to the perceived gaps and contributions as well as my personal orientations to the study. RQ 3 arose because I had noticed during my early research of the related literature that linguistic studies of gender seemed to focus primarily on women. Although there were studies of male groups, there appeared to be fewer studies and more limited theorisation on masculinity. As my reading progressed, I noted that gender groups were typically analysed in isolation

from each other, often for very coherent and convincing reasons. Therefore, Research Question 3 has emerged from an interest in considering masculinities and femininities in a particular context and in relation to each other in order to explore if and how gender discourses and their associated ideologies might be jointly theorised.

1.7 Overview of methodological approaches

In taking the view of language and the role of newspapers in affecting our identities and the social worlds in which they are enacted (as described above in section 1.2 in this Chapter) this thesis uses a critical discourse analysis approach (CDA) supported by a corpus and corpus analytical methods.

CDA is an approach to linguistic analysis which considers texts in their contexts, considering the processes and social conditions of production (Fairclough, 2015) ultimately with the aim of addressing social inequalities by uncovering the discursive patterns which sustain them. This understanding of texts and its political agenda are attuned to my own interests and concerns. The close and detailed linguistic examination and interpretation required for this type of text analysis means it is not always possible, using a 'pure' CDA approach, to consider a large number of texts. Therefore in seeking to achieve greater generalisability and a more rounded understanding of gender discourses in *The Guardian* over time I compiled a corpus of texts from a six year period. The aim of the corpus was to assist with providing greater reliability and an overview of the newspaper's position on and contributions to gender discourses. A more limited number of texts may have been less productive in this respect. There are always methodological limitations and sacrifices, and I do not claim that the findings of this study are entirely generalisable nor objective even with the use of triangulation, but I have found the combination of methods helpful in addressing my research questions. A detailed description of the data and a fuller rationale and discussion of the methods and theoretical frameworks employed for this thesis are provided in Chapter 3.

1.8 Researcher reflexivity

Like any researcher, I have brought to this study a set of semi-conscious preconceptions and biases as well as questions, and it is important to acknowledge the subjectivities that may arise as a result. Valid critiques of any interpretative study such as this one, and a criticism often levelled at qualitative or critical discourses analyses, is that researchers will find what they set out to look for or miss, obscure

or background what they are less interested in attending to or simply cannot see. I cannot claim that this study has overcome these pitfalls, but I have attempted to make my own perspective and contingent biases visible. I have selected and analysed the article and analysed the texts in my corpus data from the perspective of a white, second-generation European immigrant, middle class (by education), working class (by background), professional, working parent, heterosexual, woman. These are labels which I might identify with and which to a certain extent all intersect, but different contexts render some more or less relevant. I would also label myself in other ways as a feminist, an academic and a linguist, all of which are relevant to my position in the analysis. These categories in which I have placed myself have exercised pulls on my attention, and although this is not an ethnographic project, I am aware that my position in relation to the texts, the data and the literature is significant and will have shaped its contents.

The particular impact of my positioning on the study, the analysis and on the field is discussed in more detail in Chapter 9, section 9.2.3.

1.9 Rationale for the data

1.9.1 The Guardian—circulation and readership

The Guardian is one of five daily British broadsheet newspapers which at the time of this study exists in both paper print and digital versions. Having been in circulation for 200 years, it has a long history and has undergone a significant series of format changes in the last few decades. It currently has a UK, US, Australian and International online version and it is the only UK broadsheet without an online pay wall. In Richardson's (2007) critical discourse analysis of newspaper discourse, the author shows that the five broadsheets are read by the richest 20% of the UK population. Of the five broadsheets listed, 39% of readers in the social elite, the managerial level professions and the upper middle-classes read *The Guardian*. The highest proportion of readership share (at 57%) from among the highest social classes group read *The Financial Times* (Richardson 2007, p. 81). However, circulation figures, readership profiles and shares change quickly. Marchi's (2019) study gives more recent estimates of *The Guardian's* circulation and readership which have significantly increased as a result of the success of its digital version and its ongoing high profile investigative reporting of major news events and scandals. Marchi (2019, p.10-11) illustrates the reach of the newspaper:

The Guardian has become a source of news for an ever-growing global readership. In 2004, 78% of their online version readers were based overseas and 39% of *The Guardian* website unique users were from the USA. Word is that 'the Guardian has more online readers in New York than in Birmingham [UK]' (Stayner, 2009, p.207) [...] As of today, the online Guardian has

about 120 million monthly unique users. And by the time you read this, the number is likely to be higher (it has increased six-fold since 2008).
(March 2019, p.10-11).

The data cited above suggests that while its readership in the UK is significant among the elite social class, the Guardian's circulation and reach have also become increasingly diverse and international.

1.9.2 Why study *The Guardian*?

The international reach of *The Guardian*, the fact that it is the only left-leaning broadsheet that retains a print and online version (after the paper version of *The Independent* disappeared in 2016) and the characterisations of the newspaper and its readership indicate that it is a unique publication of its kind, with a specific cultural and symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1983, 1992). Marchi's (2019) recent study on *The Guardian*'s self-reflexivity highlights this through an insightful analysis of how the newspaper's identity and readership are constructed both by other publications and by the newspaper itself, albeit at times with a knowing irony. The researcher (Marchi 2019, pp180-183) shows that the idealised *Guardian* reader has become a stereotype for certain social attitudes and social status. She writes that *Guardian* readers are typically constructed as educated, politically left-wing and affluent. Other newspapers represent the publication's readership through a 'cast of iconic characters: the health-conscious, vegetarian environmentalist, the bluestocking feminist and the multicultural *do-gooder*' (Marchi 2019, p.182).

These idiosyncrasies alongside the publication's avowal of a self-consciously ethical and professional approach to journalism (Marchi 2019) make it an especially interesting object of research. The newspaper's self-conscious adherence to professionalism and objectivity is discussed in Chapters 4 and 8 of the thesis and potentially impacts on the heteroglossic discourses identified at various points throughout the study. Another reason for focusing on *The Guardian* is that many discourse and corpus studies of identity representations (for example of immigrants) have often focused on tabloid or other (primarily right-leaning) UK newspapers, with fewer studies focusing on how identity representations occur in left-leaning publications or in *The Guardian*. In this sense, the thesis addresses a relative gap in the literature.

In conclusion, this study explores the role of a section of UK print media represented by *The Guardian* in public debates and representations of gender and gender relations because I suspected that these

articles might proffer different or potentially less predictable gender representations and distinctive political, discursive and ideological positions. An initial assumption was that *The Guardian's* espoused political affiliations and attitudes might reflect progressive views of gender and gender relations or reveal how particular conservative ideological positions have the potential to be disrupted or resisted and these assumptions have in some ways shaped the analysis and interpretation of the data.

1.9.3 *The Guardian's* content and writers

The online version of *The Guardian* has five main sections each with several subsections: *News*, *Opinion*, *Sport*, *Culture* and *Lifestyle*. The *Lifestyle* section has many subsections, two of which are dedicated to *Women* and *Men*. *Gender* and *Feminism* have both featured as topics in various sections of the newspaper during the data collection periods. The newspaper has a significant number of regular and well-known columnists such as Polly Toynbee, and many public figures, including broadcast journalists, media personalities, academics and professionals, contribute to the paper. In fact, the newspaper actively encourages contributions from its readers and regularly solicits accounts of readers' experiences and opinions. The text articles in the publication are complemented online by videos, podcasts and pictures and *The Observer* and *Guardian Weekly* are sister publications.

Further details on the texts selected from *The Guardian* and its writers are presented in the data description section in Chapter 3.

1.10 Gender in *The Guardian* from 2013 to 2018 — overview and changes

The *Independent* and *The Guardian* are the only two left-leaning newspaper broadsheets published in the UK. When my data search started in 2012–2013, the concepts and status of masculinity and femininity were already regularly and overtly under discussion in the parts of the media. However, after the *Independent* moved exclusively online, I decided to focus solely on *The Guardian* as a data source. As explained, *The Guardian* is well-established as a left-wing and broadly feminist newspaper. Its focus on gender issues and its ideological proclivities seem self-evident. As such, one might expect the newspaper to be anti-establishment, progressive and potentially radical. However, its own identity is not always clear and questions remain as to whether it is also a product of the 'establishment' for the 'establishment' (For example see 'Can *The Guardian* be a newspaper both of the left and of the establishment?' *The Spectator* 2005 and Marchi 2019.) Regardless of its identity as establishment or anti-establishment, surface readings of many articles on masculinity and femininity certainly suggest an egalitarian political agenda, seeking to expose inequalities and discrimination and to uncover where the perceived fault lines seem to lie for both or all genders.

Over the period of the study, however, debates on gender shifted in very significant ways, and thus it became evident that a further data set from 2016—2018 would add nuance and richness to the data and potentially reveal a shift in dominant discourses and ideologies. In the later data collection period, there was an increasing concern in the texts with the notion of gender fluidity and non-binary gender distinctions in public debate as well as renewed feminist activism and editorial attention to feminism. This activism was partially triggered or at least affected by high profile sexual abuse scandals emanating from powerful institutions (e.g. Hollywood and the Harvey Weinstein scandal). However, the causal relationship between the two ‘phenomena’ (increasing awareness and tolerance of non-binary gender as well as intersectional identities and the rise in public feminist activism) is not entirely clear nor straightforward. The feminist revival and popular public debate on gender persists but, as Cameron (2019) highlights, it is also part of a contemporary cultural concern with identity. Furthermore, the current mainstreaming of gender issues and identities, and debates on gender relations may also mark a watering down of issues and the struggles of feminism (Cameron 2019). A consideration of this and the evolution of gender representations are addressed throughout the thesis and discussed in Chapter 8.

1.11 Definitions

The following section includes brief definitions of concepts which are referred to and are crucial to this thesis, but which are perceived as slippery and contested in themselves. For clarity, I outline the definitions I have espoused for this analysis. However, I also recognise that such definitions can never be wholly satisfactory or complete and are in constant need of (re)definition depending on the contexts and moments in which they are employed.

1.11.1 Gender

Mills and Mullany (2011) helpfully dedicate a chapter to explaining how the theorisation of gender has evolved over time, including the various definitions which have accompanied these theorisations. In this thesis, gender is understood to be an aspect of identity which is produced and reproduced in social interactions, but it can also overlap with particular embodiments. As well as a discursive enactment, gender relates to the biological, material and embodied realities experienced by individuals and groups which are themselves embedded in specific social or cultural contexts and structures. Thus, gender is socially produced and is performative (Butler 1990), but is constrained both by material realities, including the realities of the body and mind, as well as social structures and the gender roles and relations within such structures.

In this thesis, I have used the pluralised terms *masculinities* and *femininities* to denote a potential spectrum of gender identities as well as gendered discourses, which are explored in the newspaper articles. The analysis does not assume homogeneity or binary distinctions, although the newspaper discourse may reflect a different view. Nevertheless, although Butler's (1990) notion of performativity in gender is influential as well as the dialectical relationship between gender and society which has been foregrounded by theorists (such as Wodak 1997), I concur also with Mills and Mullany's (2011, p.44) point that views on the heterogeneity, performativity or social embeddedness of gender do not make the concept semantically empty. As the researchers argue:

This important questioning of the notion of gender does not mean that the category of gender is empty and that there is no such thing as gender difference. For as Freed (1996) argues, despite the fact the category 'woman' is not one that is homogenous, that does not prevent people classifying you as a woman and making judgements about you on the basis of that classification (Mills and Mullany 2011, p.44).

1.11.2 Gender Identities versus Gendered Identities

Throughout the thesis both the phrase *gender identity* and *gendered identity* are employed though with slightly varying meanings. Gender identities is used when referring to masculinities or femininities in a generic sense, which is more neutral whereas gendered identities refers to a more marked sense in which identities are discursively affected by gender but may comprise other identity categories too. For example, *parent* might be considered a gendered identity in a given context because gender is often indexed, but the identity may well also be inflected by other specific identity categories. The use of either term in this study, therefore, will depend contextually on this nuance of meaning.

1.11.3 Feminism

Like gender, it is not easy to establish a single coherent definition of feminism. However, Cameron's (2019) recent account of the roots and evolution of feminism presents a definition of feminism with three senses or perspectives. These senses (Cameron 2019, p.2) view

- Feminism as an idea: this relates to the belief that women are people
- Feminism as a collective movement which seeks to end sexism, exploitation and discrimination
- Feminism as 'an intellectual framework: what the philosopher Nancy Hartsock described as a mode of analysis... a way of asking questions and searching for answers' (Cameron 2019, p.2).

These three perspectives encapsulate the philosophical or ontological, the political and the critical senses of feminist meanings, aspects which are also reflected in other sociolinguistic definitions of feminism. Mills and Mullany (2011: 2) argue that there are two unifying factors to all forms of feminism which are that it 'is a political movement which focuses on investigating gender [...] and 'which has the overall emancipatory aim of redressing gender inequalities.' Similarly, in other fields and disciplines, such as education for example, (e.g. Weiner 1994), feminism is regarded as 'an equality discourse' as well as 'an analytical framework for unpacking the micro-political – that is how power is exercised at local levels [...] how oppression works, is experienced and where resistances might be possible...' (Weiner 1994: 2). While these three senses are clear, they are interrelated and the demarcation of different senses are not always transparent in the texts or discourses which invoke, or are attributable to, feminism. In the present study, the first sense of the idea of feminism is taken for granted. However, the relationship between feminism as a collectivist movement and as an intellectual framework is, arguably, a dialectical one, and this thesis itself could be considered part of both senses or *projects*. In the newspaper texts that refer to *feminists* and *feminism* in this study, the polysemous nature of the concept is also reflected as the meanings of feminism become articulated in the texts themselves and their discourses.

1.11.4 Discourse

Discourse is a concept that underpins post-structuralism, which is discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis. However, broadly speaking, the understanding of discourse in this study upholds Fairclough's critical view of discourse as 'language viewed in a certain way, as part of the social process (part of social life) which is related to other parts. It is a relational view of language' (Fairclough 2015, p.7). Therefore this suggests that language and discourse acquire and give meaning as part of the social practices and social structures which determine them. In critical discourse analysis, discourse is understood to be social practice or 'a form of action, as something people do to or for or with each other' as well as 'a way of representing social practice(s)' (Van Leeuwen 1993, p. 193). In this study, newspaper texts both represent gender identities and gender relations but they also partially construct them and therefore are complicit in some of the gender discourses which may be prevalent in contemporary societies. Gender discourses therefore influence and are evident in and enacted by UK media texts, but they constitute only a partial contribution to the discourses which emanate from many other social actions and representations beyond these texts.

In this thesis, discourses are also taken to be ideological representations, beliefs or ideas about the world that implicitly or explicitly categorise social realities, groups, relations and structures in particular ways. These beliefs are articulated through language and beyond it and can be socially dominant or encode particular power relations in given contexts. As Hardman (2008) suggests, critical views of discourse ‘go beyond description [of language in use] to assess the power relations present in the text ... and uncover how dominance structures are legitimated by ideologies of powerful groups (Wodak, 2001)’ (Hardman 2008, p.8).

1.11.5 Ideology

In her discussion of the relationship between gender and language ideologies, Cameron (2017, p. 281) distinguishes the narrow definition of ideology as ‘codified political belief system (e.g. “communism” or “fascism”)’ and suggests that linguists tend to define (language) ideologies as representations rather than beliefs. This use of *representation* is in order to avoid the narrower definition cited (of political belief system) but also to suggest that a (language) ideology involves socially-produced meaning. This aligns to the views of ideology discussed by Jaworski and Coupland (2014, p.5) citing Foucault’s (1980) and Pêcheux’s (1982) influential accounts of the relationships between discourse and ideology. As the authors note:

Foucault prefers the term ‘regimes of truth’ rather than ‘ideology’, by which he means different types of discourses that are accepted and made to function as true. Pêcheux stresses how any one particular discourse or ‘discursive formation’ stands, at the level of social organisation, in conflict with other discourses’ (Jaworski and Coupland 2014 p. 5).

This study takes ideologies to be both representations and understandings of the social world and the relations within it. These representations and beliefs can relate to certain political belief systems but they tend also to encode unequal power relations, which Richardson (2007) succinctly highlights: ‘As Thomson (1990) has put it, ideology is “meaning in the service of power”’ (Richardson 2007, p. 240).

1.12 Map of the thesis

This study consists of nine chapters. As well as an Introduction, Literature Review, Methodology, Discussion and Conclusion chapters, Chapters 4 to 7 in this study comprise the main data analysis. They are divided into the broad discourse domains identified as core to the corpus data and address Research Questions 1 and 2. Research Question 3 of the study considers the possibility of a joint theorisation of gender identities and discourses, and the analysis chapters have been shaped with this joint theorisation in mind. Thus Chapter 4 takes an institutional overview of the approach to gender

in the data and Chapters 5 to 7 comprise an analysis of how *masculinities* and *femininities* are constructed in relation to the thematic domains of *parenthood*, *feminism*, and *gender pathologies*.

Chapter 1 is the introduction. It provides a background to the study, a summary of the research questions and of the contributions. It includes an overview of *The Guardian* as well as a rationale for why texts from this newspaper are a worthwhile object of study. The chapter also explains the personal orientation of the researcher to the subject, gives a brief rationale for the methodologies and defines core concepts and terminology used in the study. The chapter concludes with an overview of the structure of the study and the content of each chapter.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

This chapter situates the study within the sociolinguistic field of gender and language, and especially the linguistic and discursive analyses of masculinities and femininities in the academic literature. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section considers the overall development of language and gender studies in recent decades and the influence of feminism and post-structural approaches on the field. The second section reviews major themes in linguistic studies of gender identities and relations especially, though not exclusively, those derived from media text analyses.

Chapter 3 Methodology

In the chapter the corpus data and collection methods are described and justified. The rationale and approaches for the data analysis processes are presented alongside specific considerations on the relative merits and critiques of critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistic approaches for analysing discourses and their associated ideologies. The chapter explains why the study has adopted a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis approach to the data.

Chapter 4 Institutional Discourses – the column genre

This chapter considers how opinion columns in the data are structured and what linguistic and rhetorical features characterise them. The analysis considers the institutional role and position of *The Guardian* in the presentation of public debates on gender and the discourses they enact. The analysis in the chapter also highlights how the linguistic features of the text serve to invoke the readers and construct the publication's own journalistic identity as well as that of its readership community.

Chapter 5 Parents

This chapter describes and discusses how parents as social actors are discursively represented and constructed and considers the gender discourses which are prevalent in the data. The analysis

considers how *mothers*, *fathers* and *parents* are construed in *The Guardian* opinion articles and whether these representations support or resist dominant discourses and in what ways.

Chapter 6 Feminists and Feminism

This data analysis chapter considers the relationship of feminists as social actors to gender discourses and debates on femininities, masculinities and gender relations. The chapter reveals how feminists are represented in the corpus data and considers the relative evolution of such representations over time.

Chapter 7 Pathologies of Gender

This chapter considers the discursive link between masculine and feminine gender identities to social problems and pathologies, including violence and self-destructive behaviours, linking these to dominant gender discourses. The chapter considers what role the media plays in creating these discursive links.

Chapter 8 Discussion

The discussion chapter highlights the most salient and noteworthy findings of the study, situating these in relation to the relevant literature. The chapter specifically addresses the three research questions of the thesis and how the data and analysis has answered them, as well as identifying findings which went beyond the research questions.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

This concluding chapter summarises the main contributions of the study and why they matter. Consideration is given to potential omissions and the limitations of the analysis as well as implications and directions for future research.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

This chapter is divided into two parts to situate the thesis within the field of gender and language studies and to identify topics within this field which are of relevance to the present study. The first section starts with an overview of the development of language and gender studies since the 1970s and goes on to consider influential developments under the umbrella of post-structuralism. It situates the thesis in relation to related linguistic feminist and identity studies, which might be considered part of a post-structuralist approach. The second section reviews some of the salient thematic considerations and discourses identified in studies of masculinities and femininities, particularly in analyses of media texts. The chapter ends with a consideration of counter discourses and heteroglossic discourses as well as considering the position of critical discourse analysis (CDA) in relation to post-structuralism. Although there is a great deal of literature on gender and media from the fields of media and cultural studies, this review primarily considers studies from sociolinguistic analyses of media texts.

Section 1 Background of the study of language and gender

2.1 Overview and development

The relationship between gender and language or discourse has been widely explored and is well-established in sociolinguistic research. Discursive gender constructions are of multidisciplinary interest (as suggested by the profusion of studies from fields including cultural studies, media, education, sociology, philosophy, psychology, etc.) which in many ways has helped to enrich and diversify linguistic perspectives. As has been noted and illustrated (Holmes 1997, Weatherall 2002, Bucholtz and Hall 2004, Meyerhoff 2006, Sunderland 2006, Ehrlich *et al.* 2017, Talbot 2020, *inter alia*) linguistic gender scholarship has undergone several key transitional phases and theoretical models have shifted significantly since research gathered pace in the 1970s.

Rather broadly speaking, three principal frameworks for the study of language and gender have been identified (Talbot 1998, p.131-144). The first of these was the 'deficit' framework as represented primarily by the work of Lakoff (1975) who viewed gender and language in terms of differences between male and female speakers, where female speakers were regarded as 'disadvantaged language users' (Talbot 1998, p. 130) observed to often use a set of particular linguistic features which deviated from the dominant male norm (e.g. more hedging).

This was followed by 'the dominance framework' with 'language patterns...interpreted as manifestations of a patriarchal social order' (Talbot 1998, p. 131) which was ultimately repressive. This view was presented in Dale Spender's *Man Made Language* (1980) and Pamela Fishman's (1983) work on conversational labour in which she described women's 'contribution to mixed-sex talk as "shitwork": "'Women do support work while men are talking and it is the women who generally do active maintenance and continuation work in conversations (1983, p. 98)'" (in Sunderland 2006, p. 19). This framework gave way to the 'difference' theories espoused, albeit in varying forms, in the work of researchers such as Deborah Tannen (1991), Janet Holmes (1995), and Jennifer Coates (1996). The latter in particular sought to redress the implicitly negative assumptions made about female language use underlying the deficit framework in favour of a more celebratory focus on (female) gendered language.

The models discussed in brief above were, at least in part, products of the rise and development of feminism and feminist linguistics but, as Cameron (1995, p.39) suggests, 'their moments have passed' and 'the theories which underpinned them are no longer sufficient'. There have been many critiques of the deficit, dominance and difference theoretical frameworks including the view that they have served to reinforce stereotyped notions of gender difference (rather than challenging them) and that work on gender linguistics has tended to 'abide by, not qualify, the binary biological sexual opposition.' (Holborow 1999, p. 142). Moreover, as Freed (2003, p. 699) indicates, recent studies have in fact highlighted the many similarities between male and female language and 'the significant heterogeneity within women's linguistic practices and within men's'. Similarly, many recent academic accounts reiterate the issues of adhering to what has emerged as a reductive conceptualisation of gender in terms of a single, binary male-female opposition. Indeed, even since the start of this study in 2013, the notion of gender as 'a continuum' (Talbot 2020, p. 12) has arguably evolved into an academic orthodoxy and a view which has entered the public and folk consciousness in the advent of increased awareness and acceptance of queer, trans and non-binary identities. Similarly, recent discussions focus on the notion of gender as a far more complex function not just of biological 'realities' but of social factors including class, ethnicity, age, context and identity, among others. Gender has become a more fluid concept regarded in relation to identity which is seen as something 'performed, enacted and/or displayed in spoken and written texts' (Sunderland, 2006, p. 22).

The 'postmodern turn' (Cameron 2005)

Since the nineties, the study of language and gender has taken a new turn with an arguably more complex landscape of sometimes overlapping, emergent paradigms and frameworks. These include,

among others, the influence of intersectionality (Block 2013, 2020) and Butler's (1990) performativity which are discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Nevertheless, as Cameron (2005, p. 483) asserts, it would be inaccurate to suggest that postmodern theoretical developments have been linear or that they did not exist before the 1990s. It is broadly with current postmodern approaches under the umbrella of (feminist) post-structuralism and the issues they raise, that this research primarily engages. The principal rationale for this is that, while it is difficult to define post-structuralism (Baxter 2020, p. 34), grounded as it is in a range of philosophical and ontological understandings of identity influenced by thinkers such as Althusser (1984), Foucault (1980) and Bakhtin (1981), a key perspective is that 'identities are constructed by and through language but they also produce and reproduce innovative forms of language' (Baxter 2020, p. 34). Since this study explores how femininities and masculinities are constructed or construed through texts, seeking to understand the discourses which inform the representations of particular gendered identities, it adheres to a view of the constitutive nature of discourse which is central to a post-structuralist paradigm. However, it is also worth noting that the 'affinity' of this study with post-structural perspectives is not unqualified, and the relationship and distinction between post-structuralist approaches and critical discourse analysis is also relevant to this study and is discussed briefly below.

2.2 Key themes in research on gender identities

The major conceptual shifts within gender and language studies is a key theme in the research. Cameron (2005) draws a clear picture in her summary of the main differences between 'modern' and 'postmodern' approaches, helpfully linking the latter concept to the alternative terminology of 'second' and 'third' wave feminism (also current in the literature). Her preference for the terms *modern* and *postmodern* over *waves* is convincingly justified as she argues that the 'wave' terminology tends 'to imply a linear process whereby one paradigm succeeds another in chronological time' (Cameron 2005, p. 483). This is a simplification in the sense that although one approach may have become more dominant, 'older' and 'newer' approaches tend to overlap and co-exist, pointing thus to the inherent diversity and complexity already alluded to.

In her overview of post-structuralism and the relationship between language and identity, Baxter (2020, p. 39) charts the postmodern, philosophical origins of post-structuralism and considers four major perspectives within it as well as the 'discursive construction of identities'. In relation to this concept of discursive construction, importantly she cites studies within applied linguistics such as the

work of Pavlenko (Pavlenko 2004 in Baxter 2020, p.38) which ‘has revealed that cultural assumptions about male-female dichotomies may lead to inequalities...’ and the work of Blommaert and Rampton (2011). The latter researchers, writes Baxter (2020, p. 38), ‘propose the post-structural notion of ‘superdiversity’: that is the access speakers have to plural discursive resources...’ (Baxter 2020, p. 39). Crucially, Baxter (2020) goes on to explain:

In all these contexts, individuals are shaped by the possibility of multiple (though not limitless) subject positions within and across different and competing discourses. Furthermore, the formation and reformation of identity is a continuous process, accomplished through actions and words rather than through some fundamental essence of character.
(Baxter 2020, p. 38)

As well as the overlap and co-existence of a range of different approaches as Cameron (2005) and Baxter (2020) have highlighted, research in this field has intensified and many categories and concepts previously taken for granted have become increasingly problematised, meaning that much post-structuralist theorising is underpinned by several key questions and concerns. These questions include:

- i) how gender can be used as a valid analytical category (e.g. Hawkesworth 1997),
- ii) how gender intersects with other identity variables and with power and ideology (e.g. Bergvall 1999, De Fina *et al.* 2006, Block 2013, 2020 among many)
- iii) whether, if gender is enacted locally (e.g. through ‘communities of practice’ (Eckert and McConnell-Ginnet 1992), it can accommodate overarching theorisation (Bergvall 1999) or what Cameron (2005) refers to as ‘cultural universals’ or ‘big stories’.

Although these questions are not always adopted directly in the chapters of this thesis, or at least they have not framed the analyses, they have to an extent variously influenced the discursive analyses throughout the study.

Gender, sex and gender binaries

One of the major preliminary questions raised by much of the literature queries the notion of male and female by asking what is meant by being a man or a woman, and indeed whether these are the only two possibilities. There is widespread conflation (both in the past and in various current schools of thought) of the terms sex and gender, and a reduction of these categories to basic “‘unquestionable” axioms about gender’ (Hawkesworth 1997, citing Garfinkel 1967). These axioms include the belief that gender is biologically-determined through the genitals, that there are two,

stable genders (masculine and feminine) and that gender is not a matter of choice. These beliefs are part of what Garfinkel describes as the 'natural' attitude to gender (Garfinkel 1967, in Hawkesworth 1997). This belief in the straightforward 'naturalness' of sex has been debunked by many researchers who have pointed out that 'not everyone falls easily into the categories 'male' or 'female' for a variety of reasons' (Francis 2008, p. 211). Thus it has been argued that the essentialism implicit in the sex concept (Francis 2008) gave rise to the gender alternative which indicates that 'differences in behaviour according to the sex/gender identification are a social, rather than a biologically-driven phenomenon' (Francis 2008, p.212). Many have been at pains to elaborate further on terminological intricacies. For example, Connell (1987) draws on Sartre's notions of 'series' and 'group' to explain the sex/ gender distinction by aligning them respectively to Sartre's concepts. Hawkesworth (1997, p.672) explains that

Sartre used the example of people waiting for a bus to illustrate his conception of the series: they have certain things in common by virtue of their situation, even though they may not be consciously aware of any common ties. In contrast, a group is a collection of persons who consciously acknowledge the bond uniting them, whether it be a collective identity, a common project, or shared values. (Hawkesworth 1997, p. 672)

Thus, according to this metaphor, sex is unconscious and passive or externally imposed by 'reproductive capacity' (Hawkesworth 1997, p.672). Conversely, gender involves active construction by members of the groups. The metaphor is certainly alluring in its simplicity, but ultimately the apparently incontrovertible commonality of 'reproductive' capacities or roles is itself questionable, and Hawkesworth also critiques this conceptualisation for relying unproblematically on reproductive biology. Indeed, such critiques have been reiterated in subsequent literature. For example, Cameron (2005, p. 484) suggests that the 'sex/gender distinction is questioned on the grounds that sex itself is not 'natural' but constructed...', subsequently raising the issue of whether it makes sense to distinguish between them if both sex and gender are socially constructed.

Paechter (2006) complicates the issue further by considering the concept of gender *identity*, which refers primarily to how the individual perceives, experiences and understands their own gender; 'a claimed identity ... centrally concerned with who one considers oneself to be, not how one appears to others.' However, the usefulness of this term, does not lie in its implicit differentiation of mind and body, which Paechter ultimately suggests is 'problematic', but in the fact that gender identity is something 'we all seem to have' and which generally remains 'fairly definite and constant over time (even for those who change gender during their lives, this is not a day-to-day or situationally-adjusted matter)' (Paechter 2006, p.259). This perspective is revisited below in discussions of masculinities and

femininities, although it is worth noting that Paechter's view has also been critiqued (e.g. by Francis, 2008).

Despite common threads in discussions of what gender means and the relationships between sex and gender (Bing *et al.* 1996, Bergvall 1999, Francis 2008, among others), consensus is still a long way off. In fact, Cameron (2009, 2017) claims that in many scientific areas, what she denotes as 'new biologism' or the 'Darwinian turn' is 'gaining ground.' These perspectives, supported by commentators such as 'Steven Pinker (2002), cite new discoveries in rapidly advancing fields such as genetics and neuroscience to argue that biologism is now the "cutting edge" approach to sex/gender, while socio-cultural approaches are outmoded and discredited...' (Cameron 2009, p.173). This type of research has supported and renewed the focus on binary oppositions and 'sex-differences' as explanations for certain social phenomena (e.g. the differences between boys and girls in educational attainment and subject preferences in school) and has had both policy implications and a marked influence on current folk beliefs about gender and language. The popularity of this new biologism invokes the question mentioned above of whether the increasing diversity, complexity and situatedness of gender studies can accommodate overarching theorisation (Bergvall 1999) or what Cameron (2005, p.500) refers to as 'cultural universals' or 'big stories'. Cameron (2019) suggests that this appeal to simplified grand narratives (e.g. sexed brain differences) is what gives the new biological essentialism an advantage in terms of popular acceptance and is one of the challenges for feminist postmodern accounts which need to find equally compelling ways of presenting complex stories to wider audiences.

2.3 Critiques of gender

Notwithstanding the tensions between biological and many sociocultural or discursive approaches to the study of gender, a crucial point to raise is that, surprisingly perhaps, both approaches have often tended to focus on it as the explanation for certain behaviours or phenomena, and this explanatory deployment of gender does not appear to stand up to scrutiny. In a detailed critique of four major works on gender (Steven Smith's *Gender Thinking* (1992), Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1990), RW Connell's *Gender and Power* (1987) and Kessler and McKenna's *Gender: An Ethnomethodological Approach* (1978)), Hawkesworth (1997, p. 680) finds that all are subject to a similar pitfall:

...in each of these works the effort to theorise gender involves a subtle shift from an account of "how" gender operates under specific historical conditions to a universal claim about "why" gender performs a particular social function. In this shift, gender is transformed from an analytic category into a causal force. The heuristic tool is displaced as gender is accorded an

ontological status. It is described as the cause of certain beliefs about the world; the force that molds a plastic humanity, produces naturalised bodies, or imposes sexual dimorphism; the determinant of identity; the process that structures labor, power, and cathexis; or the mental category that structures a form of dichotomous perception...'
Hawkesworth (1997, p. 680)

As a result, Hawkesworth strongly argues against the use of gender as a 'universal explanans' because, as such, it tends to exclude the mediation of other social categories such as class, race, etc. and obfuscates the role of ideology through an inherent espousal of "natural" attitudes. Ultimately, this undermines the potential of gender as an analytical category which contributes 'to progressive feminist politics' (Hawkesworth 1997, p. 680). These points are important ones, and, without claiming a direct influence, can be traced in the innovations and main tendencies of subsequent post-structuralist approaches to analysing gender and identity, varied though these may be.

Intersectionality

The 'intersectionality' framework highlighted by Block (2013a, 2013b) in the work of many influential identity scholars, often from different academic fields, such as Kimberle Crenshaw (1991) (who coined the term 'intersectionality') Patricia Hill Collins (1993), Bell Hooks (2000) in the US and Skeggs (2004), Fought (2006) and Pichler (2009) in the UK has been influential in academic studies of identity. In his broad review of the work of many recent theories, Block focuses on the relative merits of sociolinguistic studies which have used intersectionality as an epistemological framework for studies on identity and language practices.

Intersectionality is a framework for exploring ways in which identity categories such as race, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, gender and especially social class interact to perpetuate social inequalities as these identity categories are variously subject to 'different systems of domination and subordination, such as sexism and racism' (Cameron 2019, p. 9). The implied merit of studies within this framework (e.g. Block and Corona 2014) is that they re-inscribe Marxist ideas of social transformation through the renewed disclosure of power relationships by once more making social class a central concern in many sociolinguistic studies.

It is interesting to note that intersectionality as a concept has evolved during the period in which this thesis has developed from an academic and analytical construct into an understanding that is now

prevalent in mainstream and popular discourses. Indeed, Cameron (2019, p.107-108) asserts that in a September 2017 article by Jessica Abrahams in *Prospect* magazine entitled ‘Everything you Wanted to Know about Fourth Wave Feminism – but Were Afraid to Ask’, ‘the principle of intersectionality’ is regarded as ‘one of the defining features of the fourth wave’ Cameron (2019, p. 108). Nevertheless, she also suggests that although the principle is commonly accepted, its implications do not always result in material considerations in reality. As Cameron (2019) explains:

...it is one thing to talk the intersectional talk, and another to walk the walk. The women’s marches that were organised to protest Donald Trump’s inauguration were on one level an impressive display of feminist unity, but they were also the site of conflicts about the exclusion or marginalization of some groups of women by others. Black women pointed out that the original organisers were all white, and that the names they chose for the event were borrowed, without acknowledgement, from earlier Black women’s and civil rights protests. (Cameron 2019, p. 108).

This suggests that while intersectionality is conceptually desirable in terms of an organising analytical category, the inequalities and injustices it can serve to highlight have yet to be satisfactorily addressed in the social world, even among groups with shared emancipatory agendas. Although, until now, this literature review has not explicitly referenced fourth wave feminism, and indeed post-feminism, these two developments are considered in Section 2 of this chapter.

Identities and indexicality

In an attempt to synthesise issues in gender research and suggest a comprehensive and coherent theory of language and gender, Bergvall (1999, p. 274) highlights the need for research to consider three main perspectives. The first includes terminologies and the consideration of the sex/gender debate described above (which she refers to as ‘the INNATE’). The second requirement is to chart how gender is actually constructed linguistically, an aspect she calls ‘the ACHIEVED’ and which is based on the communities of practice or CofP approach (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992). The latter correlates in many respects with the concept of indexicality or ‘the indexicality principle’ discussed in much identity literature (see, for example, Ochs 1992, Bucholtz *et al.* 1999, and Bucholtz and Hall 2005). This indexicality principle refers in particular to ‘the way in which linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions...[and] involves the creation of semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meanings’ (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, p. 594). Significantly, the authors point out that indexicality is highly dependent on ideological structures and this connects to Bergvall’s third essential perspective which is the ‘ASCRIBED’ or the evaluation of ‘the role of ideology and hegemonic belief systems’ on gender roles and associated behaviours. To illustrate, in the present study, the label ‘alphanumeric’ discussed in Chapter 5, is an overt ‘referential identity’ category (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, p. 594)

which indexes a specific gendered and feminine identity which is ideologically heteronormative and classed and it interpellates, in Althusserian terms, a particular identity informed by a particular discourse of femininity.

Further theoretical frameworks

Bergvall's (1999) perspectives have been echoed and developed in subsequent frameworks and have helped to inform the present study. Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) proposed framework for the analysis of identity, already alluded to above, presents a sophisticated set of tenets or five major principles ('emergence, positionality, indexicality, relationality and partialness' (2005, p.607)) which represent current approaches to identity (and by analogy gender identity) research. These principles are adhered to in many respects by Mills and Mullany (2011) who also list several key theoretical perspectives typical of current critical feminist studies of language and gender. These include the perceptions that 'participants in conversation bring about their gendered identity, thus seeing gendering as a process of emergence, and one that is not completed' (2011, p.41). There is also an emphasis on analysing 'pluralised gender identities...similarities between women and men and differences amongst groups of women and ...men', and looking both 'locally' at how gender is discursively constructed through language in specific communities of practice (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992). Other studies consider the 'broader social practices examining gender and power from a macro perspective' where language is 'seen as being produced within an ideological system that regulates the norms and conventions for "appropriate" gendered behaviour' (Mills and Mullany 2011, p.41).

As well as the perspectives described above, a core concept irrefutably at the heart of much current linguistic research on gendered identities is their performative nature, as suggested at the start of this section. Based primarily on Butler's (1990, 2004) theorisation (which in turn draws on Austin's (1962) linguistic idea of 'performativity'), gender is seen as a discursively enacted performance or ritualised practice rather than an inherent quality of individuals. This is in line with the frameworks outlined above, but it is not without its detractors, and its post-structuralist stance has been critiqued as overly abstract and disconnected from the realities of everyday practices (Speer 2005 cited in Motschenbacher 2009, p. 5).

2.4 Critiques of post-structuralist approaches

A major critique of Butler's concept of performativity and its disconnection from the sexed body lies in that it again raises valid questions around how to distinguish between sex and gender. If both are socially constructed, why is gender needed at all and what *is* gender if it is not connected to the body (Francis 2008)? Similarly, it has been argued that purely discursive approaches to gender analyses ignore the reality of the 'impact of the body on gender identification' particularly with regards to spectator interpretations of gender. Gender identity may be something constructed individually (as Paechter 2006 argues, for example), but it cannot be entirely divorced from how a person is seen and how their behaviour is understood, so that there is a dialectical relationship between gender identification, gender performance and gender attributions as Francis (2008, p. 215) suggests. This in turn leads once again to issues of power, choice and agency and the macro-level ideological structures and power positions that constrain particular gender performances. In addition to the considerations about gender discussed above, it should be noted that the post-structuralist move towards identity deconstruction by some feminist and queer researchers and theorists has been critiqued for being 'less emancipatory' (Rasmussen 2009, p. 432). This is because in seeking to 'deconstruct' identity categories, some research appears to have moved away from concerns of structural inequalities or unequal relations of power. Rasmussen (2009) concludes that there 'is a sense that deconstruction and post-structuralism are one step removed from questions of power and equity' (2009, p.433).

Similarly, Block (2013) raises issues with post-structuralist approaches which do not pay sufficient attention to psychological angles (being rather predominantly social), as well as to the relationships between agency and social structures, and between class or socioeconomic stratification and identity politics. These points echo the critiques alluded to above by Rasmussen (2009) and are also central to the relationship and differences between [some] post-structural approaches and critical discourse analysis which are explored at the end of the chapter.

Conclusion of section 1

It is clear that the study of language and gender has rendered a conceptually intricate matrix of approaches. Intersections of macro and micro analyses, a range of multi-methodological approaches, and greater triangulation (Bergvall 1999, p.288) mean diversity has become a central feature in this area of sociolinguistics, gender and identity research, and so-called 'third wave' (Mills and Mullany 2011) or 'postmodern' (Cameron 2005) approaches. Given the complexity of the terrain, commentators have noted that it may not ultimately be easy or possible to establish any grand narratives or overarching generalisations about gender and language (e.g. Bergvall 1999, Cameron

2005), and that patterns might only be inferred at a local level and as snapshots of particular contextualised sociocultural, historic and interactional instances.

Section 2 Gender identities: femininities and masculinities

Introduction

In the following section, some of the salient themes and dominant discourses that have emerged from linguistic research on masculinities and femininities in media texts are discussed. The section includes a consideration of feminism and its discursive evolution as well as reviewing the concept of hegemonic masculinity, hierarchies of gender relations and the construction of homosexuality and heterosexual normativity. The chapter concludes with a discussion of alternative and resistant discourses and approaches, as well as elaborating on the relationship of critical discourse analysis to post-structuralism in order to situate the present study.

2.5 Conceptualising femininity and masculinity

It is perhaps a response to the inherent complexities of defining the concept of gender outlined in section 1 that many theorists and researchers use the terms *femininities* and *masculinities* in both the plural and singular forms. Though both forms of these terms have their own associations in the literature, it is also the case that they too are rather mercurial concepts with varying meanings and representations in different contexts. However, femininities and masculinities are often referred to in plural form suggesting that gender identities are not viewed as fixed or single concepts. This plurality indicates that gendered ways of being (a man, a woman or something else) are multiple and may encompass both fixed or core identity constructs in both biological or psychological terms as well as through fluid discursive positions. Paechter (2006, p. 261) helpfully highlights the distinctions between the singular and plural forms of the concepts:

... we may have to distinguish between 'masculinity' and 'femininity' as ideal typical forms that are connected with a local hegemonic masculinity and either its Other or something that is related to it in a more equal way, and 'masculinities' and 'femininities' as actual ways that real people construct and understand themselves in terms of how they 'do' boy/man or girl/woman'... This would mean that any individual's personal set of masculinities and femininities (assuming that we all have several at our disposal) would consist of attributes that would have varying relationships to identity and embodiment in multiple ways.
Paechter (2006, p. 261)

The acknowledgement of a multiplicity of gendered discursive enactments as well as ‘ideal’ or hegemonic forms, which could be linked to the ‘good examples’ or the prototype in prototype theory, as described by Taylor (2015), is particularly pertinent to my analysis. This is because the current study highlights not only ideal and hegemonic gender identities but also describes a range of types of femininities and masculinities produced in particular media texts, as well as the ideologies (related to hegemonic ideals) that constrain or underpin them.

2.6 Constructions of femininity and feminism(s)

In sociolinguistics and studies of gender and language, one key issue among scholars is feminism. Definitions of feminism, its politico-historical and sociocultural trajectory, contemporary relevance, demise and/or resurgence remains a topic of interest in the press as well as in academic circles (Cameron 2019). This study illustrates the media’s concern with feminism in Chapter 6, tracking its discursive construction throughout the corpus. However, even an early *Guardian* article in the corpus hints at the tensions underlying the feminist movement in recent times. Tanya Gold (*The Guardian*, April 2013) writes:

From a perch in a liberal newspaper, the view of the feminist landscape is confusing. Never has it seemed so all-conquering and never so irrelevant. Feminist websites and blogs proliferate. Feminism, now reborn as a marketing tool, is almost fashionable – a terrible fate, because fashion is tidal and what comes, goes. (Tanya Gold, *The Guardian*, April 2013)

In this article, the journalist argues that despite the proliferation of feminism and the changes it has helped to facilitate since the seventies, gender inequality and injustices are rife, but feminism, it seems, is no longer equipped to tackle them: ‘What now? Obviously, feminism has become too personal, too confused with consumption. It has, I think, become divorced from politics...’ (Gold 2013).

Although Gold’s article is from 2013, its reference to the confusing landscape of feminism persists in more recent media evaluations as exemplified by the *Times Higher Education* review of Cameron’s (2019) introduction to feminism which refers to ‘our current puzzling feminist movement’. Crucially, it is also supported by academic accounts of language and gender (e.g. Mills and Mullany, 2011). In their insightful survey of the contemporary status of language and gender studies, Mills and Mullany (2011) show how feminism has simultaneously become both mainstream and marginalised:

...the fact that feminist demands are still voiced, even if they are not explicitly termed feminist, can be viewed as an indication of the way that feminism has become part of common-sense

assumptions and thus part of the mainstream in many Western societies (Mills and Mullany (2011, p. 2).

Interestingly, this perception suggests that feminism has become a dominant ideology, or at least, has been co-opted as such. This is also indicative of what McRobbie (2009, p. 12 cited in Dean 2010, p. 391) refers to as a “double entanglement” in which feminism is at once invoked, taken into account, and maligned across the public domain’. The implication is that prior feminist connections to political activism aimed at addressing inequalities are no longer perceived as necessary because, in some societies, a degree of equality has been achieved and much has changed in gender politics. The earlier feminist frameworks have also partly been rejected perhaps because they arguably often relied on essentialist, homogenous and binary conceptions of gender, which in their attempt to subvert patriarchal dominance, wrongly rejected or ignored masculinities, variations within gender groups (based on other variables such as class, race, sexuality, and context) or other gendered positions. As a result of this backlash, feminism seemed to have moved away from social or political activism, at least at the time the current study began. In the last five to ten years, however, and certainly since 2016, the social and activist role of feminism appears to have been reactivated. Public protests and mobilisations around the world in the wake of the #metoo movements and related initiatives have sought to highlight the persistent inequalities and abuses suffered by many women around the world and they have received considerable media attention.

The recent feminist revival is often referred to now as *fourth wave* feminism (Cameron 2019); it is politically active and engages quite explicitly with concepts such as intersectionality as described in section 1 of this chapter. Nevertheless, this *fourth wave* coexists with post-feminism, which is outlined below and also considered in Chapter 6. Similarly, not all current feminism(s) are politically engaged or activist and much of the discussion around feminism remains personalised and focused on identity. A revelatory explanation for this is posited by Cameron (2005) who argues that the transition from the political to the personal (or from the ‘What is to be done?’ to the ‘Who am I?’ (Mills and Mullany 2011, p. 4) is also an effect of postmodernist concerns with identity research and the ‘theoretical shift to viewing identity as socially constructed.’ For many (e.g. Cameron 2005, 2019 Lazar 2009, Mills and Mullany 2011), the shift has been away from ‘collective political action towards one of individualism and a focus on self-identification’ (Mills and Mullany 2011, p. 4), echoing Block’s (2013) concerns with post-structuralist approaches in general.

In a small-scale study of how feminism has been both espoused and repudiated in the British quality press, Dean (2010) sympathises with McRobbie's (2009) post-feminist stance, but uses it to qualify its claims by introducing the notion of 'domestication' in relation to feminism. He argues that what emerges from a study of feminism in the UK press (namely *The Guardian* and *The Times*) is that (media) attitudes toward it are either 'ambivalent' (in *The Times*) or cautiously affirmatory. Feminism is to be championed in the most liberal publication (*The Guardian*) but primarily in its most watered down de-radicalised form in an attempt to create a distance from the stereotyped perception of second-wave feminists as radical, man-hating, bra-burning, humourless and unappealing. In a discussion of how one journalist offers examples of an emerging new active feminism which is 'lively, vibrant, and attractive', Dean (2010, p. 397) elaborates:

It thus positions itself as a direct riposte to the perceived hegemonic perception that feminism is unsexy, boring, and unfashionable. Indeed, Taylor (2006) takes this to the extreme in asserting that "today's ultimate feminists are the chicks in crop tops," whilst an explicit attempt to reclaim feminism as not "anti-sex" emerges in a further two articles (Hill 2007b; Toynbee 2008). All these articles therefore, in different ways, are characterised by an uneasy oscillation between a bold affirmation of feminism, on the one hand, and a disavowal of some of its (perceived) less palatable dimensions.

Dean (2010, p. 397)

2.6.1 Postfeminism, new feminism and consumerism in the media

The new feminism positively espoused in the media focuses primarily on economic and sexual agency and this is supported by other analyses of postfeminism discussed below which relate it specifically to consumerism and neoliberalism. Though a single definition is elusive, I am convinced by Keller and Ryan's (2018) conceptualisation of postfeminism. They see it 'not as a *temporal construct* or a *form of feminism*, but as a set of neoliberal cultural ideals that privilege the individual apolitical empowerment of girls and women, who are hailed as productive, feminised workers, citizens and mothers' (Keller and Ryan 2018, p.4).

In light of many recent analyses of postfeminism, McRobbie's (2009) view that feminism has been undermined or undone by its assimilation into hegemonic gender regimes (Dean 2010) and her claims that 'new forms of gender retrenchment are secured by casting feminist discourse to the margins of cultural intelligibility at the same time that discourses of female freedom and individualisation proliferate' is compelling (in Dean 2010, p. 392). Other gender and media theorists concur, as Gallagher (2014, p. 27) elaborates in relation to the concept of *empowerment*:

It is a stripped out, neutered version of “women’s empowerment” that we find in a great deal of contemporary media discourse, which explicitly equates empowerment with sexual assertiveness, buying power, and individual control.
(Gallagher 2014, p. 27)

In an accessible, youth-oriented text on the key figures and theories in media and gender research, Gauntlett (2008) reaffirms the influence of capitalism on media and gender discourses and, rather naively in my view, claims that these discourses have paved the way towards challenging the hegemonies of the past. As well as this, he suggests that this is a reflection and dissemination of ‘modern values’ by essentially debunking traditional views of men and women as strong silent types and housewives or low status workers (respectively), claiming that:

Popular media fosters the desire to create new modes of life – within the context of capitalism. Whether one is happy with capitalism, or seeks its demise, it must surely be considered good if modern media is encouraging the overthrow of traditions which kept people within limiting compartments (Gauntlett 2008, p.248).

My position, however, is that often media representations of gendered identities reinstate such limiting compartments or replace them with others. This seems to be corroborated in studies such as Paul Baker’s (2014, p. 125-128) analysis of the sophisticated legitimisation strategies deployed by a *Daily Mail* journalist to uphold conservative and anti-gay discourses, despite the public criticism received by the newspaper. A potential explanation for this is that hegemonic and conservative discourses are persistent and powerful, and are certainly likely to proliferate in press publications with especially conservative views. Furthermore, Baker (2014, p.127) helpfully contextualises the analysis in the real world. He explains that the Press Complaints Commission (PCC) did not legally penalise or condemn (other) discriminatory views published in the newspaper which “‘represented a named columnists personal view and would be seen as no more than his robust opinions.’” Effectively, this position taken by the PCC allowed newspapers to take advantage of a degree of institutional impunity by allowing columnists, in particular, to ‘articulate negative positions about social groups, without falling foul of the media’s code of conduct’ (Baker 2014, p.128).

Gauntlett’s survey (2008) discussed above deals with the joint discursive construction of texts and identities by text producers and audiences arguing that there is a ‘slow but engaged dialogue between media and media consumers’ which redistributes power and facilitates what he describes as ‘multiple messages’ contributing ‘to an open realm of possibilities’ (2008, p. 255). This view and his measured support of models such as Butler’s (1990) influential theory are more heartening.

Both McRobbie and Gauntlett are media and cultural theorists, but some of the issues which converge in their research are echoed in sociolinguistic and discourse studies. The celebration and repudiation of feminism and the subsequent 'reinstatement of normative gendered stereotypes' (Lazar 2009, p. 371) is a major theme. In her article on postfeminist femininity, Lazar (2009) identifies three main discursive constructs in the language of beauty advertising; one which focuses on pleasuring the self, a second which reclaims and 'rejoices in feminine stereotypes' and a final one based around age which she calls 'girling women' or the embracing of a 'youthful attitude'. She too sees postfeminism as part of the current hegemonic discursive system which has served to neutralise the critical voice of feminism through processes described by, for example, McRobbie (2009), and sceptical interpretations of popular feminism which refer to these processes as 'co-optation'. The latter is perceived to 'take the bite out of feminism' (Lazar 2009, p. 273) by adhering it to other discourses which dilute its own subversive potential, while giving an impression of something having changed. The new femininity apparent in the texts analysed by Lazar (2009) is one of 'entitlement' focused on the self. This entitlement to pleasure and pampering is the proposed solution to the problems of the postfeminists' realities in which women have to manage private and public roles, and in which professionals are now the victims of hectic and relentless work schedules. As Lazar explains:

Based on a problem-solution schema, where the public sphere of work presents challenges to modern women in a postfeminist era, the solution resides not in re-structuring work-life balance, but in temporary pampering of the self.
(Lazar 2009, p. 377)

It is not difficult to see how this framework serves to support the interests of capitalist consumerism which is also partly responsible for generating the perceived problem. Another investigation of the relationship between neoliberalism and postfeminism refers to 'aspirational feminism' (Kauppinen 2013, p. 134) and its close association with 'neoliberal governance'. The author relates neoliberal governance back to Foucault and the suggestion that it is:

a mode of political power that seeks to interpellate human beings as "enterprising individuals, striving for fulfilment, excellence and achievement" (Rose 1996, p. 154) as part of a wider "economization of the social" – postulated as the golden way to societal wellbeing (Bröckling *et al.*, 2000) (Kauppinen 2013, p.134).

In her linguistic analysis of German issues of the woman's magazine *Cosmopolitan*, Kauppinen (2013, p.137) finds a predominant discourse of self-management in which (women's) success adheres quite closely to a goal-oriented ethos and 'a hegemony of managerial thought in nearly all spheres of life.'

The notion of management itself is associated with 'clarity, uncomplicatedness, objectiveness, competence and efficiency' and 'as a category of calculated progress' it is 'endowed with unquestioned legitimacy' (Kauppinen 2013, p.137). Thus the supposed empowerment and agency typical of the postfeminist era is one which is supported only by its alignment with neoliberal political objectives.

2.7 Constructions of masculinity and masculinity studies

Gender research in the last few decades and certainly until relatively recently has been a predominantly female domain concerned primarily (though not exclusively) with an examination of femininities both in terms of its practitioners and the subjects examined. Much research on gender and discourse has focused on women and female communities, partly as a means of addressing the power imbalances and dominant ideologies which have discursively contributed to the derogation of feminine identities. However, while inequalities may persist, it seems that if research into gender and discourse is to evolve and the influence of simplistic, biologically-driven binary oppositions so often bemoaned are to be reconciled with the notion of performativity (Butler 1990), less mutually exclusive frameworks are required in which masculine, feminine, non-binary, gender identities are considered in conjunction with one another.

The need to develop more inclusive or diverse gender analyses has begun to be addressed in some of the literature, and it is perhaps with a view to recalibrating the situation, as well as in pursuit of explicit or implicit political agendas, that many linguistic gender theorists have also turned their gaze to masculinities (Cameron 1997, Coates 2003, among many others). In fact, as suggested in Chapter 6 of this study, Cameron (2009) and others note a pendulum swing in the recent proliferation of studies of masculinities. As Edley (1997, p. 203) notes: 'gone...are the days when men sat comfortably as the unmarked sex.'

Nevertheless, the study of masculinity and particularly the concept of hegemonic masculinity, which is central to it, is not new. As Connell (2005) affirms, it is a field of academic study consolidated from the late 1980s onwards with growing numbers of publications and conferences dedicated to it and a widening research agenda. Connell's survey (2005, p. 833) is useful in highlighting specific fields in which research on masculinity has played an important role, and the links between these studies and their potential for facilitating real social and policy changes is perhaps especially significant. Thus,

primary areas of study have included education, where it was used 'to understand the dynamics of classroom life, including patterns of resistance and bullying among boys...'; criminology, where masculinity was analysed in terms of its relationship to particular varieties of crime; media, where it was used to consider representations of masculinity and their associations with sports and war imagery; sports sociology in order to study homophobia in commercial sports, for example; psychology and health, where it was used to analyse men's health practices; and in organisation studies of institutions such as the military and other workplaces.

A growing empirical base and the burgeoning field of studies around masculinities has led current theorists to consider what established aspects of masculinity research and its associated concepts have proved most fruitful and are worth retaining (e.g. Connell 2005), as well as which aspects may need adjustment or development. One key line of enquiry has been to further investigate the relationship between constructions of masculinity and femininity, and the effects of power on both, approaches which have increased in gender research. Examples of these include a study by Tannen (2017) on the role of gender in family interaction, in which the researcher views family as the locus for a struggle for connection as well as power. Similarly, in their review of the study of language and gender in educational contexts, Menard-Warwick *et al.* (2017) survey a range of studies considering language and gender from varying and sometimes overlapping perspectives of dominance, difference and diversity. Nevertheless these more relational studies are still relatively less prevalent than research focusing on one particular social (gender) group. The current study engages with more recent tendencies by examining the discursive indexing of femininity and masculinity in particular texts in the *The Guardian* with a view to exposing both overlaps and differences in gender representations and constructions, the discursive tropes used to perform these and the underlying ideologies which inform the potentially multiple gendered identities in the texts. An underlying aim in the analysis is to consider also the relation of the different discursive manifestations of gender identities to each other, rather than to focus on a single social group.

Despite the developments in approaches signalled above, research jointly considering masculine and feminine discourses has traditionally conformed to the 'difference' model in that it has been based on an analysis of different linguistic behaviours among men and women studied through a variety of interactional situations and texts. This focus on 'genderlect' has contributed to 'the materialisation of gender difference' and, if it is to retain any currency requires reconceptualization as a 'style of language behaviour which does not necessarily represent the language use of real people, but which

can be used as a resource' called upon by users as required (Motschenbacher 2010, p. 49). This concept of styles relates in turn to hegemonic constructions of masculinity or femininity and stereotypes of these identities, and they can serve both as subversive and non-subversive means of indexing gender identities. Motschenbacher (2010, p. 57) cites, for example, the use of feminine styles by gay men to index homosexuality which 'can be seen as subversive from a heterosexual out-group perspective, but as non-subversive from an in-group homosexual perspective...' Thus there has been an increasing theoretical sophistication and conceptual refinement in the existing literature and much of the data on masculinity research has been gathered, as explained above, from a very wide variety of texts and interactional contexts, including tabloid newspapers, narratives, interactions round the family table, workplaces, magazines, advertising, and so on (Cameron 1997, Johnson and Meinhof 1997, Edley 2001, Benwell 2003, Benwell 2017 among others). However, as with studies of femininities, there still appears to be a relative dearth of analysis of left-leaning or more liberal UK press texts and specifically those which foreground explicitly politicised or sociocultural commentaries on what it means to be a man or a woman in our society. Therefore, this thesis makes a significant contribution in this respect, since it focuses primarily on opinion articles in *The Guardian* and considers how masculinities and femininities are represented in relation to each other in such texts.

2.8 Themes in studies of masculinities

A review of sociolinguistic analyses of masculine identities in different situations would support the notion that gender constructions are to a certain extent particular to the specific contexts in which they are embedded. For example, Meyerhoff (1996) (in Bergvall *et al.* 1996, p.207) argues that the salience of gender as a sociolinguistic variable is highly dependent on situational factors including the sex of the interlocutors, the tasks the participants are involved in, the composition of a group, and so on. This would suggest that masculinities might only be examined discursively on a case by case basis, or at a local level as has been called for in post-structuralist approaches since doing so is more likely to do justice to the intrinsically complex and multi-layered nature of identity performances. Nevertheless, in order to theorise about gender constructions and dominant ideologies, it is important also to find patterns and be able to make certain types of generalisations. To this end, recurrent themes in discussions of masculine identities are explored below.

2.8.1 Hegemonic masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity, as Connell (2005) indicates, is a key but contested concept in gender research. According to Talbot (2010, p.161), hegemonic masculinity is the dominant (or normative) form of masculine identity and, as such, the one which must be performed in order to 'reap respect, prestige and the right to command: "the patriarchal dividend" (Connell 2005, p.81).' Understandably then, it is the form of masculinity which men are most strongly invested in and which operates dialectically within societies. It might not be the form of masculinity that the majority of men enact, but it embodies 'the currently most honored way of being a man...' and as such it maintains and legitimates the 'subordination of women' as well as of other forms of masculinity (Connell 2005, p.832). However, it is associated with a set of images, metaphors, behaviours, roles, languages and discourses which often feel elusive if one considers how 'what it means to be a man' (Benwell 2003, p.13) has shifted and changed (often radically) over time. Some commentators (Petersen 1998, Collier 1998, MacInnes 1998 cited in Connell 2005, p.836) have regarded this aspect of masculinity as a major flaw in the concept because it 'essentialises the character of men or imposes a false unity on a fluid and contradictory reality' (Connell 2005, p.836). An illustrative example of how masculinity has changed historically might be identified in discursive constructions of fatherhood which have been variously examined in the literature (e.g. Edley & Wetherell 1999, Sunderland 2004, Lazar 2005, Sunderland 2006) and it seems these indicate flux in the 'renegotiation of ideals' (Edley & Wetherell 1999, p.190). Nevertheless, Connell's (2005, p. 836) defence of the concept is robust in this respect:

The notion that the concept of masculinity essentialises or homogenises is quite difficult to reconcile with the tremendous multiplicity of social constructions that ethnographers and historians have documented with the aid of this concept (Connell 2003). Even further removed from essentialism is the fact that researchers have explored masculinities enacted by people with female bodies (Halberstam 1998; Messerschmidt 2004).
Connell (2005, p. 836)

Certainly it is true that hegemonic masculinity is perhaps best used as an analytical prism if it is not seen as a fixed, transhistorical or even singular discursive production. Indeed, Connell's (2005) more recent 'rethinking of the concept' warns against the use of 'trait terminology' with regards to masculinity as this could lead to an essentialist understanding of masculinities as 'an assemblage of traits.' The same could also be applied, of course, to any idealised or dominant femininities. Others make the point that for hegemonies to remain effective and survive they need be able to appropriate other alternative forms (in this case of masculinity). Thus, 'a degree of overlap or blurring between hegemonic and complicit masculinities is extremely likely...' (Connell 2005, p. 839) and I concur with the view that the concept's relevance has been sustained by its flexibility and capacity to evolve with socio-historic and political developments. Connell (2005) also acknowledges the complexity of gender relations, espousing the view that 'a single pattern of power' or 'the global dominance of men over

women' has become an inadequate simplification, (despite having maintained this view in earlier discussions on the subject). However, others have argued that the survival of hegemonic masculinity has meant that the 'social domination of men... [remains] a structural fact' (Talbot 2010, p.160).

Despite the fluidity of the term and the changing nature of 'acceptable' masculine identities and dominant discourses associated with them, there are key ways in which hegemonic masculinity appears to discursively define and reconsolidate itself; namely through the (sometimes) overt rejection of 'otherness' or more specifically, though perhaps not exclusively, feminine identities and homosexual or non-hetero-normative manifestations of masculinity. This strategy of differentiation is related to the concept of 'erasure' which is put forward as a means of indexing identity in identity research. Commentators have asserted that 'the construction of sameness demands the obscuring of difference' (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, p. 495). Concurrent to the exclusion of certain gender enactments, is what Benwell (2003) refers to as 'constructed certitude' or the reinforcement of hegemonic masculinities through an exaggerated emphasis on gender certainties represented, for example, by the biological essentialism apparent in men's magazines. Benwell cites Hall's (1996, p. 5) notion of 'a constructed form of closure' whereby identities are defined on the basis of which forms they keep at bay (e.g. ethnic variations, homosexuality, fatherhood and work in the case of some men's magazines) rather than being defined on their own terms.

Buiten and Naidoo's (2013, p. 201) discussion of constructions of masculinity in South African tabloids (to cite one example) underline how 'masculinity was constructed not in and of itself, but in a hierarchical relationship to both femininity and other non-hegemonic forms of masculinity.' Similarly, Baker and Levon's (2016) insightful corpus study of racialised and classed masculinities in the UK press exemplifies and calls for gender studies framed within intersectionality. The authors offer a discussion of how different identity variables interact with each other and might be discursively positioned or mapped against *physicality* and *ambition* as the axes elements in the ideological field. They also offer a convincing critique of the original concept of hegemonic masculinity, which nuances or complicates the concept further, but also arguably consolidates its currency:

In the original formulation, hegemonic masculinity is defined both as that form of masculinity that dominates others via a combination of coercion and consent, and as that form of masculinity that serves to perpetuate patriarchy (or men's domination over women). The duality of this definition has come under significant critical scrutiny over the years (for reviews, see Groes-Green 2012; Christensen and Jensen 2014) with many scholars arguing that the two sides of the definition need to be de-linked. Christensen and Jensen (2014), for example,

suggest a framework that separates the domination of some types of men over others (internal hegemony) from the domination of men over women (external hegemony), and argue for an empirically driven intersectional approach to both. Similarly, Hearn and Morell (2012) describe the possibility of there being multiple hegemonies that exist at different levels of social organisation and that are linked to the exercise of particular types of power. (Baker and Levon 2016, p.135)

2.8.2 Feminism and gender hierarchies

A major 'other' which hegemonic masculinity appears to distance itself from is feminine identities and in particular the discourses of feminism. Edley notes (1997, p. 208) the Derridean influence associated with this strategy of differentiation which, he argues, is typical within post-structuralist theory as it suggests 'that all concepts are relational: defined...by contrast with other concepts.' Nevertheless, despite the apparent post-structural 'proclivity' of finding definition in what one is not, what is interesting about the relationship of feminism to contemporary discursive manifestations of masculine identities is that it has helped to reshape hegemonic masculinity but is also held partly responsible for its destabilisation and what is commonly referred to as the 'crisis of masculinity'. This conceptual trope emerges also as a key discourse in my data and is discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 of this study, as well as in more detail later in this chapter. As a metaphorical concept it is powerful but also somewhat semantically fuzzy in that its meanings and interpretations vary according to the contexts in which the concept may appear. Nevertheless, broadly speaking, the crisis of masculinity seems to refer to a contemporary social uncertainty and destabilisation around the traditional roles and expectations of, at least hegemonic, masculinity. It tends to signal a degree of social anxiety around a perceived incoherence of masculine behaviours or traits and performative constructions of masculinity. However, it has also extended into an explanation or frame for destructive and self-destructive afflictions and behaviours such as violence and suicide, all of which are discussed in more detail in Chapter 7 in this thesis.

The relationship between masculinities, femininities and feminist discourses is not straightforward. Connell (2005, p. 848) highlights that hegemonic masculinity was formulated 'in tandem with a concept of hegemonic femininity – soon renamed "emphasised femininity"' to illuminate asymmetries in the patriarchal gender order. However, though 'compliance to patriarchy' is still relevant, feminine gender practices and identities have also affected the gender order, and thus should be paid more attention to. This view suggests that there are also power hierarchies and inequalities within and across (gender and other social) groups as well as resistance, and it recognises 'the agency of subordinated groups... and the mutual conditioning of gender dynamics and other social dynamics'

Connell (2005, p.848). This view is obliquely echoed in subsequent intersectional studies, such as Baker and Levon's (2016) described above, as well as the values and agenda of 'communities of practice' approaches (Eckert and McConnell-Ginnet, 1992).

Furthermore, recent manifestations of masculine gender identities indicate that feminist discourse has been accommodated within constructions of masculinity, but a backlash to feminism has also been suggested, particularly in media texts (Faludi 1992). Edley (1997, p.204) highlights 'two dominant positions or subject positions: "retributive man" and "new man"'. These are described as being in tension with each other, and respectively represent the traditional man as breadwinner and source of strength and authority on one hand, and the 'ideal partner for the modern, liberated, heterosexual woman' on the other. The latter form of masculinity is typically characterised by emotional sensitivity, non-sexist language and an active participation in domains traditionally regarded as exclusively feminine, such as shopping and childcare. The author argues that the 'new man' has emerged as a 'cultural ideal' which shows how 'feminism has had a tremendous impact upon the ways in which men, particularly middle-class men, view their own lives' (Edley 1997, p. 204). However, predictably perhaps, these two positions have not remained static over time and appear to be continuously evolving. Benwell (2003, p. 16), for example, argues that in men's magazines, a shift has occurred away from the 'new man' towards 'the new lad', noting that the latter entails a discourse which simultaneously rejects 'the feminist-friendly "new man"' but is also 'very adept at incorporating discourses of feminism' (Benwell 2003, p. 16). She suggests, however, that this incorporation serves ultimately to undermine their power, a view which echoes Connell's (2005) point that in order to survive, hegemonic masculinity has had to appropriate aspects of subordinate gender roles.

This assimilation and subsequent disempowerment of feminist discourses, arguably, re-establishes gender hierarchies and this is achieved discursively in some media texts (men's magazines in this case) through the continued sexual objectification of women (and the contingent reinforcement of male heterosexuality and sexual dominance) and in Benwell's (2003) study, through the specifically linguistic lens of irony or 'ironic dismissal' (2003, p.16). The use of irony, so evident in men's magazines (Benwell 2003), is complex in terms of how it operates discursively as it can result in the evasion of a definitive ideological positioning by relying on interpretation and the joint construction of texts by readers and writers. Thus the deployment of a knowing irony allows text producers to revert to traditional sexual gender stereotypes, for example, by simultaneously seeming to undermine them. As Benwell (2003, p. 21) elaborates:

This supports Hutcheon's observation (after Hayden White) that irony is 'transideological' (1994, p.10) – it is capable of both a radical and a reactionary politics. This type of irony-as-knowingness is similar to Jackson *et al.*'s (2001) discussion of cynicism in men's magazines, 'a form of unhappy consciousness which has already been enlightened in terms of its unacceptability.'

Benwell (2003, p. 21)

However Benwell also reports that other theorists have analysed the use of irony in women's magazines positively explaining that irony allows for contradictions; invoking or indexing hegemonic or emphasised femininity without it also signalling acquiescence to the traditional gender order:

McRobbie comments that irony and self-parody allow its readers to enjoy 'the stereotypical rituals of femininity without finding themselves trapped into traditional gender-subordinate positions'. Irony, she says 'gives them some room to move' (1999: 53).

Benwell (2003, p. 22)

Irony is also a stylistic feature deployed by columnists in my corpus and it is discussed in relation to genre and authorial stance in Chapter 4 of this study, as well as throughout the analysis. In many of the corpus articles analysed, irony serves a rhetorical function meant to engage readers by underpinning some authorial evaluations with humour. Thus, strategically irony is a device signalling an attempt at establishing complicity between reader and writer as well as subverting prospective critiques on an author's particular position on a given topic, potentially functioning again transideologically (Benwell 2003) as explained above.

2.8.3 Homosexuality and heterosexual normativity

The explicit rejection of homosexuality as a means of constructing hegemonic masculine identities is widely supported in the literature. Cameron's (1997) (in Johnson and Meinhof 1997, p. 47-64) study of male US college students' conversations, for example, shows how their gender performance strongly involves the shared repudiation of homosexuality. However, in this particular case, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) argue that a subsequent reframing of Cameron's (1997) analysis to accommodate a theorisation of the relevance of desire and sexuality to gender performance is ultimately misguided. They content that 'the specter that haunts this interaction is not necessarily the speakers' repressed homosexual desire but, more basically, the threat to the gender order' or 'the maintenance of the gender hierarchy' (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004 p.483). Their argument is that though homosexuality is rejected in discursive constructions of masculinity, this emanates from 'social relations' rather 'inner states'.

It is interesting that the homophobic discourse described in Cameron's (1997) study is particularly salient when men are constructing gendered identities in the company of other men. The importance of contextual variables in this case is once again highlighted as the author explains that the 'presence of a woman, especially a heterosexual partner, displaces the dread spectre of homosexuality, and makes other kinds of talk possible...' (Cameron in Johnson and Meinhof 1997, p. 61). However, even in contexts which would apparently permit or facilitate potentially less restrictive or dualistic conceptions of gendered identity such as the Internet, the power of traditional heterosexual masculinity looms large as Mullany (2004) illustrates in her study of gender identities and dominant discourses in email advertising. She concludes that cyberspace as a utopian, 'gender-free space' has failed to materialise providing instead a site where 'binary oppositions are intensified' (2004, p. 291) and where:

...overall, the dominant discourse of heterosexual masculinity perpetuates the view that it is commonsensical and natural to want a bigger penis, to require Viagra and to pay for heterosexual pornography (Mullany 2004, p. 303).

Notwithstanding Bucholtz and Hall's (2004) critique described above of Cameron's analysis of college boys constructing their masculinities, the link between sexuality, and in particular heteronormative sexuality, and discursive gender constructions certainly receives attention in the literature. This relates to Judith Butler's theories on gender, and subsequent queer theory and queer linguistics which she has influenced. Having developed beyond studies of gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender discourse users, queer linguistics shares the political aims of previous feminist approaches and is explicitly involved in exposing or 'queering' hegemonic normative gender practices or discourses which promote and sustain inequalities in social status.

With this aim explicitly at the foreground of her study, Coates (2013) addresses the concept of heteronormative sexuality and its discursive manifestations in the conversations of both groups of men and women. From the perspective of this thesis, what is of particular interest about the concept of heteronormativity is how it unites and constrains types of feminine and masculine gender identities as a powerful and unmarked institution which organises and regulates 'sexuality... in accordance with certain societal beliefs about what is normal, natural and desirable' (Cameron and Kulick 2006, p. 165, cited in Coates 2013, p. 537). The research shows how discursive practices help ultimately to sustain a hegemonic form of sexuality which is essentially heterosexual, monogamous, reproductive and

conventional in terms of gender roles. Thus, this favoured or privileged form of sexuality is at the top of a hierarchical sexual gender order and operates ideologically as the unmarked 'norm' which creates and sustains inequalities and covertly limits choice and arguably constrains gender performativity. As Coates (2013, p.549) elaborates: 'heteronormativity constrains our agency by asserting the naturalness of heterosexuality, and by concealing the cultural work that has to be done to maintain it.' Moreover, the fact that it appears to operate across both feminine and masculine identity constructions means it is also a fruitful focus of enquiry in the current study.

2.8.4 The 'crisis' of masculinity

The belief that idealisations of male gender identities, albeit rather crude ones, co-exist and are not necessarily mutually exclusive, as indicated in earlier sections of this chapter, points to the multiplicity of discursive gender performances that may at a given time, in a given context, be available and enacted. As such, they are representative of the multi-voicedness of masculine gender construction. Sunderland (2004) asserts that, in fact, this is true for both femininities and masculinities:

masculinity and femininity can be seen as... fluid (e.g. Stapleton, 2001). This results in a potential multiplicity of gender identity for a given individual, meaning that the plural forms identities (gender/sexual)..., now relatively common in the literature, can be used to refer to individuals (as well as to men and women more widely).
(Sunderland, 2004, p. 19)

However, whilst this plurality appears to be relatively unproblematic in generalised accounts of gender discourses, in analyses of masculine identities, it presents itself as an indicator of confusion, unresolvable contradictions and ambivalence, as well as pointing 'to a masculinity that is more incoherent and accidental than existing accounts tend to assume' (Benwell 2003, p.154).

In her analysis of two articles from men's magazines, Benwell (2003, p. 154) suggests that in these texts, masculinity is constructed through a complex 'oscillation' between traditional male hero and anti-hero models which is again achieved in part through the use of irony. However, in her discussion, the researcher questions whether these contradictions are strategic, serving to subvert unambiguous definitions of masculinity and ensure its 'invisibility', and hence its power, or whether they do indeed reflect a haphazard and accidental construction of masculine identities. Perhaps a significant omission in this analysis, however, is the intersection of these hero/anti-hero constructions of male identity with other markers such as class (though this is alluded to), age, ethnicity, etc. particularly in two

articles where some of these would certainly seem pertinent (one article describes a survival climbing weekend and the other an audition to be a male porn star).

What becomes apparent in much of the literature on masculine identities is that they are multifarious and often difficult to pin down. This ambiguity in turn supports the ‘crisis’ view of masculinity presented both in academic studies and in media debates as corroborated by the analysis in this thesis (see Chapter 7, for example). Whilst the causes behind this confusion in male gender identity are disputed, the consensus seems to be that masculinity is indeed in crisis. However, researchers have also argued that this crisis discourse is contentious, particularly because, as academics (e.g. Buiten and Naidoo 2013.) and journalists (e.g. Laurie Penny) also contend, it supports anti-feminist discourses which are blamed for the confusion in men’s identity. Similarly, Johnson (1997, p. 12) admits that this crisis account of masculinity may well be viewed with suspicion and cynicism from a feminist perspective:

To propose, as a feminist, that masculinity should form an integral part of feminist research is not uncontroversial. Is there not already enough dubious literature on masculinity ‘in crisis’? (Johnson 1997, p. 12)

Robinson (2000, in Benwell 2003, p. 15) reiterates this by claiming ‘it is also true that there is much symbolic power to be reaped from occupying the social and discursive position of subject-in-crisis (Robinson 2000, p.19).’ Another issue is that the crisis view encapsulates a false idealisation of the simplicity of traditional historical masculinity. The latter is implicitly invoked as a more straightforward gender identity which has been eroded by the influences of social progress. As Buiten and Naidoo (2013, p. 127) explain, the crisis ‘thesis’ ‘conjures up an image of a stable conventional masculinity disrupted by social change, implicitly assuming a time when men were not “in trouble”’.

2.9 Resistance, counter-discourses and heteroglossia

If not a crisis in masculinity, what many of the studies on gender construction *do* support is that, while hegemonic discourses clearly persist in constructions of gendered identities (both masculine and feminine), and in many different settings, what can also be inferred from the ambiguities and complexities discussed above is conscious and unconscious *resistance* to these discourses, operating at a local level. For example, in Edley and Wetherell’s (1997) study of masculine discourse performances amongst a group of sixth-form school boys at an independent UK school, two main types of social affiliations became clear – the sporting, physically dominant rugby playing friendship

group which was 'in many ways the most powerful group in the school' (1997, p. 207) and other less dominant and antagonistic groups. Boys in the latter groups displayed a strong resistance to the hegemonic (physical, competitive, etc.) masculinity represented by the rugby-playing group. This was achieved through 'a strategy of differentiation (Edley and Wetherell 1997, p. 209)'...which the authors describe in the following terms: 'It is as if he wants to say: "I am a man, but not that type of man"' (Edley and Wetherell 1997, p. 209). Some of the boys also showed resistance through the appropriation of 'discredited' identities (Edley and Wetherell 1997, p. 210), e.g. by identifying themselves as 'pacifist wimps' in a similar way to how gay men may once have referred to themselves as 'queers' in order to subvert the language used to taunt them.

Similarly, in Pujolar's study of the language of two working-class groups of men in Barcelona (in Johnson and Meinhof 1997), the author shows how the rejection of Catalan by one group is one gender identification strategy which is indicative of their performance of a 'simplified masculinity' whereas the other group, called the Trepas, showed strategies of resistance to this enactment of masculinity:

...the political consciousness of the Trepas allowed them to perform significant transformations in a more egalitarian direction with regard to their patterns of gender display... This underpinned their attempts to use Catalan more often within the group and overcome its connotations of an 'unmasculine' identity (Pujolar, 2007, p.105).

Talbot (2010, p. 174) comments that part of the interest of Pujolar's study lies in the fact that it shows how 'gender identities are embedded in local practices' and that it is important to consider 'gender in conjunction with class and ethnicity'. The importance of the local context in which linguistic forms are produced and interpreted is explicitly highlighted by Pujolar (1997, p.95-96) who specifically cites Bakhtin's (1981) concepts of the 'dialogical' nature of meaning and 'heteroglossia' as theoretical frameworks for his study. The concept of heteroglossia have been adopted by commentators as a useful perspective from which to view gender identity construction and are often referred to as a matter of fact in linguistic research on identity performance. For example, in Bucholtz and Hall's (2004, p. 501) discussion of Rusty Barrett's (1999) examination of African American drag queens, the authors note their 'heteroglossic linguistic performance that combines features ideologically associated with white women, African Americans, and gay men.'

Although the Bakhtinian notion of heteroglossia originated in literary theory (Bakhtin 1981), Bakhtin's wider view of language as a non-neutral system which reproduces and creates social power relations reinforces its potential as a fruitful lens through which to analyse gender discourses. This is especially the case in critical discourse or feminist analytical perspectives, since this view supports some of the primary tenets of linguistic study within these and other post-structuralist approaches. Thus what has hitherto been referred to as hegemonic discourses could also fall under the term monoglossia which, as Francis (2013, p. 4) explains, represent 'the world-view/interests of dominant social groups... positioned or imposed as unitary and total.' But Bakhtin undermines the ultimate sustainability of monoglossia, as he argues that language is inherently heteroglossic, representing 'the co-existence of socio-ideological conditions between the present and the past... [and] between different socio-ideological groups in the present.' The co-existence described above of resistant, subversive or counter-discourses within gendered identity performance would seem to confirm that such identities and the discourses used to construct them (linguistically) should be viewed as essentially heteroglossic, and themselves resistant to simplified or stable description.

In her espousal of Bakhtin's framework for gender study, Francis (2013) highlights a further advantage of this theoretical perspective: it can resolve the apparent dilemma of disregarding the view that gender is determined by the 'sexed' body in favour of a purely discursive performance of gender, which she claims results in a 'skewed emphasis on "choicefulness" in individual gender constructions', which seems to lack acknowledgement of societal constraints on that agency' (Francis 2013, p. 2). In these terms then, the powerful monoglossic account of gender is one in which gender is determined by the binary biological view of differences between male and females which is sustained by its status as 'natural'. However, examinations of gendered texts, interactions and discourses reveal how monoglossia are disrupted and resisted by both 'real' (e.g. transgender, hermaphrodite, homosexual...) and discursive transgressive gender identities.

2.10 Post-structuralism and critical discourse analysis (CDA)

The first section of this chapter considers the relationship between language and gender, analysing its development through feminist and post-structural perspectives. The chapter is followed by a discussion of the frameworks and methodologies drawn on to analyse the corpus and data collected (Chapter 3), especially critical discourse analysis (CDA). Although this theoretical lens is explored in more depth in the methodology chapter, it is pertinent to consider the relationship between post-

structural approaches as described in this chapter and CDA. This relationship has also been explored in recent literature on language and identity (Baxter 2020 and Zotzmann and O'Regan 2020).

CDA (as represented by the work of Fairclough (1995, 2015) and post-structuralism are closely aligned in that they are concerned with how social identities, relations and power are enacted and constructed discursively and both are crucially influenced by postmodern theorists such as Foucault (1972), as already referred to. However, one of the key distinctions identified between post-structuralist approaches and CDA is that critical discourse analysis believes in a social reality which exists *beyond* discourse whereas many poststructuralist researchers and theorists tend to view reality as being constituted through discourse(s), though the relationship between the material world and discourse is a source of debate. Thus Baxter (2020) explains that CDA 'assumes language and discourse to interact dialectically with the material world' (Baxter 2020, p. 46). Similarly Zotzmann and O'Regan (2020, p. 116) contend that 'CDA researchers do not accept that 'reality may be reduced to discourse... and many continue to see language as having a referential as well as representational function in relation to a non-discursive reality' (Zotzmann and O'Regan 2020, p. 116). This thesis subscribes to the latter view, and although it presents a discursive analysis of gender identities and discourses, it acknowledges that such discourses are in dialogue with the 'real world' in a sense and produced by individuals and in contexts and through institutions that have power, effects and constraints which are material as well as discursive.

Baxter (2020, p. 47) suggests that post-structuralist discourse analysis is preferable to CDA because it allows for greater plurality of positionings or identities arguing that 'these are not perceived as a single, static, powerless position.' However, my view is that CDA does not necessarily create static or fixed positions either but rather seeks to uncover discourses which have become naturalised, thus occluding how power operates to maintain social relations of inequality. Highlighting these relations does not, in my view, entrench dichotomies of oppressors and oppressed or obscure resistant discourses (as Baxter 2020 suggests), but rather allows for such relations to become visible so that they can be followed by actions as well as discursive shifts which can lead to emancipatory changes.

Conclusion of section 2

Section 2 of this chapter discusses how masculinities and femininities have been conceptualised particularly, though not exclusively, in linguistic analyses of media texts. It tracks the evolution of key recurrent concepts and frameworks which have informed many related (socio)linguistic studies,

including the impact of feminism and its various contemporary manifestations. The section considers major themes and salient discourses in femininity and masculinity studies considering the conceptual development of hegemonic and heteronormative gender constructions and their relationship to each other, concluding with a consideration of heteroglossic approaches and resistant discourses. Since my study and analysis is influenced by feminist post-structural and critical discourse beliefs about the relationship between language and gender, or between power, discourses and the material world, the final section reviews the perceived relationship between post-structuralism and critical discourse analysis which, for the purposes of my study, I believe may be distinct in nuanced but not irreconcilable ways.

2.11 Conclusion

The present study analyses how certain femininities and masculinities are constructed in opinion columns and similar texts or articles in *The Guardian*, considering the discursive relations that emerge from, are compounded by or are potentially resisted in the corpus of newspaper articles collected. It is a study, therefore, which considers gender as it is (re)produced in language and discourse, that is, in texts created by authors in a particular institutional and real world context which is culturally and temporally bound. It also addresses how gender relations are affected by and reflect discourses and their contingent ideologies, parting from the assumption that inequalities and injustices associated with gender as well as other identity features persist and are still worthy of analysis. This perspective situates my study within a tradition of language and gender studies with a feminist sensibility or 'imagination' (Lazar 2017) and which is influenced by postmodern and post-structural philosophies and their framing of the relationships between discourse, power and ways of being.

This literature review has sought to explore the influences of the feminist and post-structuralist ideas on linguistic studies of gender. It has grounded and framed the research questions of this study by considering the main themes and dominant gender discourses identified by the academic literature. The effects of feminism on linguistic interpretations of gender discourses and ideologies is a central theme which I have also adopted in my results and discussion in Chapter 6 since it is as prevalent in newspaper texts as it is in the academic studies. Similarly, the crisis discourse identified particularly in relation to masculinity is dealt with at length in Chapter 7, section 7.4. The literature review has also shown that while studies have evolved into more diverse, plurivocal or heteroglossic discursive analyses, there is still a relative dearth of studies which consider masculinities and femininities in

relation to each other (with some exceptions), notwithstanding the increased sophistication of identity research from an intersectional perspective. This is one of the gaps addressed by the current thesis. The rationale, methods and theoretical frameworks used to collect the data and develop the analysis are described in the following chapter.

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents in detail the data collected for the purposes of this study, including an explanation of the data collection process as well as the rationale for the selection of particular texts. It also outlines some of the issues which emerged during data collection and corpus compilation. Since the methodological approach employed might best be described as a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis (Baker 2006, Baker et al 2008, Taylor 2014, Taylor and Marchi 2018), the interactions and tensions between Corpus Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in terms of their divergent but complementary inclinations towards the treatment of linguistic data are also considered. It is important to note that the methodological approach has oscillated between close readings and analysis of sections of discourse and larger overviews of linguistic patterns across a substantial body of texts. Relevant features of CL analysis are outlined but, notwithstanding the oscillation between the overall corpus data and individual texts or extracts, the theoretical framework draws most significantly on CDA.

Although an increasing volume of studies are considered corpus-assisted discourse analyses, in the ways in which they combine discourse analysis with corpus linguistic studies, this study is particularly focused on a *critical* discourse analysis. As a result, where relevant, it considers authors and full texts in the analysis as well as context, in ways which are not always possible with very large corpora or on studies of keywords, collocational relationships and semantic prosodies. Having selected and tagged the texts manually for authorship has meant that the corpus consists of a particular genre of newspaper text. Genre and whole text structures are aspects often overlooked in other studies combining corpus and critical discourse approaches. The use of CDA as a theoretical framework is because the current study and its overall research questions, referred to in this chapter in connection with particular methodological procedures, intrinsically align with an exploration of the relationship between text, contexts, institutions and ideologies. Of particular interest are how these texts may occlude, create, reinforce, or resist dominant discourses around gender identities. The chapter concludes with a brief summary of the perceived limitations and critiques of CDA and CL followed by a brief outline of the data chapters that follow.

3.2 Data Collection: Articles and columns from *The Guardian* from 2013— 2018

One of the primary aims of this study has been to analyse how contemporary gender identities are represented and constructed in *The Guardian* and the discourses that affect such representations. As explained in the Chapter 1 of this study, I have focused on *The Guardian* partly because it is recognised as a left-leaning publication with both an online and print version which is widely available in the UK. Unlike the other left-leaning or arguably more liberal UK newspaper (The Independent), *The Guardian* online is widely available and has international reach as it is the only online broadsheet publication without a paywall, notwithstanding its various subscription options. As well as this, the publication refers to itself as a feminist newspaper (see Marchi 2019) with an overt interest in addressing social inequalities and in gender debates. *The Guardian* specifically engages in *Gender* as a topic and has done for many years. I therefore hypothesised that the newspaper would reflect a nuanced, critical or complex representation of masculinities and femininities, and certainly in relation to most other UK publications the majority of which are recognised as being politically conservative or right-leaning, with a few exceptions. In terms of the length of the time period of the study, as also discussed in some detail below, the primary aim was to capture contemporary representations and debates on gender. Therefore, I envisioned the study as a synchronic ‘snapshot’ rather than a longitudinal diachronic corpus analysis which would specifically aim to map changes over time. This meant that initially the articles collected were over the three-year period (2013-2015). However, the increase in media interest in gender which was occurring as the study developed meant that I extended the data collection period by another three years to 2018 in order to understand whether discourses were potentially evolving as well as to reflect the more recent focus on gender in the press and media.

I used the electronic Nexis® database of UK newspapers to identify articles, over the stated six year period, where gender and specifically (types of) masculinity and femininity were a central theme or concern within the text. The key search terms *femininit** and *masculinit** (to allow for morphological variations) were used in order to start this identification process. The use of these search terms means that articles where *masculinity* or femininity are not explicitly named or referenced but which may nevertheless focus on gendered identities will not have featured in the results, signalling one of the potential limitations of this way of identifying relevant texts for analysis. However, using terms or phrases as broad as *(being a) woman* or *man* would have made the selection of articles too much like looking for needles in a very large haystack, whereas the search terms used resulted in a significant, but not overwhelming, number of texts to consider. Another decision in the selection of the relevant articles was to look specifically at comment and opinion articles or columns in which gender identities were a subject of discussion and debate rather than news articles where their reference and function are more likely to be descriptive or tangential to the events and themes presented. That is not to

suggest that news articles would not be discursively revealing, but rather that gender, per se, may not be an explicit or salient consideration. Nevertheless, many of the commentaries identified were, of course, triggered by real world news and events (some of which I refer to below) as might be expected in features and opinion pieces.

The next stage in the identification of suitable texts for analysis was to assess from the headlines, bylines and initial paragraphs (sometimes considering whole texts) whether gender identity and representation was in fact a core concern in the article, since this was not always the case. Allusions to *femininity* and *masculinity*, for example, are common in Fashion feature articles, but they often refer to design and style rather than relating specifically to representations of gender. Another consideration at this stage was how much data would be enough to be fruitfully productive for corpus analysis. Corpus linguists often work with extremely large volumes of texts (e.g. diachronic corpora consisting of millions and billions of words, for example) and my aim was to create a specific corpus which would be 'knowable' at text level but large enough to provide a rich snapshot of the discourses under scrutiny. Despite the general preference for large data sets, enough CL studies refer to smaller-scale corpora which have been examined for ideological and discursive traces as well as linguistic 'behaviours'. For example, Taylor (2014) refers to Moschonas & Spitzmuller's (2010) study of 160 articles to compare construction of language ideologies across two cultures, and Brezina, McEnery and Wattam's (2015) paper on collocational networks is based on a corpus of around 120 000 words. Therefore I was reassured that my initial data set of around 350 000 words for the years 2013-2015, would be sufficiently productive. However, as already mentioned, as the study progressed there was a burgeoning of public debates on gender and gender relations in more recent years. Therefore, in 2016 there was a second data collection and corpus compilation stage to include the years 2016-2018, thus producing a total corpus of just under 700 000 words. Public debates on gender and gender relations have proliferated since 2015 for many reasons including increasing intolerance of institutional inequalities, social censure of a series of public scandals involving powerful men, such as Harvey Weinstein or Donald Trump, an increasing awareness and apparent social acceptance of alternative sexualities as well as non-binary and transgender identities. This has in turn led to a feminist resurgence, as discussed in the previous chapter in this study. Therefore, I felt that it was important to include the recent newspaper articles in order to try to capture and analyse the evolving and increasing focus on gendered identities and relations.

3.3 Data Description: the corpus and subcorpora

3.3.1 *The Guardian*: sections and writers

A significant proportion of the articles finally selected for the corpus came from regular columns and particularly from sections in the newspaper such as *Comment and Debate Pages*, *Comment is Free*, *Opinion*, and *Opinion and Debate* sections. Since many extended commentaries on gender identities also emerged from news events in various international and social spheres (world politics, world news, media, etc.) and reviews of cultural products (books, TV programmes, films, stage, art and fashion) as well as from aspects of society and social life (education, family, sport), relevant columns and articles from these sections were also included. Similarly, longer features, published letters, interviews and reviews from weekend publications such as Saturday Guardian, G2, Guardian Features, Guardian Family were also selected where gender was a key concern. This means that the range of authors, journalists, columnists and contributors that produced the selected texts is also fairly broad, though many articles in the corpus are by regular columnists with an interest in gender identity or gender politics, such as Suzanne Moore, Hadley Freeman, Ally Fogg, Owen Jones, Jill Filipovic and Kira Cochrane, to name a few. As well as journalists and columnists, there are contributions and essays from UK and international academics, media and business personalities, politicians, legal professionals, writers, activists and other professionals and, where relevant, these are considered in the analyses included in the chapters that follow.

It is perhaps also worth mentioning that the events that frame the articles or provide a springboard for a discursive engagement with aspects of gender identities and gender relations are also diverse. They have ranged from the apparently trivial (a new television advert for moneysupermarket.com, a new toy range, facial hair trends...) to serious or internationally news-worthy events and occurrences (e.g. the death of Sandra Bland in custody, the trial of Oscar Pistorius, the death of Margaret Thatcher, the Harvey Weinstein scandal, online rape threats, mass killings and terrorist violence). There is further discussion of the potential relationships between real world events, the institutions that report on them (in this case, the newspaper) and their connection to emergent discourses on gender in subsequent chapters.

3.3.2 Corpus compilation and annotation

The texts selected and downloaded from the Nexis® database were categorised into four sub-corpora or datasets. These were articles including the key search terms femininit* and/or masculinit* over two periods from 2013 to 2015 and from 2016 to 2018, thus spanning six years. Since a number of articles

discussed or mentioned *both* masculinity and femininity, there was some duplication across the subcorpora, which is categorised by the two time periods and a focus on either male or female gender identities (see Table 1 below). This was potentially problematic in that some articles effectively appeared more than once, however subsequent work with the corpus data, including key words lists, word sketches and concordances, bore repetitions in mind and did not include duplicate instances in counts (where these could be identified).

After selection, the downloaded files were converted to a plain text format followed by a process of cleaning up the data, which involved removing hyperlinks, headline and byline repetitions, and advertising images and texts. Any images attached to texts were not included in the plain text files although captions were. The subcorpora were also annotated with metadata including the writer or contributor's gender (male, female, trans) and this was corroborated, where necessary, by searching for author biographies online (*The Guardian* tends to include a picture and short bio or description of the interests of its contributors.) Where non-binary, queer, non-heteronormative or transgender identities were also explicitly signalled by authors (often because they were writing about their own experiences), this was included in the metadata annotation though, of course, specific gender orientations may not always have been signalled or relevant. Similarly, the texts were all annotated for the month and year of publication. This meant that subcorpora could be compared diachronically (i.e. for differences or similarities between the earlier and later data set) and also in terms of the potential effects of authors' gender orientation. Part of the rationale for annotating for these characteristics in particular was to include a consideration of the producers of these texts as well as the time and related external events or contexts in considering the gender discourses that may be embedded in them (in line with the principles of critical discourse analysis). However, I should add that the analysis has not always focused simply on comparisons between earlier data and later data sets or between the preoccupations of authors of different gender orientations, rather such comparisons are highlighted when they appear to be of particular salience in the analysis.

After experimenting with various tools for data analysis including Nvivo (useful for qualitative and multimodal analyses of data) and Antconc, I eventually used *Sketch Engine* to build the corpus and proceed with the subsequent analysis, though an initial critical discourse analysis of a small selection of texts from the original subcorpus of articles from 2013-2015 meant that a preliminary discourse analysis in a sense primed my subsequent approach and suggested some initial points of interest in the data. Many corpus linguistic studies tend to start with the corpus which is used to identify patterns,

and then proceed to a closer discourse analysis so my approach in this respect was unorthodox, but it allowed me as an analyst to engage closely with a small set of texts first and this to an extent supported my subsequent understanding of the data at the textual level. In terms of corpus tools used, it is not always clear in published studies why a particular corpus tool is preferred over another, each has their relative merits and shortcomings and corpus linguists will often use a range of tools, but my use of *Sketch Engine* was determined by its relative ease of use and user-friendly interface. It is also a tool which carries out much of the statistical quantification which are embedded as well as tagging corpora for parts of speech. This makes its use appealing for novice corpus linguists.

3.3.3 Corpus characteristics

Table 1 below outlines the main characteristics of the corpus and subcorpora as compiled within *Sketch Engine*, with the acronyms, which will be used to refer to the various corpora in the following chapters. The table shows that, overall, the proportion of articles dealing solely with masculinity or *both* femininity and masculinity (corpora MASC1 and MASC2) is significantly higher comprising 65% of the 585 articles collected. More female journalists (60.5%) than male have written the articles in this corpus, but overall a higher proportion of male journalists write about masculinity than femininity, as might be expected. As mentioned, there were also a number of journalists who self-identified as queer, trans, gay or non-binary, and where this was immediately explicit, it was included in the annotation. Across the whole corpus, a small number of articles were written by several authors (male or female) or the author was unknown.

Having described the data collection and given an overview of the data itself, the sections below consider how the data and texts have been analysed and the methodological and theoretical frameworks that have informed the analysis.

Table 1 Description of Corpus and Subcorpora

Corpus and subcorpora	Description	Word Count	Number of articles	% of words by female writers	% of words by male writers	% of words by non-binary, queer or trans gender orientation	Acronym for reference
Femininity and Masculinity 2013-2018	Whole corpus including all relevant articles from 6-year period for references to masculinities and femininities	682,533	585	60.5	35.6	3.7	FM1
Femininity 2013, 2014, 2015	Articles on femininity between 2013 and 2015	119,362	106	78.6	19.2	2.4	FEM1
Femininity 2016, 2017, 2018	Articles on femininity between 2016 and 2018	114,506	98	81.3	18.6	0.1	FEM2
Masculinity 2013, 2014, 2015	Articles on masculinity between 2013 and 2015	228,224	196	48.7	49.5	1	MASC1
Masculinity 2016, 2017, 2018	Articles on masculinity between 2016 and 2018	220,441	185	52.6	44.2	2.7	MASC2

3.4 Corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Corpus Linguistics (CL) are two approaches to the study of language and texts which were once positioned at opposing ends of the methodological and theoretical spectrum. The former was typically associated with qualitative analytical approaches and the latter with quantitative. However, this paradigmatic dichotomy has been convincingly debunked (Hardt-Mautner 1995, Mautner 2009, Taylor and Marchi 2018). Furthermore, the profusion of (reference) texts (Baker 2006, Partington 2004, 2006, Baker and McEnery 2015, among others) and research studies (Partington 2006, Baker *et al.* 2008, Gabrielatos and Baker 2008, Baker and Levon 2015, Aluthman 2018, Wang 2018, Bączkowska 2019, Kania 2020, among many others), particularly in the last decade, which combine (critical) discourse analysis and corpus linguistics in varying ways clearly supports the view that CDA and CL are regarded as mutually enriching and complementary tools for linguistic analysis. The combination of the two have also comprised an attempt to mitigate against the potential shortcomings and critiques of each approach. In the sections below, I outline my approach to and rationale for a critical discourse analysis of my data and how CL has contributed to the overall analysis, as well as considering the perceived limitations of both approaches.

3.4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

There is no single way to undertake a critical discourse analysis though the works of Fairclough (1995, 2001, 2015), Van Dijk (1989, 1998) and Wodak and Meyer (2009) are well-established within CDA studies. Indeed Wodak and Meyer (2009) point out that there is an intentionally wide variety of methodological approaches under the umbrella of CDA. Nevertheless, one of the underlying principles of *critical* discourse analysis is to examine the use of language and texts and the social contexts in which they are produced (and received) as well as the discourse processes therein. These levels of analysis in turn serve to uncover the macro discourses and related ideologies which are reproduced by, imbue, frame or constrain particular texts, practices and contexts.

Underlying this three-tiered perspective in CDA is the overt premise that the social world is marked by inequalities which have ontological effects on the ability of less advantaged or less powerful groups to act in and on the world. Thus, CDA is offered as a tool and framework, with a specifically linguistic edge and a self-consciously emancipatory political agenda, with which to expose such asymmetries and the hegemonic discourses which have naturalised ways of representing and understanding social groups, social relations and events in the world. As Fairclough asserts (1995, p.18): ‘in claiming that a

discursive event works ideologically... one is claiming that it contributes to the reproduction of relations of power.' However, Fairclough (1995, p.16) also refers to post-structuralist and postmodernist critiques which suggest that any ideological critique 'presupposes that the critic has privileged access to the truth, whereas any such claim to truth is... really just a coded 'will to power'(Foucault 1980)'. In this respect, it is important to note that CDA is by nature subjective and adheres to an interpretive research paradigm (one of the critiques levelled at it, though potentially also one of its strengths) and that one of its principal aims is also to study evolving discourse processes and changing discourse practices. This is important in that it belies a belief that discourses are not fixed or stable and are subject to both oscillation and (potentially radical) change over time through dynamic processes of reinforcement or resistance.

The origins and underpinnings of CDA are theoretically rich in that they draw significantly on earlier philosophers, theorists and linguists. It is not within the scope of this chapter to provide an in-depth review of the influences on CDA, particularly since these are well-covered in the literature (see for example Meyer and Wodak, (2009 pp. 4-10) on the 'common ground' in CDA approaches and Rogers *et al* (2005). However, I refer briefly to some of the associated theoretical perspectives which have influenced my own interpretations and analyses, most significantly, because they chime with my inclinations and agenda as a researcher. These perspectives include Foucault and his work on power and the 'order of things' (Foucault 1970) and especially the influence of his notion of discourses as 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault 1972, p.54). The latter clearly relates to definitions proposed within CDA of discourse (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, p. 258) as 'language use in speech and writing – as a form of 'social practice... [which] implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institutions(s) and social structure(s), which frame it.' Similarly, Bourdieu's (1983, 1984) conceptualisation of various forms of 'capital' and 'symbolic power' (Bourdieu 1982) inform parts of the analysis in terms of understanding social power relations between groups. Althusser's (1971) and Van Dijk's (1998) exploration of ideology, Gramsci's (1971) notion of hegemony which highlights 'winning consent in the exercise of power, Habermas' (1999) reflections on the *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* and the influence of figures in critical theory and the Frankfurt School, such as Adorno, all enrich and reverberate through many critical discourse analyses, particularly in relation to media texts.

3.4.2 Rationale for CDA

As suggested, critical discourse analysis is a long-standing theoretical framework with deep and diverse philosophical roots as well as a tool for the linguistic analysis of data, though not one without limitations and critics. Although I briefly discuss critiques of CDA and suggest how the triangulation provided by a CL approach might help to address some of these, CDA was a particularly appropriate framework for my own exploration for several reasons.

Firstly, CDA is an apt framework through which to elucidate or ‘demystify’, in Fairclough’s terms (2001), some of the discursive structures involved in the construction of gender roles and identities in the media. Similarly, it can reveal discourses which potentially operate dialectically to affect the real role, representation and creation of gendered identities in society. Secondly, CDA is rooted in linguistics and draws significantly on Halliday’s (1994) seminal work on systemic functional linguistics (SFL) and, in particular, his view of transitivity, verb processes and modality, which I refer to in relation to my own analysis below. SFL is a linguistic theory which interprets language as ‘social semiotic’ (Halliday 1978) and its model for analysing the ‘clause as representation’ (Halliday 1994) has been especially productive for this thesis. In particular I have used Halliday’s analysis of transitivity and verb processes (Halliday 1994) because it has framed an analysis of both semantic and grammatical relationships, particularly of agency, in the ways certain femininities and masculinities are represented, helping to explain how discourses are linguistically encoded in texts (see section 3.4.4 in this chapter). Thirdly, my data is part of media and newspaper discourse, which has long been a subject of interest for both CDA and CL for its ease of accessibility and the proliferation of this type of text, and ultimately the increasing power and influence that media institutions have in representing and shaping social and political life.

Within and alongside CDA, I have also referred to a range of methodological and theoretical frameworks proposed in the literature on identity and media discourse which in turn draw on CDA and add texture to the possible interpretations it affords. These include Bucholtz and Hall’s (2005) framework for linguistic identity markers and Van Leeuwen’s (1996) model for the representation of social actors, among others, which are considered in section 3.4.3 below. In considering my research questions, I have found that the analytical tools, frameworks and foci have shifted depending on the questions being considered, and I outline particular perspectives on the data below. Both of the following two sections supported the consideration of research questions 1 and 2:

Research question (RQ) 1—What dominant masculine and feminine identities are discursively constructed and represented in *The Guardian* and how do they intersect with each other and / or other identity constructs?

Research question (RQ) 2—Do these representations show support for or resistance to dominant gender ideologies and how is this articulated?

3.4.3 Identities: social categories, social actors and labels

A useful theoretical perspective for considering the representation and construction of particular femininities and masculinities in the texts has been Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) framework for the analysis of identities which offers a 'sociocultural linguistic perspective on identity' espousing diverse and interdisciplinary approaches by means of a 'shorthand device for referring to these approaches collectively' (2005, p.586). According to Bucholtz and Hall (2005), identities are constructed discursively by means of several processes including linguistic indexing or 'indexicality' which 'involves the creation of semiotic links between linguistic form and social meanings (Ochs, 1992; Silverstein, 1985)'. One of the most obvious ways in which identities might be constructed in discourse is through the 'overt introduction of referential identity categories' or 'social category labels' (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, p. 594) and the qualifications associated with these categories which are indicated linguistically by means of modifiers and predicates, for example, as well as their juxtaposition with other social category labels. This perspective is complemented by Van Leeuwen's (1996) inventory of ways in which social groups can be classified that is, how linguistic manipulation serves to foreground or eradicate certain social groups, labels or actors and in turn lead to significant ideological effects. Van Leeuwen's representations of social actors has been especially productive for my analysis and at various points considers aspects of the following; personalisation/impersonalisation, individualisation/collectivisation, specification/ genericisation, nomination/functionalisation, use of honorifics, objectivation, anonymisation, aggregation and so on (see Machin and Mayr 2012, pp. 79-85).

In their discussion of the relationship between discourse and identity, Benwell and Stockoe (2006) also draw on Halliday (1994) and suggest that a focus on transitivity, modality, pronouns, lexis, theme and presupposition are useful tools for establishing the linguistic means by which text producers (in this case the writers, journalists and columnists) construct their own identities. In my data analysis,

these also serve to highlight how others' gender(ed) identities and how gender relations are constructed, sometimes within texts in which the producers' own identities comes explicitly into play.

3.4.4 Dominant discourses and power relations

In his seminal grammatical work on functional grammar, Halliday (1994, p. 106) explains the importance of analysing verb processes since 'our most powerful impression of experience is that it consists of 'goings-on'– happening, doing, sensing, meaning and being and becoming' and goes on to name the grammatical system of 'transitivity' in clause structures as a 'mode of reflection, of imposing order on the endless variation and flow of events' (Halliday 1994, p.106). As suggested, Halliday's functional grammar underpins many of the approaches to critical discourse analysis, since the grammatical organisation of clauses and in particular the concept of agency at a grammatical level reveal 'one of the most striking uses of language to represent power and role relations (Benwell and Stockoe 2006, p. 111).

Halliday's (1994) transitivity model of verb processes has thus been useful in the analysis of sections of the data, particularly with respect of representation and power relations. When considering what discourses might be associated with gendered identity constructions, it has been helpful to identify the types of verb processes associated with specific social actors, for example. In my analysis, this might include questions such as what feminists (social actors) are typically *doing* in the sample and corpus texts and what patterns of particular process types (material, mental, relational, behavioural, verbal, existential...) suggest about overt or covert discourses related to the role and representations of feminists (in this case). As well as process types, the effects of the syntactic position of particular social groups or actors and the relationship to agency also contribute to interpretations. Specifically, certain grammatical features such as passivisation, subject position, and nominalisation show what information is being foregrounded, how processes are being represented and how agency and causality are being revealed or backgrounded by text producers.

Many theorists (such as Baker 2006, Machin and Mayr 2012) highlight how nominalisation can conceal actions and agents, thus proving a fruitful means of uncovering particular discourses. Similarly, Baker (2006) and others (Benwell and Stockoe, 2006) have also shown how linguistic analyses of modality can relate 'to speaker or writer authority and is based around the use of a range of modal auxiliary verbs...' (Baker 2006, p.160). The strong use or absence of these modal verbs can give an indication of

power relations in that they can reveal the extent to which freedom, choice and control are available to more or less powerful groups (Baker 2006, p.160).

3.4.5 Institutional and media discourses

As mentioned, critical discourse analysts and corpus linguists have long been interested in media texts and the institutions which produce them as a research site, not least because of the scope and influence of public communications. Van Dijk's (1989) compelling examination of how powerful institutions enact power through discourse argues that journalists (alongside writers, artists, directors, academics...) and the institutions they work for comprise a 'symbolic elite' (drawing on Bourdieu 1977, 1984; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). Moreover, journalists and media producers are not just 'a mouthpiece... [but are also]... an inherent part of the societal power structure, of which they manage the symbolic dimension (Van Dijk 1989, p. 43)'. Furthermore, he cites critical media scholars' views that 'journalists tend to reproduce the dominant ideologies of the elite' and that even when they are critical or dissenting 'the latitude of dissent is itself organised and controlled' (Van Dijk 1989, p. 43)'. This is of interest to my data since it relates explicitly to the second research question which considers how the representations of gender (in this newspaper) might show support or resistance to dominant gender ideologies. In order to consider the data from an institutional and hence ideological perspective, the analysis has also been influenced by theoretical and analytical frameworks within (critical) media studies as well as (socio)linguistics, though these can certainly overlap.

As well as Van Dijk (1989), Fairclough (1989) and those already cited, Fowler's (1991) work on the relationship between discourse and ideology in the press shows how various linguistic choices such as emotive lexis, and modality, for example, work to persuade readers to adopt particular positions, enriching the perceived functions of modality described. Similarly, at a macro-textual level, a consideration of the genres encapsulated by the articles in my data is also relevant. As Machin and Van Leeuwen (2014, p.173) explain, genres are 'not simply neutral communicative acts' and 'genre analysis shows us that it is not so much the immediate surface part of the story or text, but the deeper structure than can carry its core ideas about agency, roles and social organization.' Chapter 4 of this study considers the column genre combining elements of Swales' (1990) 'move analysis' as well as the work on genre analysis of Fairclough (1995), Van Leeuwen (1993) and Machin and Van Leeuwen (2014) among others.

3.4.6 Stance and evaluation

Given that the articles in my datasets are not news items but opinion pieces (some of which draw on news) within various genres (e.g. reviews, weekly columns, weekend features, etc.), it was also pertinent to review the literature for considerations of how political or ideological authorial and/or institutional stances might be conveyed linguistically. Among these linguistic means are implicatures and presuppositions about 'one's own or others' identity position' as highlighted by Bucholtz and Hall (2005, p.595). These strategies are essentially considered indirect and requiring more inferential interpretations. Many of the articles and texts in my data are steeped in presuppositions and implicatures which serve to co-construct (with an imagined reader) the femininities and masculinities the texts are overtly exploring or discussing. Consideration of these elements in the text can signal what is taken for granted contributing thus to an interpretation of the possible ideologies underpinning the identities presented. Van Dijk (2001, p. 312) also highlights 'implications, presuppositions, vagueness' as central to understanding the 'local meaning and coherence' of texts, arguing that 'few levels of analysis are as revealing and relevant for critical discourse analysis'. Indeed, much of the critical discourse analysis literature considers that the more frequently a presupposition is used in the media, the more ideological stances become masked as 'self-evident' (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 158).

Other intrinsic theoretical underpinnings to the analysis of stance are views of newspaper discourse as co-constructed and dialogical. For example, Haarman and Lombardo (2009) cite Bakhtin and Volosinov's concepts of dialogism and heteroglossia to suggest that, in analysing discursive enactments of stance, it is important to pay attention to 'the extent to which speakers/writers acknowledge prior speakers/writers and the ways in which they engage with them (i.e. whether they present themselves as agreeing or disagreeing...) [...] and also 'the signals ... about how they expect their hearers/readers to respond...' (Haarman and Lombardo, 2009, p. 6). Dialogism and heteroglossia, discussed in the literature review in Chapter 2, section 2.9 of this study, connect to Fairclough's (1995) and Richardson's (2010) view of media texts as polyphonic and intertextual. This aspect is presented explicitly in the genre analysis in Chapter 4 where the columns in the corpus show how other 'voices' within the text and how they are represented and reported help to construct the author's position on a given subject. Similarly, the use of stylistic features such as irony, mentioned in the Chapter 2 and explored in Chapter 4 and throughout various analyses in the study, depends on a mutual understanding between the reader and writer, and therefore signals a co-construction both of authorial stance and the imagined *Guardian* reader.

Another discourse feature of press articles which is often linked to ideological stances is *evaluation* (Bednarek (2006) Bednarek and Caple (2012), and Bednarek and Caple (2014) which has been conceptualised in various ways as and through varying theoretical frameworks, as Bednarek and Caple (2012, p.138) highlight. These researchers propose that ‘evaluation is concerned with speaker / writer subjectivity...’ and ‘can involve quite different meaning... parameters, such as disapproval... or unexpectedness’ (Bednarek and Caple 2012, p.138). They also argue that evaluation is worth investigating because of the multiple functions it can have which may be political and/or ideological. Therefore, evaluative aspects of the data are also considered, where relevant, partly because evaluation and stance are so closely connected and therefore because they signal ideological positionings too. Finally, Bell’s (1991) and others’ notion of *newsworthiness* are pertinent to the analysis of these textual genres as this concept can provide an explanatory lens through which to consider why certain gender representations or gender issues receive attention, and why others may not.

3.5 Corpus Linguistics (CL) – triangulation and enrichment

In my critical discourse analysis I have sampled a range of critical theories which depend primarily on linguistic analyses of media texts and discourses. They all relate to and enrich CDA in varying ways, and offer a range of insights into how language works in media texts with particular social functions and agendas, in service to and the result of particular ideologies. The demands of detailed and thorough analyses, however, means that this type of approach works best as a qualitative research method with a limited data set or small numbers of texts. As I explore gendered representations of both masculinities and femininities and how they intersect within a particular article type, as well as tracing discourses and counter-discourses and their potential evolution over the period, a small number of texts or a focus on a single text would have given a very limited view of the kinds of complex discourses at play and their relationship to each other. Therefore, from the start of my study, I had determined that it would be important to be able to examine a larger dataset, while still being able to focus on individual texts and particular close analyses of sections or particular features. This was part of the rationale for building the corpus of texts described above and using corpus linguistics as a way of triangulating and enriching the analysis.

3.5.1 Preliminary analysis using *Nvivo11*

After my initial data collection period of articles between 2013 and 2015 (see Sections 3.2 and 3.3 above for a full account of my data collection processes and corpus description), I began with a preliminary critical discourse analysis of 12 texts, 4 from each year, with two texts on masculinity and femininity in each year. I used qualitative data analysis software *Nvivo* to upload and annotate the articles considering many of the features described above. One of the most straightforward starting points for this preliminary analysis was a focus on lexical fields and word choice, which generated the nodes used to annotate the texts. This focus on lexical fields links in part to a content or thematic analysis of topics which appear salient in the representations of gendered identities and more generally on the discussions around masculinity and femininity within the selected texts. As Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 31) indicate, citing Fowler (1991), lexical fields are ‘like the map an author is creating for us... a ‘symbolic’ representation of a territory’. As well as this, lexical choices also connect to other textual features which contribute to critical interpretations including those involved in ‘implicitness’ (Van Dijk, 2001) such as presupposition, connotation and implicature and is also significant in terms of the meanings that might be attached to certain lexical collocations as well as contributing to evaluative stances within texts. Considering the lexical fields, social actors and features such as implicature and pre-supposition as indicators of authorial and institutional stance, some key discursive themes emerged which later helped to inform some of the subsequent corpus analysis. Among these were the prominence of particular social actors, such as *parents* and *feminists*, in discussions of gendered identities and gender relations, as well as *emotion*, *anger*, *mental health* and *crisis* as pervasive themes (in those texts). I focused in particular on these because one of my aims has been to explore the potential for *joint* and therefore relational gender representations and constructions and these were thematic areas, which seemed particularly fruitful for a simultaneous and comparative analysis of male and female gendered identities. This relates to my third research question:

Research question (RQ) 3—Do the texts [from *The Guardian*] reveal the possibility of a sophisticated joint theorising of gendered identities?

It was part of the subsequent corpus analysis to corroborate further the relevance of the discursive domains identified (parenthood and feminism, for example) as well as to explore patterns across the more substantial corpus of texts.

3.5.2 Triangulation

Corpus linguistics does, in the first instance, serve as a triangulation tool for this data. As Baker and Levon (2015, p. 223) explain:

‘...research triangulation (Cicourel, 1969) involves carrying out two or more approaches as a means of checking results. [...] In qualitative research, triangulation can be used as an alternative to traditional measures of reliability and validity, enabling researchers to overcome limitations associated with a single method or their own biases.’
(Baker and Levon 2015, p. 223)

Therefore the use of CL with my data aims in part to go some way towards satisfying the principles of objectivity, reliability and scope. In order to establish the connections between linguistic and textual gender constructions and representations and the social discourses and ideologies associated with them, a wider sample of texts would logically seem to enable greater claims to generalisability, for example. However, I am keen also to align my methodological approach with constructivist and transformative (see Mertens 2019, p 8) research paradigms; the latter because CDA as a theoretical framework is concerned with social justice and the former because an interpretivist approach adheres to the view that there are ‘multiple constructed realities’ (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 294 in Seale 1999, p. 46), which are inevitably filtered by the researchers themselves. As McChesney and Aldridge (2019, P.227) explain, an interpretivist research paradigm, which can include constructivist approaches, recognises analytical subjectivities and subscribes to a world and epistemological view which acknowledges that it is impossible to represent the material world objectively. Therefore, ‘the knowledge arising from interpretivist research is integrally linked to the participants and the context of the research, meaning that the products of interpretivist research are not universally applicable theories or laws but, rather, rich and contextually situated understandings’ McChesney and Aldridge (2019, p.227).

Critiques of triangulation, particularly in terms of its claims towards greater validity, suggest that it does not necessarily lead to greater reliability, as Marchi and Taylor (2009, in Baker and Levon 2015, p.224) suggest since ‘researchers may be equally wrong.’ In this respect, the current study aspires to be ‘a part of a jigsaw puzzle’ (Baker and Levon, 2015, p.224) in terms of the representations of gendered identities in selected press texts, without claims to applicability to media texts more generally. The subjectivity of some of the interpretations and findings can be acknowledged, particularly in terms of the discourse domains which are singled out, but can also be addressed by investigating these as thoroughly as possible (‘e.g. by carrying out a concordance search of a relevant term and reading every concordance line carefully, rather than say, a sample of lines’ (Baker and Levon

2015, p. 214)). Baker and Levon (2015, p. 214) describe this approach as ‘particularly productive.’ As well as this, an awareness and acceptance of how a researcher’s own markers of identity may be consciously or unconsciously brought to bear on any analysis can help to support the validity and integrity of qualitative research studies. In this respect, I have tried to follow Baker’s (2014, p.199) principles of self-reflexivity ‘which involves clarifying one’s theoretical position and epistemological assumptions that are to be applied to any act of discourse analysis’ as well as being ‘self-aware about the fictionality and textuality of the research process, particularly the fact that any act of research comprises a series of authorial choices and strategies’ (Baker, 2014 p.144).

3.5.3 Corpus methods

Frequency – wordlists, keywords and N-grams

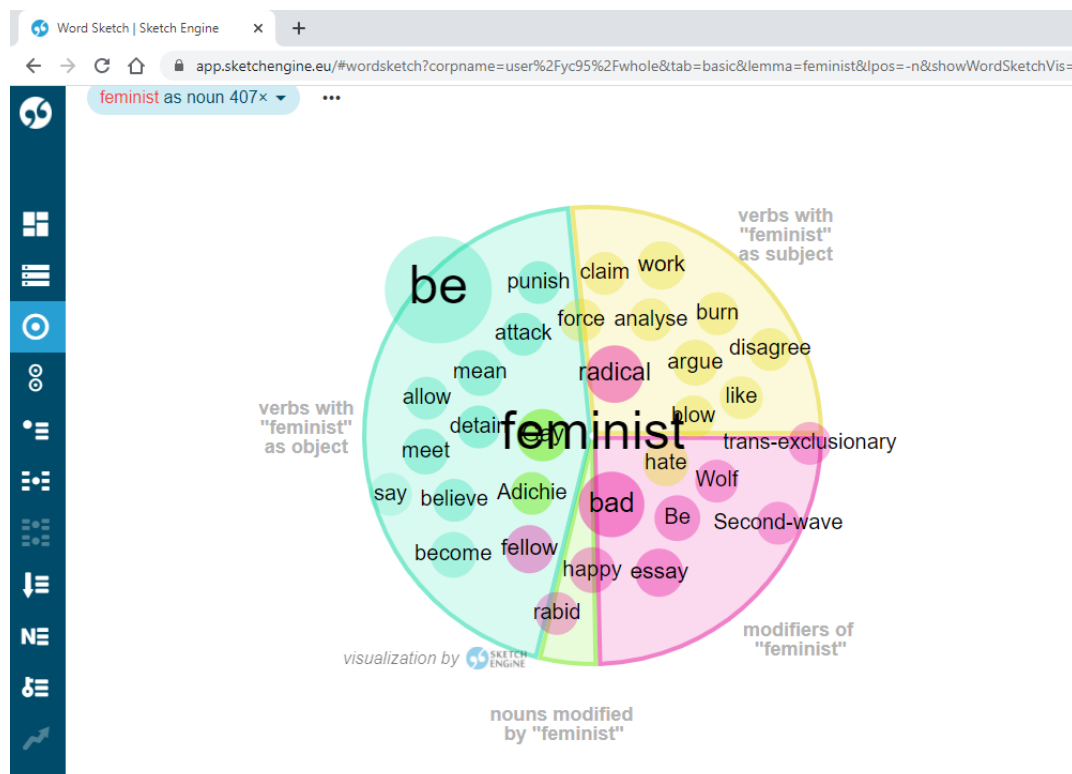
As suggested above a preliminary analysis of a small selection of texts suggested that there were various social actors and lexical fields, which seemed particularly salient and pertinent to discussions around contemporary femininities and masculinities. Using *Sketch Engine* to examine both the entire corpus and its subcorpora, the wordlist function was a good initial means of comparing whether the entire corpus reflected the same set of specific social actors found in the smaller data sample. By selecting nouns in the wordlist, FM1 shows that *feminist* (25), *feminism* (42), *father* (46), *mother* (53) and *parent* (81) are in the top 100 most frequent nouns in the corpus (their positions are given in brackets), suggesting that they were worthy of close analysis in terms of suggesting prominent thematic foci in these articles.

These wordlists were also compared for keyness, which in corpus linguistics ‘refers to the significantly higher/lower frequencies of particular words (termed *keywords*) in one corpus when compared to their frequency in another corpus (Scott 1999). The level of the significance of this frequency difference is statistically calculated via log-likelihood tests...’ (Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008 p. 10). In FM1, *feminist* (8) and its opposite *misogynist* (17) also appear in the top 100 keywords compared to the *English Web 2015 (enTenTen15)* reference corpus, again corroborating the initial perception that feminists are of particular significance in these texts. Similarly, the N-gram function, which identifies contiguous word sequences in the corpus shows that one of the most semantically significant phrases found in the top 100 n-grams of 3 words is *violence against women* (25) which aligns closely (though not exclusively) to the salience of *feminists* and *feminism* and their political agendas.

Word sketch and collocates

Collocation is well-documented in the corpus literature as central to word meaning (Partington 1998) since ‘collocations give information about the most frequent or salient ideas associated with a word...’ (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008, p.10) and corpus linguistics has always been a key research tool and method for discovering and establishing collocational patterns. For my analysis, I used Sketch-Engine Word-sketch function to identify collocates but also to have an overview of the syntactic behaviour of particular terms. A word sketch will show what adjectival modifiers tend to collocate with a particular noun, whether a noun is the subject or object of a sentence, prepositional phrases which include a noun and so on (See Figure 1 for an example of a visual word sketch representation). Such a grammatical and semantic ‘image’ of a particular lemma not only gives indications as to frequent collocates (and thus associated meanings and connotations) but also lends itself to transitivity analyses, for example. However, it should be noted that sketches are not always accurate and can give misleading information if each concordance line is not examined. For example, in the case of *feminist* in my data, the adjective *bad* appeared to frequently collocate with it. However, inspection of the concordance lines and actual text extracts showed that this was due to repeated mentions of a publication called *The Bad Feminist*, therefore suggesting that the link between *bad* and *feminist* in my data was misleading from a collocational perspective.

Figure 1 Visual representation of word sketch of *feminist* (noun) in FM1



Discourse prosodies

Collocations relate also to discourse or semantic prosodies. Citing Stubbs (2001), Baker (2014, p. 113) defines discourse prosody ‘as a feature which extends over more than one unit in a linear string’. The word sketch function, then, can also support a fast indication of particular discourse prosodies which in turn signal particular evaluative representations and possibly ideological underpinnings to a given topic or social actor, for example. To illustrate this, Figure 1 shows a visual representation of the wordsketch for *feminist* in FM1. *Bad* and *radical* appear as strong adjectival collocates of the noun, but as explained above, *bad* should be discounted. However, alongside *radical* are verbs such as *burn* and *hate* with feminists in the subject position and *punish* and *attack* with feminists in the object position. These may indicate two discourse prosodies; that feminists are disliked and that feminists are aggressive and hold extreme views, both contributing to rather negative representations of these social actors. However, this is a crude analysis based on a simplified initial view. It can only be corroborated and analytically refined and supported through closer readings of all instances of particular collocations and examinations of sections of texts and indeed whole articles in the corpus. Therefore, as with an investigation of the strong adjectival collocates of a particular noun, results can only be verified and convincing interpretations and analysis generated through a dynamic analytical process. Establishing the linguistic behaviour of particular terms in the corpus and interpreting associated discourses and ideologies, then, has involved an iterative and dynamic process of analysis that moved from individual search queries through the corpus interface, to concordance line views and reviews of whole texts.

3.6 Critiques and limitations of CDA and CL

A rigorous, reflective and self-aware approach to research means also understanding the shortcomings and critiques associated with particular methodological and theoretical frameworks. Both corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis have been subject to scrutiny and criticism which have been well-documented in the theoretical literature (Widdowson 1996, 1998, 2005, Bloomaert, 2001, Machin and Mayr 2012, Fairclough 2015 among others), as have the comparative strengths and weaknesses of quantitative and qualitative approaches to research. Breeze’s (2011, p.493) succinct and useful overview of critiques of CDA ranges from criticisms of CDA’s ‘underlying premises, the analytical methodology and the disputed areas of reader response and the integration of contextual factors.’ She also covers several ‘controversial issues such as the predominantly negative focus of

much CDA scholarship, and the status of CDA as an emergent “intellectual orthodoxy” (Breeze 2011, p.493). Many of these critiques, moreover, have been acknowledged, contested or refuted by CDA proponents (see Fairclough 2015, pp. 1-49) suggesting that as a theoretical framework and approach to linguistic analysis, it is not necessarily an intellectual orthodoxy but a linguistic approach to analysis which is live and evolving. It has been useful to bear the critiques and responses in mind in my own approach and analysis and to see the claims of CDA that link language, discourse processes, social context and ideologies as rich but contested areas.

Corpus linguistics is similarly not without its critics and detractors. In his introduction to *Language and Power*, Fairclough (2015) points to the fact that unlike CDA, CL is ‘no more than a tool’ rather than a theoretical framework. He argues that the ‘theoretical concepts’ associated with CL (keyness and collocation, for example), are rather ‘operational categories’ (Fairclough 2015, p.3). Essentially, then, much of the critique centres on the implicit view of CL as a descriptive tool rather than an explanatory framework with a particular ideological agenda or a theory of language. For my study, the complementary and dynamic combination of CDA and CL, as well as other theoretical perspectives from the linguistic research of the media, identity and gender theorists go some way towards addressing some of the perceived limitations of both approaches.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has described the data and data collection methods for my study and has justified the combination of a CDA and CL approach to the data and analysis while highlighting the key aspects of each and of additional theoretical perspectives that have contributed to the analysis. The following chapters (Chapters 4 to 7) present the analysis of the data before a discussion of the study’s main findings and contributions in the final two chapters.

Chapter 4. Institutional discourses – the column genre

4.1 Introduction

The role of newspaper and media texts in discursively constructing and maintaining ideologies is well documented in the literature and has been discussed extensively (Van Dijk 1989, Fowler 1991, Fairclough 1995, Richardson 2007, among others). In Van Dijk's (1989) analysis of the relationship between discourse structures and the structures of power, he convincingly argues that journalists belong to a symbolic elite (following Bourdieu 1990) and that

...it is the symbolic elite and its discourses that control the types of discourses, the topics, the types and the amount of information, the selection or censoring of arguments, and the nature of rhetorical operations. These conditions essentially determine the contents and the organisation of public knowledge, the hierarchies of beliefs and the pervasiveness of the consensus, which in turn are potent factors in the formation and the reproduction of opinions, attitudes, and ideologies (Burton & Carlen, 1979). In the news media, this strategic control of knowledge is exercised through restructured topic selections, and more generally by specific reconstructions of social and political realities (Hall et al. 1980; Tuchman 1978; Van Dijk 1987b, 1987c).

(Van Dijk 1989, p.25-26)

Van Dijk's (1989) assertion above alludes to the connection between language, texts, discourses and text producers to the social contexts and institutions they constitute as well as the 'external' realities they seek to represent. This view coheres with the *critical* element of critical discourse analysis which regards discourse itself both as social practice, that is 'as a form of action, as something people do to or for or with each other' and as 'a way of representing social practice(s)' (Van Leeuwen 1993, p. 193). Applying this understanding of discourse to my corpus and the texts that comprise it, I would argue that the opinion and comment articles which *represent* gender, as framed by the concepts of masculinity and femininity, are simultaneously also part of the social practice of *constructing* gendered identities. While gender is an identity category and experience that exists in the real world, regulated as it is by social institutions (law, education, medicine, etc.), masculinities and femininities are also linguistically and discursively encoded and enacted, and the columns and articles in my corpus are part of this linguistic construction. This chapter considers the newspaper column as a genre and in doing so shows how the structure of texts are also revealing of discursive constructions of gender identities and representations, as well as resistance to them, thus addressing research questions 1 and 2 of my study. Similarly, the consideration of both male and female journalists and their respective representations of masculine and feminine issues and identities attempt to focus, once again, on a joint theorisation of gendered identities, in response to research question 3.

4.2 Rationale for genre analysis

In his consideration of these dual elements of discourse as an ‘instrument of power and control as well as [...] the instrument of the social construction of reality’, Van Leeuwen (1993, p.193) draws on the linguistic concepts of *field* and *genre* ‘as developed in the context of systemic-functional linguistics’ and relates field and genre to the ‘broader concepts of discourse and discursive practice’. Thus, he describes generic structure ‘as the syntagmatic structure of discourse... which realises discourse as social practice’ (Van Leeuwen 1993, p.193). Field structure is ‘... more dispersed through the text and realises the knowledge of some field as it is constructed in the context of a given institutional domain, e.g. the knowledge of politics as it is constructed in the mass media, ... or the knowledge of sexuality as it is constructed in (certain forms of) psychotherapy’ (Van Leeuwen, 1993, p.194).

The subsequent data analysis chapters identify salient topic frames (parenthood, feminism, violence and mental health) and discourses for masculinities and femininities in my corpus, corresponding primarily to a field perspective and therefore suggesting that what is known about gender identity as it is constructed in *The Guardian* may be closely (though only partially) related to these topics (of feminism, parenting, violence, etc.). However, the present chapter is concerned with the genre or generic structure of the opinion texts that comprise the corpus and what this structure can reveal about the institutional discourses of gender and their ideological underpinnings. Another rationale for a consideration of genre for these text types is that whole texts and their structures are often overlooked in larger-scale corpus analyses (Upton and Cohen 2009, Egbert and Schnur 2018) as well as in close readings of smaller text samples, which may concentrate on a number of specific linguistic features in a given text or sample of texts. This means that the effects of genre on textual structures, content and discourse(s) are often overlooked, potentially to the overall detriment of an analysis.

Although it is not always easy to find genre analyses in either corpus or critical discourse analyses, some studies do exist, and they are particularly relevant in some fields such as academic literacies. Upton and Cohen (2009) suggest a model for using a generic ‘move analysis’ (Swales 1990) in a corpus-based discourse analysis. In an interesting study based on a corpus of 46 *birthmother letters* written by prospective adoptive parents to the birth mothers of the children they were seeking to adopt, the researchers use move analysis to understand whether there were any rhetorical and generic features which characterised successful versus unsuccessful letters. Similarly, Bruce (2015) uses a sophisticated genre analysis on a sample of 30 column articles authored by the same commentator to show how

they linguistically demonstrate and enact the journalist's resistance to neoliberalism. The aforementioned studies (Upton and Cogen 2009, Bruce 2015) exemplify how it is possible to carry out a genre analysis on single-text type corpora which are relatively small. However, a generic or schematic analysis is likely to prove analytically onerous and problematic in large corpora with a diversity of text types.

According to corpus linguists, one way to focus on the structures and forms of single texts is to seek a prototypical sample text. Baker and Anthony (2015) describe a range of approaches to selecting appropriate texts for full structural analysis. Notwithstanding these potential analytical solutions, corpus analyses tend to focus on the corpus as the macro unit of analysis rather than the text, for example in keyword analyses. As Egbert and Schnur (2018, p. 159) convincingly argue, this means that analysts may end up 'missing the trees for the forest.'

Therefore, this chapter seeks to address the deficits and limitations of a corpus and discourse approach in my own analysis. However, I can make only limited claims as to the generalisability of the genre analyses to other texts across my corpus since only two of the columns from the corpus are analysed. The chapter starts with an overview of definitions of genres and some established frameworks and approaches to genre analysis. This is followed by a rationale for the selection of the two texts analysed in the chapter and the approach taken. The genre analysis itself schematically considers the stages and moves in each text and goes on to discuss salient linguistic features including how authorial stance and evaluation are articulated in the texts, intertextuality and the representation of others' voices. The chapter concludes with a consideration of the social role of the journalists and these types of texts and what they reveal about the institutional and linguistic representations of gender in the media. The full analysis of the two texts is included in Appendix 1.

4.3 Definitions of genre and analytical approaches

In their discussion of genre in media discourse, Machin and Van Leeuwen (2014, p.172) offer the following definition from a linguistic perspective. Genres are:

kinds of communicative acts that involve particular kinds of interaction and set up particular kinds of relationships between interactants. For example, a conversation is a different genre of communication than a lecture. A game is a different genre than a speech. Each sets up different relationships between the participants. Each fulfils specific communicative

functions... And each involves a sequence of 'stages' or 'moves' that interactants immediately recognise as realising such relationships and functions.
Machin and Van Leeuwen (2014, p.172)

Machin and Van Leeuwen elaborate the definition by adding the assumption that genres 'are defined as habitual, conventional means for doing specific kinds of social work' and are also defined 'in terms of the social relations they encode, which can be equal or unequal in status, formal, casual or intimate and so on' (Machin and Van Leeuwen 2014, p.173).

However, as Bruce (2015, p. 47) notes, 'there is no agreement on the definition of the term genre'. He suggests that understandings vary from seeing genre 'as a social phenomenon' involving the social actions and processes involved in text creation and organisation, to other views of genre which regard it as 'a more general rhetorical category such as: argument, explanation, recount, description...' (Bruce 2015, p.47). Fairclough (1995, p.85-90) describes three differing approaches to genre analysis and argues that the approach commonly adopted by linguists tends to be overly rigid and limited in terms of what it can reveal. The first of the three genre analysis approaches described by Fairclough (1995) is a schematic approach seeking to identify the stages or moves which constitute the structure of a particular text and the order of these stages, which may be more or less fixed. This move or stage analysis remains influential and was especially based on the work of Labov (1972) and Labov and Waletzky (1967) on the beginning, middle and end structures of conversational narratives. The narrative stages identified by Labov (1967, 1972) include the *abstract*, *orientation*, *complication*, *evaluation*, *resolution* and *coda*. These stages are briefly described and exemplified by Machin and Leeuwen (2014, pp. 176-177) who also highlight that the stages have since been used extensively in the analysis of other genres. Like Labov's narrative stages, Swales' 'move' analysis, alluded to above, is a 'top-down approach' in which 'the text is described as a sequence of "moves", where each move represents a stretch of text serving a particular communicative (that is, semantic) function' (Upton and Cohen 2009, p.4).

Fairclough (1995, p. 86) goes on to highlight the limitations of a purely schematic approach which may, for example, show formulaic patterns (e.g. that news texts start with a headline) but does not capture 'the multiplicity of purpose' which a headline in the form of an imperative or command, for example, may present. Therefore, Van Leeuwen's (1987 in Fairclough 1995) genre analysis describes the stages, clause by clause, and differentiates them through their linguistic features. In doing so, Van Leeuwen's

approach captures the ‘generic heterogeneity’ of newspaper texts, which in fact consists of a range of genres such as report, narrative or exposition within a single text.

Another characteristic of many, if not most, newspaper texts highlighted by Fairclough (1995) and Richardson (2007) is their intertextuality. Richardson (2007, p.100) explains that ‘texts are only fully intelligible (or rather, their detailed, more complete meaning is only revealed) when contextualised and ‘read’ in relation to other texts and other social practices.’ This intertextuality can be both internal and external, that is, linking to other texts in a ‘chain’ (e.g. on a similar topic) or containing other texts within it. As Fairclough (1995) suggests, invoking the work of Bakhtin (1986), newspaper texts are polyphonic and this view of genre as intertextual and polyphonic ‘focuses less upon activity-type structures associated with genres [...] bringing also questions of genre-associated styles, modes and voices more into the picture’ (Fairclough 1995, p.89). My own approach to the analysis of the genre of columns from my corpus of texts, in view of the various approaches and perspectives discussed in the literature is explained in the next section.

4.4 Methodological approach to the genre analysis

Bearing in mind the multiple approaches to genre analysis discussed above, in the analysis that follows, I have selected elements of several of the methods outlined in order to consider, in particular, how a genre analysis may uncover ideological positionings at the textual level. As well as a consideration of the speech acts and moves, I have included annotations of the voices, identity categories and external world referents (texts, events, institutions, people) which occur across the two texts analysed as well as considering how authorial stance is articulated. The reason for including the additional annotations mentioned in my genre analysis is because this situates the texts more explicitly in relation to events, public figures and institutions in the material world and thus show potentially how these material referents may be discursively and ideologically co-creating or impinging on the discourses in the text. Similarly, in attempting to examine texts typically viewed as heteroglossic and polyphonic, an analysis of the ‘voices’ would contribute to a fuller understanding of the ideologies underlying the textual representations. Therefore, my analysis draws on Fairclough’s (1995) discussion of media discourse as well as the other analytical approaches considered above. Similarly, the tools proposed by critical stylistics (Jeffries 2010) draw explicit connections between particular speech acts such as *negating*, *hypothesising*, and *presenting the speech and thoughts of other participants* (among others) and thus have been helpful in illustrating how particular linguistic

forms and functions operationalise these speech acts and, more importantly, what ideological effects might be traced from them.

4.5 Rationale for selection of texts for genre analysis

The compilation of this corpus was from the outset based primarily on a selection of opinion-based articles in which a central theme was a consideration of masculinities and femininities. This means that a high proportion of the selected articles in the corpus consists of columns. Typically, a *Guardian* column is between 600 and 1000 words long and many are written by regular staff writers or columnists who become well-known to their readers (See Chapter 3 for a description of the source data). For a genre analysis, the columns were selected based on the fact that they both adhered to a fairly typical length and format and dealt with a comparable central subject matter (ways of being masculine and being female) and both articles appeared in a similar time frame, within six months of each other. Similarly, I wanted to select texts by both a female and male journalist as well as selecting articles which are cited or partially analysed in other data chapters, so that the generic analysis might add depth to the partial analyses in subsequent chapters (e.g. Chapter 6). As well as this, these articles refer, either directly or indirectly, to the other central themes in this thesis; namely the role of feminism in journalistic representations of gender, as well as its discursive construction through debates on parenthood, violence and/or mental ill health.

The two texts selected for analysis are Ally Fogg's Dec 31st 2013 article entitled: 'Traditional masculine values are evolving, not dying' (consisting of 691 words, and henceforth referred to as Text A) and Zoe Williams' comment article published on June 4th 2014 and called 'Why must we savage Kirstie Allsopp for having a view?: One woman's choices are not an indictment of any other woman's; There is no template for being successfully female' (comprising 915 words and henceforth referred to as Text B). Ally Fogg is a journalist and columnist with a particular interest in men and masculinity. He is associated with The Good Men Project¹ and Gendemic, 'an online magazine that strives to promote political and social change for a world in flux' (Gendemic Website)². Fogg is not a staff writer for *The Guardian*, but until 2019 wrote regularly on men's issues, espousing a 'gender-inclusive' approach to

¹ <https://goodmenproject.com/author/ally-fogg/>
² <https://gendemic.co.uk/about-gendemic>

a consideration of social problems. Zoe Williams is a London-based staff writer for *The Guardian* who writes regularly on gender, politics, health and wellbeing and typically her own professional and family life, often from a self-declared broadly feminist perspective. They are comparable, then, in many respects as journalists as they have topic interests which frequently focus on gender relations and issues and are both politically left-wing commentators.

4.6 Genre analysis of two columns

In the current section, I summarise the generic analyses of the two columns. The diagrams in Figures 2 and 3 present the analyses in terms of stages or moves, following Van Leeuwen 1993 and Machin and Van Leeuwen 2014 as well as being influenced by Labov (1972) and Swales (1990). Each move or stage is numbered and labelled and includes in brackets the sentences in the text which form part of the move. This is followed by a discussion of the key features that emerge in the two texts and the extent to which they address the research questions of this thesis. The fuller analysis is included in the Appendix 1. For both columns, the tables included in Appendix 1 contain each sentence in the article, which is numbered and described according to the type of move and speech act it represents in the texts as well as considering voice representation, identities, external or real world events or institutions and authorial stance for each.

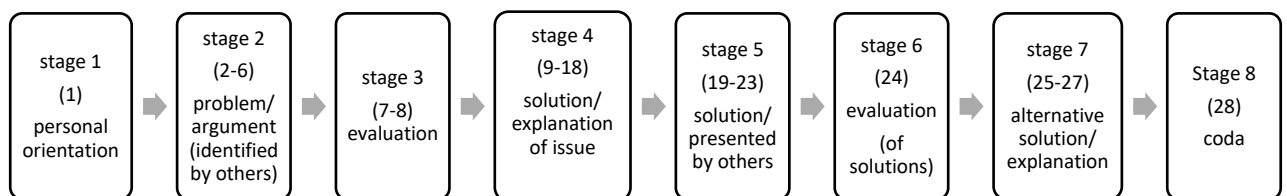


Figure 2 Generic stages/moves in Ally Fogg *The Guardian*, Dec 31, 2013 —TEXT A

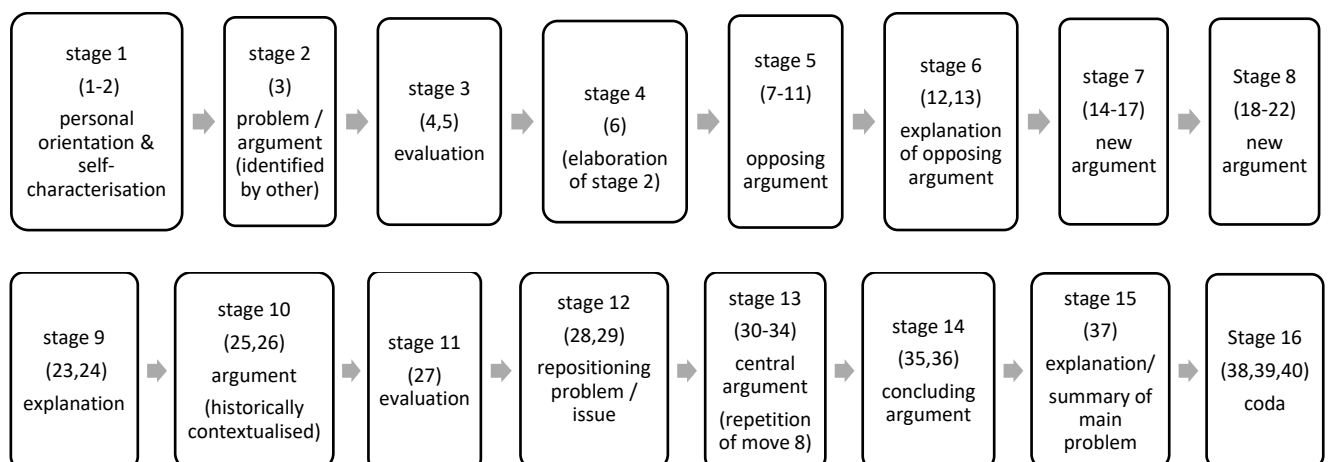


Figure 3 Generic stages/moves in Zoe Williams, *The Guardian*, June 4, 2014 — TEXT B

4.7 Shared characteristics of Texts A and B – the column genre

As the schematic move analysis above shows, there is a consistent structure across both these texts which is likely to be fairly representative of the column genre. The linguistic moves and features shared by both columns are outlined and discussed below.

4.7.1 *Personal orientation and external event*

Both texts begin with a personal orientation stage in which the use of the first person pronoun *I* is common and in which the authors ground the article in their own experience in some way. This personal orientation move in both instances is significant in that it appears to serve the function of introducing authorial stance, although this stance is linguistically encoded in variable ways. In his analysis of author stance in research articles across different academic disciplines, Hyland (2005) identifies a range of rhetorical strategies which encode author stance and describes these as ‘metadiscourse’ which is used to textually create authorial stance and connection to readers. In the articles, Texts A and B, stage 1 might also be considered a metadiscursive stage, since it creates a sense of intimacy which involves the journalist rhetorically inviting readers into their lives and thoughts. As well as making use of the personal pronoun *I*, the writers employ either descriptive language (Text B, lines 1,2) or strong evaluative modifiers (Text A, line 1) which serve to position them in relation to a real world event or public statement or debate. In this sense, stage 1 is also a precursory indicator of a reaction to this public event or debate and the start of a gradual process of problematising the real world issue in question.

4.7.2 *Authorial stance: evaluation, metaphor and irony*

As suggested, in both columns, authorial stance is articulated in several ways which are traceable in both Texts A and B. At a broad structural level, Figures 16 and 17 above show how evaluation forms part of the schematic move system in these types of texts, featuring repeatedly in both texts, that is at stages 3 and 6 for Text A and stages 3 and 11 in Text B. In both cases, the evaluation moves explicitly position the writer in relation to a particular perspective, issue or argument which has been presented or elaborated before the evaluative stage. It is worth noting that evaluation itself is a concept often used interchangeably with *stance*, *attitude*, *positioning* or *metadiscourse* as Hyland (2005, p. 174) suggests, but Hunston and Thompson’s (2000) view of evaluation as referring to ‘the writer’s

judgements, feelings, or viewpoint about something' (in Hyland 2005, p. 174) seems helpfully straightforward and is the definition I have adopted in this study.

In these texts, evaluation is one recurring structural move, but as well as through these structural moves, authorial stance and evaluation are interwoven throughout the texts at the clause level and this proliferation of evaluation is one of the distinguishing features of these columns. In these two articles, the analysis, as captured in Appendix 1, shows that stance is particularly operationalised through several main linguistic devices. The first is lexical choice, including the use of specific modifiers or nominal phrases, adverbials and selection of reporting verbs or verbal processes. The use of metaphor and irony are also apparent rhetorical devices for indicating stance in both texts.

4.7.3 Lexical choice and evaluating the words of others

The use of particular lexical fields and how the voices of others are reported or represented in newspaper articles are other significant means through which authorial stance is linguistically encoded as well as hinting at what ideologies are interpellated as a result.

In Text A, the journalist refers indirectly to the words of a feminist author on the state of modern masculinity as *febrile, hyperbolic pronouncements* (line 1, Appendix 1), uses the adverb *crucially* (line 15) and the verbal processes *pondered, declared* and *warned* which contribute to the construction of a crisis discourse which the author effectively problematises, at least in as far as it is identified or constructed by the female speakers he is citing, either directly or indirectly. As Jeffries (2010) notes, the ways in which writers present the speech, speech acts or thoughts of others has the potential to produce a wide range of ideological effects and in the examples above the author effectively distances himself from the speech reported by implying (through lexical choice) that it (the *febrile hyperbolic pronouncements*) is excessively histrionic. This is replicated in Text B, where Williams describes the public debate around female fertility and women's life choices using reporting verbs and nouns which are equally semantically loaded including, for example, *it should be possible to disagree... without casting her as misogynist, and without the vitriol* (Text B, line 14) and *Allsopp has been accused of denigrating ...* (line 17). In these examples, the public critique of the public figure's views on female fertility is represented or implicitly evaluated as excessively judgemental and censorious.

In both columns, the journalists also report the speech of others directly (Text A, lines 3, 6 and 22, and Text B lines 3, 6, 9 and 15) often to distance themselves from the positions apparently being espoused by the speakers. Similarly, it is worth noting that any direct quotation seems to achieve several effects. One of these effects is to give the impression of accuracy of reporting and truth, which ultimately lends credence and a sense of objectivity to the journalist's espoused position or stance. However, the fact every direct quotation is carefully selected by the journalist and therefore must be purposeful suggests that quotations are particularly ideological within the column genre as they are often used as a means to select a specific aspect of an issue, or as shorthand for a particular worldview or argument.

4.7.4 Metaphors and irony

The use of metaphor in the construction of certain discourses is discussed at length in subsequent chapters (Chapter 6 and Chapter 7, for example) and even with respect of Text A (in Chapter 6), and has been a productive focus for critical discourse analysts more generally (see Musolff 2012, for example). Text A shows how metaphors and metonymy are used to represent masculinity and indeed idealised, dominant or traditional gender identities (feminine and masculine), by referring to *a Viagra and Jack Daniel's culture* (line 6), and *the sledgehammers and stilettos of a gendered society* (line 13).

Similarly, metaphors and figurative language are pervasive in Text B as can be seen in Appendix 1. One example illustrates how the author carefully combines metaphor, imagined direct speech and irony to construct a critique of the polarised debates around female fertility and, more importantly, female agency. In line 16 (Text B), the columnist writes: (*This is a new strain of feminism, all right: "Don't tell me what to do with my ovaries! You're FAT!"*). The use of *strain* to describe feminism in this instance conceptually links feminism (the target domain) to disease (the source domain) and thus clearly frames feminism negatively. Although this is not a strong collocate, as there are only 4 instances of *strain of + noun* in the corpus, the other three instances refer to 'toxic' or dominant masculinities which, within the context of this corpus, reiterates the negative framing of feminism. However, this negative representation is softened or subverted by the use of irony and humour and the use of an imagined negative imperative.

The use of metaphors has been noted in other genre analyses of newspaper columns, such as Bruce's (2015) study of the columns of Polly Toynbee, a political columnist for *The Guardian*. Bruce (2015,

p.49) similarly argues that metaphors constitute a frequent rhetorical device most notably in the columnists' representation of politics and politicians. In this thesis, I argue that metaphors extend beyond authorial stance in that they comprise one of the key linguistic mechanisms through which gender discourses proliferate in the corpus. Thus, the discourses identified in previous chapters (Chapters 2, 6 and 5) such as the crisis of masculinity discourse or anti-feminist discourses, for example, are often encoded through literary or creative metaphors, though not exclusively.

The use of irony and humour is also a stylistic device in many columns which connects journalists to their imagined readers (Richardson 2007, p. 96), but the effects of the use of irony are manifold and complex. In one sense, these stylistic devices serve to engage and entertain (rather than to inform, for example) and thus they are often typical of journalese in which humour and conversational style can be deployed to establish a relationship of proximity between columnist or the newspaper and their target readership. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, irony has also been described as 'transideological' (Hutcheon 1994, p.10) in that it can both support or subvert dominant discourses or at least present an evasive ideological positioning, as is noted by Benwell (2003) in her analysis of men's magazines. Thus, in the example from Text B (line 16) discussed above, the journalist's representation of feminism is ambiguous; apparently critical of certain 'strains' whilst subsequently in the same column espousing an overtly political feminist position (lines 37-39). A consideration of the contradictions in the simultaneous espousal and disavowal of feminism is discussed in Chapter 6 and in the discussion of the present study.

4.7.5 Voice and intertextuality

As Fairclough (1995) and Richardson (2010) have highlighted, media texts are frequently polyphonic and intertextual, embedding and representing the voices and words of others as well as being dialogic texts in the Bakhtinian sense (Bakhtin 1981) which refer to and interact with other texts. The inclusion of particular voices and texts can be overt or implicit, but they offer analysts many interpretative affordances.

In Text A, Fogg directly and indirectly cites several female figures including white US feminist, Camille Paglia, US and Israeli female writers Christina Hoff-Sommers and Hanna Rosin, UK black female politician Diane Abbott and the Director of CALM (the mental health charity Campaign Against Living Miserably), Jane Powell. Three of these named female public figures are quoted directly and the titles

of books by the two others are also included. However, within the same article men are generally collectivised and homogenised (lines 9, 11, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21 and 27), with the exception of line 23 where three male public figures (Jon Snow, white British journalist and broadcaster, Baba Maal, Senegalese musician and singer, and Grayson Perry, white British artist) are named as examples of diverse participation in a festival of masculinity. While the male public figures are named, their particular views are not reported either directly or indirectly, which seems a purposeful decision given that they are all presumably interested in masculine ontologies. Indeed, Grayson Perry has broadcast and lectured on issues of identity and masculinity³ and is well known for doing so. This organisation of voices and public figures has discursive and ideological effects. It exemplifies the journalist's argument that masculinity is being discussed primarily from female and feminist perspectives and suggests that this discussion is overwrought and unproductive. Conversely, the three male public figures presented both as more diverse in terms of intersectional identities (including diversity in terms of ethnicity, class and gender self-presentation (Perry is famously or has a transvestite alter-ego) but also more homogenous in terms of their own experience of masculinity which the author aligns himself to (signalled through persistent collective reference to men and we throughout the article).

Similarly, the voices and texts referred to in Text B are equally revealing. The writer refers to Kirstie Allsopp (a white, affluent broadcaster and presenter), Boris Johnson (UK prime minister, white and symbolic of privilege and power in UK society), the female editor of the *Evening Standard*, the head of the Girls' Day School Trust who is not named but is directly quoted, Gordon Ramsay (a white UK celebrity chef) and Phillip Schofield (a white UK celebrity broadcaster), as well as explicitly and implicitly to 'second-wave feminists'. As well as these voices, the 'texts' explicitly referred to include *The Daily Telegraph*, *Newsnight* and *The Evening Standard*. This array of voices and texts suggests that the political issues alluded to in the article, including issues of women's choice and agency around female fertility and the nature of public debate on feminist and female issues (by females and feminists) are firmly rooted in white heteronormative middleclass concerns and realities. The journalist also invokes (in line 17, for example) the positions of marginalised or non-heteronormative groups (*the childless, the child-free, the single, those with alternative families, the older parent, the*

³ For example *The Descent of Man* by Grayson Perry, published in October 2016 by Allen Lane is one of many publications by Perry alongside broadcasts on aspects of identity, including gender and class.

mature students, the female student...) and advocates a public debate which is tolerant of all identity positions and life ‘choices’ and engages with issues rather than the identities of public commentators. Nevertheless, the journalists carefully constructed argument belies a presupposition of ‘choice’ in lifestyles (which is particularly classed) and represents public critique and debate as especially gendered, which arguably contributes to the anti-feminist discourses identified and discussed in Chapters 2 and 6.

4.8 Summary of analysis and relationship to discourses

As Figures 2 and 3 illustrate, the two articles analysed show a series of stages or a process whereby the journalists select a current event, issue or announcement, for example, elaborate on the issue and position themselves in relation to it. They both then proceed to either reject the original argument or propose an alternative one. This progression is interspersed with evaluation and throughout the texts the selection and representation of other texts and voices, the inclusion of real world institutions and specific stylistic and rhetorical devices (such as metaphor and irony) all contribute to a sophisticated ideological indexing. The polyphonic nature of the articles mean that several discourses seem to be ‘in dialogue’ with each other. To illustrate, for Text B, these may be characterised, albeit in simplified form, as follows:

Table 2 Discourses in Text B

Argument	Discourse?	Who?	Ideological underpinning	Order of discourse
Women’s lifestyle choices are limited by their fertility Women should postpone higher education and aim for family and financial stability prior to education	gender identity options are constrained by biological facts rejection of the ‘have-it-all’ discourse;	Kirstie Allsopp/ The Telegraph	conservative, heteronormative middleclass Gender choices are naturalised	Dominant conservative discourse (anti-feminist)
Decline in female fertility is social taboo	as above	Kirstie Allsopp Newsnight	as above	
Decline in female fertility is a constant in media/public debate	journalism discourse practices	journalist	control/monitoring of female body in public sphere	(implied) resistance to dominant discourse
Debates on decline in female fertility are a way of sensationalising mortality; media sensationalise and create controversy	decline in female fertility is a natural inevitability	journalist	Female fertility limits accepted as fact	acceptance of dominant discourse?
Public debate (on female fertility and life choices) is	women undermine other women	journalist	liberal discourse, but also privileged	anti-feminist?

centred on identity politics among women			discourse of choice	
Gender debates should focus on political / structural issues	critique of public debate	journalist	rejection of identity politics	pro-feminist?

The simplified representation of discourses in Text B highlights the potential inherent contradictions within a single text and how the role and effects of feminist ideologies and debate, for example, are unstable and contested. Furthermore, the absences in the text contribute to the ideological effects since the absence of diverse identity perspectives (including male voices) shows how the discourses highlighted in the columns are framed from fairly limited perspectives. It seems particularly marked, in Text B, for example, to entirely omit a male perspective from traditional heteronormative lifestyle choices (to buy a house, have children, etc.) which are not exclusively female but typically involve other social agents and actors. This omission indicates a reductionist representation of the social and individual worlds which are driven primarily, in this instance, by female biology and misrepresent certain lifestyles as the result of individual choice.

In terms of how the genre analysis in this chapter addresses the research questions in the thesis, I have shown how structural attributes of the two articles analysed reinforce a representation of dominant gender identities which seems to be especially inflected by class, which is perhaps unsurprising given that they are published by *The Guardian*. Interestingly, however, both articles, which focus on masculinity and femininity and are written by a male and female author respectively, suggest that gender debates and discourses are themselves gendered and therefore ideological, which reinforces the need for a joint theorising of gender debates which do not exclude other voices and perspectives in the debate.

4.9 Conclusion

In analysing the generic and structural features of the two articles (Text A and B), it is clear that the journalists conform to the expectations of the column genre and the role that a columnist must take with respect of the readership and society they seek to represent. These expectations are articulated in a *Guardian* article by Cole and White (2008) on how to write a column. They explain that:

Columns, like features, come in many forms. They are defined by ownership; the column "belongs" to its author who has that ultimate journalistic luxury, a slot, guaranteed space over which he or she presides and has, in some cases, near total control over content. The assumption is that readers seek out the writer first rather than the subject matter, because they are interested in that writer's opinion, whether or not they agree with it. [...]

First comes the decision about the topic, which must lend itself to comment, ridicule, satire or whatever the nature of the column. It may be inspired by a particular quote from a public figure, a story in the news, a report, an unusual occurrence, a piece of bureaucratic absurdity, a domestic incident or a sporting controversy. The column must be planned so that the writer knows before he or she starts just what they are going to say. There must not be too many ideas (two or three will usually suffice), but plenty of opinions; the bland, obvious or fence-sitting must be ruthlessly expunged. Columns are there to get a reaction - agreement, disagreement, amusement, enlightenment. Intolerance is often a virtue.'

(Cole and White *The Guardian*, 25 Sept 2008)

According to the advice cited above, columnists have a social role which is to be both entertaining and purposefully provocative. In terms of Longacre's (1971) universal genres or 'deep structures' (in Machin and Van Leeuwen 2014, p.176), such newspaper columns seem to be both expository in that they 'describe, explain and interpret the world' as well hortatory in that they also seek to 'get people to feel or think or do in certain ways.' (Machin and Van Leeuwen 2014, p.175). This partly explains why argumentation and explanation co-exist in such texts with figurative language, metaphor, irony, and direct addresses to the readers. The selection of gender or opinions and perspectives on gender and gender relations is significant because it discursively reveals a contested ideological site in which competing discourses are explicitly and implicitly manifest.

Chapter 5. Parents

Discourses of parenthood

5.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses how *parents*, *mothers* and *fathers*, as gendered social identities, are represented and constructed in the corpus. The rationale for this focus relates partly to its salience in the selected newspaper articles, which is illustrated in more detail below. Another aim, however, is to focus on how the analysis of this social category in the data considers *both* masculinities and femininities and in relation to each other. As indicated in Chapter 2 of this thesis, often studies of gendered identities have tended to focus on single social groups, and therefore this study contributes innovatively by examining the representation of both male and female groups and the dialectic between representations of masculine and feminine parenthood. The analysis also examines the social identity categories from intersectional perspectives and considers how dominant gender discourses and hegemonies, to the extent that these may been represented in the newspaper, are subverted by non-normative parental identities.

First, the social identity categories related to parenting (as they appear in the data set) are presented and the range of discourses identified in some of the related academic literature is examined. This is followed by a discussion of the specific and prevalent representations of both *mothers* and *fathers* in the data including *supermothers*, *hapless* but *involved fathers*, *fun dads*, and *single mothers* as well as other, potentially transgressive, parent figures. These parental identities are considered in terms of how they may reveal, support or disrupt dominant discourses and gender hegemonies, as represented in the texts, and a focus on agency and intersectionality provides further indications of how such discourses and counter-discourses can interact in these texts. The chapter concludes with a consideration of the extent to which the established gender orders are maintained or resisted in discourses of parenting in these newspaper articles, and what new discourses are emergent.

5.2 Social actors in CL and CDA

A close examination of social identity categories or *social actors* (Van Leeuwen 1995, 1996) can prove analytically fruitful as they are indicative of some of the social roles commonly associated with femininities and masculinities. By extension, such categories connote the identity options most readily available to women and men as they are represented in these newspaper articles and can serve as

prisms through which to trace the discourses and counter-discourses governing particular gender representations and mediated identity construals (as distinguishable from Fairclough's (2003) 'constructions' which relate to *practices* rather than being primarily textual or linguistic) and which have also attracted scrutiny in the academic gender literature (e.g. Sunderland 2006, *inter alia*).

A salient social identity category in my data, both in the initial small sample of texts examined and the larger corpora, is that of the parent and this role is denoted not only through direct references (*parents, mother, father, child-bearers, supermom, mother-of-three, childless, childfree*, etc.) but by means of references to children (*your daughter, our daughters, our kids...*) In terms of femininities in particular, this is perhaps unsurprising given that female social roles have always been and are still typically associated with familial responsibilities. Indeed, in the case of women, motherhood and a contingent 'reproductive essentialism' (Silva 2015, p. 167) have arguably been reproduced from Simone de Beauvoir's (1949, p.27) observation that 'Woman has ovaries, a uterus... peculiarities [which] imprison her in her subjectivity...' to the present. Contemporary theorists note that 'women continue to be the *second sex* within patriarchal social, economic and political structures' and that this is still partly the result of 'women's biological functions and reproductive practices... being translated into social conventions about femininity and the feminine...' (Silva, 2015 p. 167).

However, my corpus suggests that the construction of motherhood is problematised and associated ideological tensions are represented discursively through linguistic attributes connected to mothers as social actors. This is also evident in the case of masculinities where parents (fathers) and indeed the activity of parenting also feature prominently in the data. Significantly, men and their relationship to fatherhood, and the mediated construal of fatherhood, have become the subject of increasing academic inquiry. As Sunderland (2006, p. 503) argues:

As [social] institution, fatherhood constitutes an interesting epistemological site for gender studies since the social practices which together and variously constitute it are, in many cultural contexts, in a state of flux, a flux paralleling that in gender relations more widely.' (Sunderland 2006, p. 503)

In fact, parents, parenting and representations of motherhood and fatherhood have generated a burgeoning body of interdisciplinary analysis even, or perhaps especially, in recent years which reveals how epistemologically generative they are (Lazar 2000, Bell 2006, Sunderland 2006, Gregory and Milner 2011, Mills *et al.* 2014, Silva 2015, Suter *et al.* 2015, Randles 2018, Salter 2018). In terms of the

analysis of the corpus data in this study, much of the academic literature has also served to highlight a matrix of interconnected discourses which offer valuable frames through which to interpret the newspaper texts collated and especially the extent to which they echo or contradict some of the prevalent and emergent discourses in my data.

5.3 Social identity categories: *mothers*, *fathers* and family relations

Although the importance of parental identities became evident through a preliminary discourse analysis of a small selection of texts, it was also apparent from an initial analysis of the full corpus data that parents, and particularly *mothers* were salient social actors in the data set. In FEM1 and FEM2 corpora, a wordlist view of the corpora identified *mother* as one of the most frequent nouns, showing that it appears in the top fifty in both the year ranges, 2013-2015 and 2016-2018, positioned at numbers 37 and 39 respectively. Similarly in MASC1 and MASC2 (2013-2015 and 2016-2018 respectively), *mother* appears in 69th and 71st position in a list of frequent nouns, so slightly less frequently than in the Femininities data set (FEM1 and FEM2), but still within the top 100 noun list. This is perhaps not especially notable except that when checking the lists for references to other social identity categories there are certain potentially significant differences.

The frequent nouns wordlists all contain nouns referring to people or groups with the consistently most frequent being the generic terms *woman*, *man* and *people* but as the list of most frequent 100 nouns is examined more carefully, it is clear that relatively few specific social identity categories emerge as especially frequent in all four corpora. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that some of the common terms which appear as frequent nouns are both generic *and specific* in terms of relating to specific social roles and particularly familial roles which would form part of an analysis of gendered discursive constructions of parents and parenthood. The word *child*, as shown in the extract of a random concordance sample below (Figure 4), illustrates this. For example, it is clear that in the concordance lines 4 and 5 below, *child* refers generically to someone's younger self or simply a young person, whereas in many of the others *child* is a superordinate term denoting a son or daughter. This is potentially similarly the case with words such as *kid*, *girl* and *boy* which also appear as frequent nouns (in the top 100 wordlist) across the corpora. Significantly, across the data, the majority of the other social identity categories relate to social roles within the family and especially (though not exclusively) parental roles; *father*, *parent*, *daughter*, *dad*, *son*, *wife* and *husband* are all repeated in the various data sets, though with some differences in frequency or salience among them. The only

other common social identity categories which appear in the frequent noun lists are *friend* and *feminist* (high on the list of most frequent nouns in the four corpora) and with (*drag*)*queen* and *victim* appearing in the top 100 frequency list for FEM2 (2016-2018) and MASC2 (2016-2018) respectively. The latter nouns hint at discursive shifts in representations of gender identities relating to recent contemporary social and political developments as represented in *The Guardian* and this prospective evolution is considered in Chapter 8 of this study.

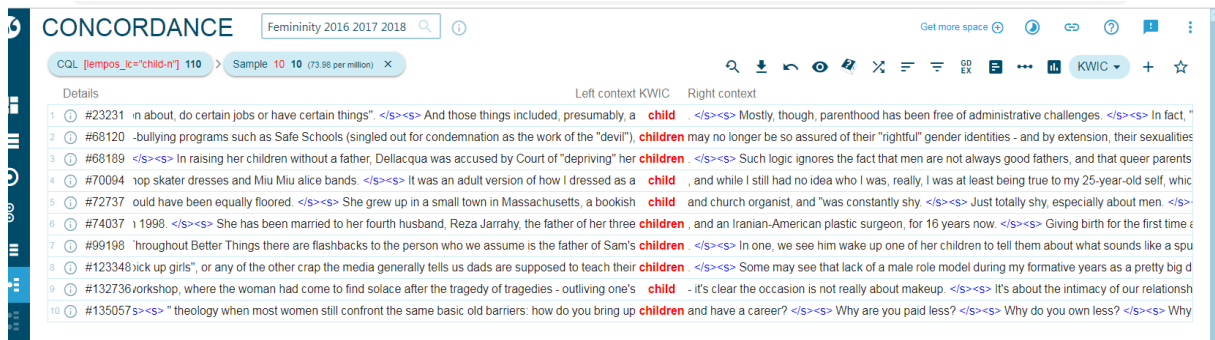


Figure 4 Representative random concordance sample of term *child* from FEM2

5.4 Discourses of motherhood and fatherhood

In this section the established discourses identified in the academic literature on gender roles in parenthood are discussed. These have served to frame and enrich the analysis of the data in this chapter, since the literature offers discursive perspectives against which the corpus data can also be considered.

5.4.1 Conservative and Egalitarian Discourses

In her analysis of a Singaporean national advertising campaign (initiated in the 1980s) aimed at increasing national birthrates, Lazar (2000) examines a set of advertisements against two broad discourses; the 'dominant Discourse of Conservative Gender Relations' and its counter 'Discourse of Egalitarian Gender relations' (Lazar 2000, p. 377). The former, she argues, 'favours a traditional, asymmetrical arrangement between the genders, whereby women and men each have gender-specific roles, responsibilities and expectations to fulfil' where the latter 'strives for gender parity in all aspects of personal and public life' (Lazar 2000, p.377). Furthermore, she connects these discourses to an adherence to or disruption of the Foucauldian notion of a gender 'order'. Although in this instance Lazar claims that the conservative discourse derives from what she describes as a 'Confucian-Asian ethic', I would argue that they are as relevant and recognisable within the current UK context as

they might have been in the Asian context at the time of her study, as the discussion in section 5.5 of this chapter illustrates. It seems also to be the case that these two discourses relate to or echo the two dominant masculine subject positions identified by Edley and Wetherell (1997, p. 204) and described in Chapter 2 which they label “retributive man” and “new man”. The former represents the traditional male breadwinner and thus is a linchpin of a Conservative Discourse whereas the well-established *new man* (see Lazar 2000, among others) would be situated within the Egalitarian Discourse and would involve the participation of men in traditionally feminine activities such as childcare. Both the conservative and egalitarian discourses might be perceived as dominant discourses in Lazar’s context but also in the discourses revealed in my corpus data. As Lazar (2000, p.377) suggests, the discourses invoked are partly culturally-determined and to an extent this determines the meaning of a particular discourse. For example, in the analysis in this chapter, the notion of egalitarian roles in parenting to a degree presupposes participation in parental activities by both fathers and mothers, as well as participation in economic labour. Therefore, egalitarian discourses in the context of this study focus instead on types of parental activities mothers and fathers are involved in and on the effects of parental responsibilities on economic labour.

5.4.2 Related parental discourses

Many of the discourses expressly signalled in the literature arguably bear a close relation to that identified by Lazar (2000). I would contend that the discourses highlighted essentially either converge or diverge from the traditional conservative one which in turn relies on common-sense assumptions about naturalised differences between the sexes or genders and by extension their ascribed social roles and responsibilities, in this case with respect of parenting. In her analysis of advice features in three parenting magazines apparently aimed at both mothers and fathers, Jane Sunderland (2006, p. 508) identifies an ‘overarching’ discourse called ‘Mother as full-time parent/Part-time father’, which she claims is supported by several other, related...discourses, including ‘Father as baby entertainer’ and ‘Father as mother’s bumbling assistant’. She goes on to affirm that ‘the part-time nature of this represented fatherhood *entails* activities which are non-essential to the baby’s survival and thus allows a measure of marginality... and indeed incompetence’ (Sunderland 2006, p. 508). This discourse is an echo of ‘intensive mothering’ which Susan Bell (2006, p.233) elaborates on in relation to the North American context citing Hays (1996) and Arendell (2000). As she explains:

For most of the twentieth century... the dominant North American view of mothering was that one woman – the biological mother – should take almost exclusive responsibility for taking care of children during their formative years, and conversely that children need “constant care

and attention from one caretaker, their biological mother” (Glenn 1994). This view...”declares that mothering is exclusive, wholly child centered, emotionally involving, and time-consuming. The mother portrayed in this ideology is devoted to the care of others” and self-sacrificing (Arendell 2000, p. 1194). (Bell 2006, p.233)

In another (male) perspective presenting an analysis of how a US government campaign on responsible fatherhood ‘utilised a political discourse of hybrid masculinity to shape disadvantaged men’s ideas of successful fathering’, Randles (2018) shows how parenting discourses are shaped by distinctions between emotional caregiving and routine care, with the latter clearly positioned as typical only of a subordinate feminine identity and parenting style. Randles (2018 p.535) concludes that while the hybrid fatherhood discourse may signal a ‘progressive turn in masculinity politics’, it effectively reinstates patriarchal power and gender inequalities since it fails to ‘appeal to men to do equal household or child care labor’ thus simply ‘promoting a change in the style of fathering rather than its substance or the social positions of power from which men and women parent (Messner 1993)’ (Randles 2018, p.518). This distinction between emotional and routine work in parenting labour, and its correlative gender inequality is also noted by Lazar (2000, p.384) who refers to ‘fun, play and popularity’ (which could be considered part of emotional parenting labour) claiming that they are ‘the prerogative of fatherhood whereas... support and routine care are largely left to motherhood.’ Ultimately, the distinction between the two forms of parental care and who undertakes them conforms, once again, to the distinctions between conservative and egalitarian discourses as well as to the others discussed above.

Conservative and egalitarian are not the only discourses traceable in the literature but they do represent the most persistently dominant. Although a comprehensive review of studies of parental identities in the media is beyond the scope of this chapter, the overriding views of the analyses considered here agree that while discourses and their counter-discourses are evident in studies of mediated representations of parental identities and their relationships to masculinity and femininity, dominant discourses continue to adhere to and re-establish the traditional and unequal ‘order’ of gender relations (Foucault 1970). However, it is in a consideration of the role of other identity markers such as class and sexuality, for example, that the picture becomes more complex in that they highlight related hierarchies (rather than pure and simple dichotomies). It is perhaps in considering these identity markers that counter-discourses may be viewed as enlightening or emergent.

5.5 Mothers and fathers

Using these discourses as potential frameworks, in the first instance, the representations and linguistic construals of mothers and fathers in the texts are explored in more detail. As explained, *mother* is a relatively high frequency noun in the texts but, although there may be differences in tone and connotation, for example, a maternal gender identity is also encapsulated by cognates such as *mum*, *mom/supermom* and even *parent*. The discursive analysis of a selection of the texts in this chapter provides a clear indication that the representation of mothers in these articles reflects a contested political and ideological terrain, which becomes evident in various ways.

The initial analysis of the smaller data set indicated that the noun *mother* rarely appeared unqualified, as it does for example in the news headline ‘Primark denies a security guard removed breastfeeding baby from mother’ by Jessica Elgot (*The Guardian* July 14, 2015). However, it is possible that this unqualified reference may be because it is from a news item, rather than an opinion article. Nevertheless, most of the other instances of the noun were preceded by attributes or predicates suggesting that a mother’s status (*working*, *single*, *stay at home*, etc.) intrinsically positions her in relation to an evaluative stance and more often than not within a social hierarchy. This hierarchical ‘ordering’ of particular expressions of femininity and motherhood manifest the symbolic social, cultural and economic capital intrinsic (Bourdieu 1984, 1986) to different ‘mothering’ identities. Working mothers and stay-at-home mothers are certainly conferred with more social and cultural capital than single mothers (on the whole), but it is also true that the status of particular groups is somewhat fluid and can be more or less powerful depending on which other social groups they are being compared to. This relative power may also shift or vary over time.

The evaluative positioning of *mothers* by journalists is to an extent corroborated by the larger corpus. The four corpora reveal a list of adjectival modifiers of the noun, listed in table 4 below, which can be grouped into several discourse domains.

Modifiers of *mother*

Word sketch of <i>mother(s)</i> in MASC 1 and FEM1 (2013-2015)	Word sketch of <i>mother(s)</i> in MASC2 and FEM2 (2016-2018)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • single • lefty feminist • stay-at-home • married ... with children under 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • crack-addicted • uber-feminine • 24-year-old • single

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • perfect • administrator • half-Russian • earth • mystical • supportive • My • tough • good • many • young 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wife • all-powerful • happiness • imperfect • psychologist • loving • My • daughter • modern • new • own • many • other
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Table 2: From Word sketches of 'mother' in FM1

One of these discourse domains relates to certain social groups which often (though not exclusively) intersect with particular marital and professional statuses with modifiers including *single*, *stay-at-home*, *working* and even *crack-addicted* and *lefty feminist*. Other intersectional identities can also be traced such as age and culture or nationality in adjectives such as *24-year-old* (signifying young and linked to *single*) and *tiger* or *British*. Another domain is characterised by the perceived qualities of mothers as well as mothering 'styles', including *supportive*, *tough*, *perfect*, *good* (FEM1); *uber-feminine*, *loving*, *imperfect*, *modern* and *new* (FEM 2); *tiger*, *mystical*, *earth* and *perfect* (MASC1) and *all-powerful* and *uber-feminine* (MASC2). The term *mum*, though less frequent in the corpus, similarly renders the following attributes: *devoted*, *British* and *good* (FEM1); *alpha*, *good*, *young* (FEM2); *working*, *dead*, *traditional stay-at-home*, *traditional*, *gay* and *good* (MASC1) and with no modifiers, perhaps surprisingly, showing in the word sketch for *mum* in the more recent masculinities corpus. The US equivalent 'mom' gives: *hard-pressed single mom*, *bad moms*, *breadwinner moms*, *stay-at-home mom*, *Latina single mom*, *working mom*, *unmarried*, *working mom* and *single moms* across three corpora but again absent from MASC2.

All the epitaphs noted above suggest that mothers are social actors which journalists in these mediated texts are at pains to classify into particular groups. This may be partly due to a recognition that in discussing the identity options and experiences of mothers there is a heterogeneity which might in fact coalesce around other identity markers (such as age, race, class and professional status). However, the attributes also mark a deviation, in many cases, from an idealised normative version of femininity and motherhood, which in turn suggests that the attributes serve to categorise mothers

hierarchically. The idealised mother, here implicit in the texts, is identified in the academic literature and reverberates through established discourses and ideologies of ‘intensive mothering’ or ‘essential motherhood’ which is described as ‘the “quintessential” form of motherhood [which] is rooted in a biological, singular, hetero-patriarchal view of motherhood, and remains positioned as the universal, idealised prototype to which all ... women should be held accountable’ (Suter *et al.* 2015, p.468). This does not mean, however, that such idealizations are fixed and universal as they are inflected by cultural values and, as such, they are temporally and contextually-bound. In interpellating (Althusser 1971) such idealisations, journalists and publications effectively represent and reinscribe the dominant cultural ideals of their times and contexts.

A comparison of the attributives of *father* in these corpora is interesting in terms of the extent to which the modifiers used to qualify *mother* and *father* overlap and what significance can be conferred to any notable differences. It might be expected that the noun *father* overall appears more frequently in the two *Masculinities* subcorpora MASC1 and MASC2 (with 133 and 145 instances of the noun in each, compared to 29 and 52 in FEM1 and FEM2), but proportionally the number of modifiers used to describe fathers are even higher than for mothers.

Modifiers of *father*

Word sketch of <i>father(s)</i> in MASC1 (2013-2015)	Word sketch of <i>father(s)</i> in MASC2 (2016-2018)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • tranny • married • live-in • feckless • attentive • 41-year-old • involved • non-violent • founding • prospective • at-home • visible • full-time • husband • single • sensitive • fellow • own • gender • good • more 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ex-force • bad • salt-of-the-earth • grouchy • founding • hod-carrier • prospective • breadwinner • caring • proud • television • loving • my • aggressive • biological • aggressive • bad • new • good • best television • own

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Table 3 From Word sketches of 'father' in MASC1 and MASC2

As with *mother*, Table 3 shows how many of the modifiers can be grouped into particular discourse domains, so that the adjectives affiliate fathers to other social groups, some of which are defined by marital and professional statuses; with modifiers such as *married*, *breadwinner* and *full-time at-home*. As well as these, other intersectional identity categories appear alongside *father* including *young*, *41-year-old* (denoting old) and *tranny*. Similarly, there is a lexical set denoting a clearly evaluative stance in relation to the qualities of fathers and, perhaps more pertinently, to perceptions of how well a father appears to be fulfilling his role; *inadequate*, *good*, *anxious devoted*, *caring*, *feckless*, *attentive*, *involved*, *non-violent*, *visible*, *proud*, *loving*, and *aggressive*. As with *mum*, *dad* also appears with particular modifiers in the corpora, most of which coincide with the domains identified above. In FEM1 dads are *incompetent*, *fun*, *stay-at-home*, *gay* and *good* or *deadbeat*, *transgender*, *old*, *greatest* and *young*. In the Masculinities corpora (MASC1 and MASC2) the adjectives include many similar examples (*fun*, *brilliant*, *good*) as well as the more marked *working*, *remote Victorian*, *single* and *surrogate* with the latter appearing in the more recent corpus.

Some of the modifiers might hint at discursive repositioning of masculinity in terms of fatherhood, with noun phrases such as *surrogate dad* or *working dad*, but the former describes a fictional 'Coach' who acts as a surrogate (and good) father 'to an entire team of hormone-riddled teenage boys, many with dysfunctional home lives, private demons or debilitating injuries' from a 2018 article by Alex McKinnon entitled 'From Martin Crane to Sandy Cohen: what makes a good TV dad?; Relatable and flawed, the best television fathers give us a glimpse of a mature masculinity often absent from real life.' Similarly, *working dad* appears in an article by Kira Cochrane (*The Guardian* G2, July 2013) on the persistent inequality between the sexes. According to the journalist, the figure of the *working dad* is an ideal (equivalent to the *working mum*) which is not representative of the reality:

Extract 1

One useful shift, she [referring to Anne-Marie Slaughter] says, would be for "working dads" to be as normal a phrase as "working mums", but the change she would most like to see is this: "Any time a man says: 'We're expecting a child' or, 'We're adopting a child,' somebody says to him: 'How are you going to manage that?' Because that single thing - the fact that nobody says it - sends the signal (to his partner): 'This baby is all yours.'

(Kira Cochrane, *The Guardian*, July 22, 2013)

In both these examples (from the McKinnon and Cochrane articles cited above), the potentially non-normative paternal figures (surrogate and working), in fact underline a suggestion that paternal figures remain much as they have always been; flawed, inadequate (as suggested by the home-lives of the boys the Coach is a surrogate father to) and symbols of the traditionally established gendered asymmetries in parenting roles.

5.5.1 Supermothers

The *mother* modifiers in general are rather more semantically generic (adjectives such as *perfect*, *good*, *imperfect*, *traditional* and *modern*) and in other instances seem to be intrinsically linked to the manifestation of a particular type of femininity with adjectives such as *uber-feminine*, *mystical*, *earth* and even *alpha*. The latter is a marked and thus especially interesting adjectival choice since '*alpha*' might be more frequently associated with the 'alpha male' collocation (and indeed it appears as a collocate of male and masculinities in these corpora). A closer inspection of 'alphamum' (see Extract 2) reveals that it refers to a particular type of middleclass mother who can afford not to work, who adheres to certain parenting doctrines and is conferred with a particular in-group social status which explicitly rejects, and indeed pillories, other types of mother and feminine identities.

Extract 2

In the UK there's *Motherland*, Sharon Horgan and Graham Linehan's sitcom about middle-class motherhood and all of the appearance maintenance that comes with it. "Why don't we have a nanny?" her husband asks, to which she responds: "Because I want to be raised the way I was, by my mother," and not "because we are not Sheryl Sandberg and David Goldberg", which gives you an idea of the stakes here. When Julie is pitted against a gang of so-called "alphamums", the alphas pour scorn over her for working. "Don't you hate yourself?" they inquire. Julie finds an ally, whose non-middle-classness is denoted by the fact she doesn't have herbal tea, in Liz. Single and working class, Liz is reviled by the other mothers, who are both terrified she will steal their husbands and discomfited because she doesn't fit their prescriptive mold of parenting. *Motherland* aligns our notions of idealised parenthood with wealth, revealing the heinous classism innate to it.
(Lara Williams, *The Guardian*, October 2, 2016)

Extract 2 which relates to a review of *Motherland* (2016), a UK sitcom aired on BBC2, shows how particular types of motherhood and femininities are overtly indexed (knowingly and somewhat ironically) through several cultural concepts (Silverstein 2004) which mark the class of the women. In this case, cultural concepts such as *nanny*, *herbal tea*, even (arguably) *Sheryl Sandberg* index a particular type of white, British, upper middle class femininity, to which the heroine does not quite have access (and which is the source of much of the programme's comedy). Interestingly, in the

extract, the role of the husband/father with respect of parenting in particular is laid out implicitly through his question “Why don’t we have a nanny?” which implies both a rejection of male parental involvement as well as a complete disassociation from affairs of the household and the organisation of childcare.

Although ‘alpha’ here is a single modifier, the term hints at a discourse of competition which is itself rooted in a desire for improved social status. This is borne out in other texts in the data, particularly those which deal overtly with motherhood and parenting. For example, in a comment article (*The Guardian*, 4 June 2014), the columnist Zoe Williams notes:

Extract 3

We have reached a bizarre point at which any one woman's choice is taken as an indictment of any other woman's, a place where one woman's opinion is an all-out attack on every other woman. A working mother is an accusation of a stay-at-home mother. To talk about maternal identity at all is to openly stigmatise women without children. To talk about the limits to fertility is to try to strip women of their independence.
(Zoe Williams, *The Guardian*, June 4, 2014)

The overt suggestion in Extracts 2 and 3 is that motherhood and the female identities encapsulated by being a mother, or not, reflect a set of (female) choices and that the particular social groups that ensue can only coexist in conflict with each other. Nevertheless, I would argue that the ideological underpinning of this apparently hostile competition between female identities is rather reflective of a socio-economic class-based struggle which confers certain groups with the power to ‘do’ being a mother in a particular way. This power, in turn, stems from particular social, cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu 1984, 1986), which to a great extent (and paradoxically) determines the ‘choices’ that are made and the competitive hierarchies that are established as a result. Furthermore, when comparing this with how fathers are represented (discussed in more depth below) the apparent competitiveness may be an indicator of the persistence of the social inequalities inherent to female identities since achieving status through choice seems to be of major concern in relation to maternal representations of femininity. Perhaps even more significantly, this apparent conflict between differing maternal identities seems also to be potentially representative of what has been identified in the literature (McRobbie 2009, Silva 2015) as a ‘contemporary *disarticulation*, where women are discouraged from making connections with and to other women – across cultures, identities, and/or intergenerationally – to foster and maintain movements... that will make a systemic shift for the equitable distribution of recourses and rights. Instead, young women and men, especially in the global north are encouraged to disarticulate from the systems that question or make visible their own oppressions’ (Silva, 2015 p.169).

The conceptualisation of female and, in this case, maternal identities as enacted through choice is also salient and certainly explicit in the Extract 3 above. In this instance, it again points to the role of class, and in particular *middleclassness* to the identities represented. In the case of motherhood, for example, the choice of whether to work or stay at home, and the respective collective identities such choices generate, are inevitably linked to class status. Poorer or socially-disadvantaged mothers may not have a choice, either way, and it is in the apparent freedoms afforded to the middle class that such choices become sources of intergroup as well as internal conflict. Theorists have also highlighted that ‘research shows that maternal figures are configured narrowly in terms of individualization, self-improvement, hyper-sexuality, choice, self-responsibilization, capacity and empowerment’ (Orgad 2016, p. 479, citing Allen and Osgood 2009, Allen and Taylor 2012, Boyer 2014, Ekinsmyth 2013, Littler 2013; McRobbie 2013, Orgad and De Benedictis 2015, Tyle 2011 and Vavrus 2007). Furthermore, the values listed are seen as located ideologically in a ‘neoliberal “hegemonic rationality” (Nick Couldry 2010)’ (in Orgad 2016, p. 479), which effectively maintains the dominant discourse and assumes as common sense ‘that human well-being can be best advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills’ (Harvey 2005 cited in Gill and Scharff 2011, p. 5, in Orgad 2016, p.479).

Orgad’s (2016) study is illuminating, moreover, because it alludes to the myth of this choice and to the struggles it conceals by focusing on how media representations compare with the lived experiences of stay-at-home (middleclass) mothers or SAHMs. She shows that, in reality, such choices are influenced and often determined by ‘husband’s demanding careers and work cultures; ... the issue of childcare, and ...women’s immense unpaid domestic and maternal labour.’ Notably, the women she interviews (once successful, educated professionals who decided to stop working to rear children), ‘speak of feeling invisible, lacking confidence, and being silent and silenced.’ (Orgad 2016, p. 478). The disempowerment and erasure felt even by women in privileged social circumstances reiterates the hierarchies and power dynamics at play in adopting certain identity positions, or avowed identities, even when such identities are apparently based on choice. Not only have some women been socially ‘demoted’ as a result of their ‘choice’ to stay at home (e.g. by being asked in social situations when they are going back to work), but the psychological and emotional price has in many cases been high as one mother, a former solicitor cited in the study, illustrates:

[...] you feel that you’re kind of [silence] just letting womankind down a bit [crying]. You know, because we have moved on, and you know, women have as much right to work as men, and

should be able to work as much as men [...] And just letting down the idea that you are supposed to have it all ... you're supposed to be able to have kids and manage a successful career!

(Orgad 2016, p.288)

In fact, the *supermother* as a label is rather ambiguous. It is not entirely clear whether it corresponds to the 'alphamums' described above and their real-life equivalents; that is affluent, educated, professional women who can afford childcare but have 'opted' to stay-at-home to parent their children (as in Orgad's 2016 stay-at-home mothers (SAHMs)), or working mothers who simultaneously manage a job and a career. Orgad (2016, p.479) suggests that the contemporary idealised motherhoods are now framed within a context where 'women increasingly have been expected to... perform simultaneous successful femininities as "good mothers" and productive economic labourers.' The 'career mother', then, has replaced the 'happy housewife' of the 50s in the 'Western cultural media landscape' (Orgad 2016, 479), arguably even becoming a cultural concept (Silverstein 2004) against which alternative feminine identity positions are evaluated.

The contemporary, idealised enactment of femininity and motherhood described above contributes dialectically to a problematic 'having-it-all' discourse which is itself repeatedly invoked and questioned both in the academic literature and in the newspaper articles themselves, as Extracts 4 and 5 highlight. In Extract 4, the journalist, Saner (2014) critiques the use of 'mother of three' as a 'label of primary potency' (Allport 1988) which masks prejudice by effectively blinding readers to the other qualities the new BBC lead, Rona Fairhead, may possess.

Extract 4

It's remarkable how relevant one's history of reproduction seems to be to one's CV - if you're a woman in the public eye, that is. And then, having been in possession of a womb that didn't go wandering around your body and instead housed an actual human being will forever leave you answering questions about whether you can "have it all". Just this weekend, one newspaper reported that Rona Fairhead - the former chair and CEO of the Financial Times group, and a non-executive director of HSBC and PepsiCo - could become the next BBC Trust chair. But instead of referencing her other credentials, it chose to headline the piece: "Mother of three poised to lead the BBC"

(Emine Saner, *The Guardian*, September 1, 2014)

Extract 5

While "having it all" is quite obviously not yet a reality for the vast majority of women, most of us are a heck of a lot better off than we were in 1950.

(Jill Filipovic, *The Guardian*, September 6, 2013)

In Extracts 4 and 5, both journalists, Emine Saner and Jill Filipovic, align themselves collectively to women through use of the pronoun *you* (referring to oneself in Extract 4) and *us* and *we* in Extract 5, a linguistic signalling of solidarity between authors and readers, which are indirectly constructed as female, and by implication professional and middleclass. Similarly, in Extract 4, Saner uses irony (*And then, having been in possession of a womb that didn't go wandering around your body and instead housed an actual human being...*) to frame a serious critique of the status derogation of high achieving or powerful women which underpins them being primarily publicly indexed as *mothers*. The use of irony here stylistically constructs reader and writer complicity, but it also suggests that irony is required when serious points about sexism are raised publicly, the implication being that serious feminist critique needs to be softened with humour.

The ambiguity of the *supermother* and the problematised 'having-it-all' discourse, which is both aspirational and oppressive, suggest that such identity positions might be viewed as simultaneously hegemonic and counter-hegemonic in certain respects, contributing to polysemous discourses (Krijnen and Van Bauwel, 2015). These discourses point to the social and ideological tensions in the ascribed role of being a mother and its contingent behaviours (by implication unfulfilled in Rona Fairhead's case above), and such tensions ultimately belie the unresolved paradoxes involved in the expectations placed on contemporary feminine identities.

5.5.2 Hapless but involved fathers

In contrast to the maternal examples above, adjectives associated with fathers are distinctive in several ways. Whereas for mothers there are tensions between working or being a stay-at-home mother, or even between being a single versus married mother (discussed in more detail later in this chapter), the polarities implicit to paternal roles are not between being a working father (or not), but between being either distant or absent or being emotionally and 'actively' or domestically involved as a parent. Where there is an implied criticism of particular paternal roles or identities the conflict is, more often than not, in relation to female counterparts or to perceived gender inequalities with respect of parenting involvement. Concordance Extract 6 showing the contexts for the adjectives *inadequate fathers* and *deadbeat dad* illustrates this:

Extract 6

... of her children to tell them about what sounds like a spurious career opportunity. "I've got irons in the fire!" he says. "Don't tell your mother I woke you." Later in the same episode, as she struggles to get through the mountainous list of shit that just needs to get done - taking

out the trash, cooking dinner for her family, making sure her daughters haven't gone to sleep without brushing their teeth — it becomes apparent. Are these mothers struggling only because of **inadequate fathers**?

While being drawn and overwrought in the wake of her son being abducted by an unknown paranormal entity is largely expected, there is much to imply she was every bit as nervy, chain-smoking and chaotic pre-abduction - mostly because she's left raising two teenage boys without any support, financial or otherwise, from their **deadbeat dad**. Uncomfortably, the end seems to imply she gets it together having come to appreciate what she might have lost (her child), serving up an idyllically all-American meal, despite having no obvious additional support or income.

(Lara Williams, *The Guardian*, October 2 2016)

In these examples, the inadequate father figure is firmly situated in terms of how he might be failing his female counterpart or the family more widely. In another example in Extract 7, the notion of 'incompetent dads' is instead presented as an outdated stereotype of masculinity. What does not emerge in an overview of modifiers of *father* is hostility among male social groups or a sense that there are inherent judgements involved in men assuming particular identity positions with respect to fatherhood. In fact, any critique that *is* identified, at least in one clear example, appears to emanate solely from the traditional conservative ranks of an older *female* generation ('the occasional member of the grey-rinse set'). The criticism (from the implied older female generation) is subverted through irony and a degree of light-hearted ridicule which removes any significant threat, divested as these 'critics' are of significant social or economic capital by dint of their (implied) age and their class as indexed by the grey-rinse and 'the resin jewellery' they are 'dripping with'.

Extract 7

[...]along (except for vaccinations: vaccinate your kids) - our goal is to spend as much time as we can with our son and let him know he's loved. It feels like there's so much more space in society now to just be a hands-on dad. When I'm out with my son by myself, I still get the occasional member of the grey-rinse set, dripping with resin jewellery, asking: "Where is his mother?" But most people are pretty chill about it. We live in the era of the latte papa and it's an incredible change for good that dads can now be confident and affectionate towards their kids without somehow impinging on their masculinity. What's more masculine than being a loving father? Having a child is an incredible joy and I thoroughly...

(Dan Nolan, *The Guardian*, October 5, 2019)

Furthermore, closer scrutiny of some of the more negative modifications of the paternal nouns serves to highlight a sense of male unity. In an article by Alex Bilmes (2014) entitled 'Am I dad enough? And do I really care?...' (*The Guardian*, March 22, 2014) any sense of a shift towards a competitive fatherhood (which might mirror the competitive discourses surrounding female gender identities) is soon subverted by the journalist through irony and humour. The phrase 'fellow feckless fathers' not

only suggests a certain ironic distancing from the concept of striving towards an idealised paternal role but also a tolerance of inadequacy and a degree of male solidarity:

Extract 8

[...] brushing upstairs and downstairs), and only sometimes. Do my male friends do the same? Not naming names - there is still some honour among thieves - but certainly they do. Have we discussed it? Of course we have. Have we measured ourselves against those fathers more committed than us, and those less committed, and stood closer to the less committed ones to make ourselves look better than we are? Absolutely we have. Do we shy away from the Wet Wipes in the park and gravitate towards our **fellow feckless fathers**, who are doing their work emails and checking the football results instead of pushing their infant charges on the swings? We do. When did being a good father get so complicated? Is there any middle ground, or must one either go full Wet Wipe or be a lazy, incompetent, dinosaur? Is it still possible, as it certainly used to be, to get away with the occasional omelette, some skewwhiff shelves in the spare room and, once in a blue moon, a full day with the kids ...
(Alex Bilmes, *The Guardian*, March 22, 2014)

This apparent lack of censure is perhaps also due to the fact that, unlike *mother*, *father* and *dad* are not 'labels of primary potency' (Allport 1988) so there is less social pressure to conform to specific behaviours and less consensus potentially on what the ascribed behaviours should be.

5.5.3 Fun dads

Another distinctive modifier of father which is absent in representations of their female counterparts is *fun*. This modifier semantically links paternal parenting to playfulness, even if the social pressure to provide this is not always welcome, as reported in 'Family: Does equality kill sex?: There's a reason why opposites attract, says Lori Gottlieb. She argues that couples who are best friends and split chores and childcare have far less sex' (Lori Gottlieb, *The Guardian*, Feb 15 2014). In the article, the author reports on the strains of modern fatherhood as voiced by one of her psychotherapy clients:

Extract 9

I have to juggle the kids' schedules, I have to get dinner on the table three nights a week, I have to volunteer at school, I have to get the bills sent in each month and on top of this I have to be the fun dad and the sensitive husband and then be ready to romance my wife if I want sex before bed.
(Lori Gottlieb, *The Guardian* Feb 15 2014,)

In the same article by Alex Bilmes (Extracts 8 and 10) the writer lauds the paternal qualities of a male friend and 'fun' is at the heart of his expectations:

Extract 10

Jan is a terrific dad —really a fun, playful, silly, loving, strong, tender, patient man. But he's not a Wet Wipe. He is not defined solely, or overwhelmingly, or even chiefly, by his child-rearing achievements.

(Alex Bilmes, *The Guardian*, March 22, 2014)

This representation is supported by the literature. Lazar (2000, p.384) discusses this construction in some detail with respect of the TV adverts she analyses. In these, she argues, 'fun, play and popularity appear to be the prerogative of fatherhood and take centre-stage, whereas... support and routine care are largely left to motherhood, which is relegated to the periphery.' Furthermore, this *fun daddy* representation is indicative, in her view (Lazar 2000, p.385), of asymmetrical gender relations and thus adheres to the dominant Conservative Discourse as discussed above. Similarly, Sunderland (2006) refers to the discourses of 'Father as baby entertainer' and 'Father as mother's bumbling assistant' to which the feckless (but well-intentioned) fathers and fun dads in these texts also potentially conform.

Nevertheless, despite these often positive and potentially progressive representations of a new type of masculinity and orientation towards fatherhood, with 'involved' or 'new' fatherhood' being identified as the new normative (and classed) discourse, academic studies (see for example Connell 1995, Gregory and Milner 2011, Randles 2018) show that fatherhood discourses too are riddled with tensions, contradictions and dichotomies. Gregory and Milner (2011, p. 601) argue that the construction of fatherhood is 'complex and "fragmented" (citing Collier and Sheldon 2008)' since it encompasses 'competing and potentially conflicting messages about men and fathers: fatherhood as a problem and as a resource; father absence and father presence; responsibility and irresponsibility ...absent fathers, "good-enough" fathers and involved fathers' (Gregory and Milner 2011, p. 590).

5.5.4 Single mothers

The relevance of power and social positioning in representations of gendered parental identities is especially highlighted in the representation of one figure in particular which emerged from a consideration of the attributes of the mother and father: the *single mother*. In her analysis of the media discourse of lone parents in the UK, Salter (2018, p.55) affirms that 'lone parents remain highly stigmatised in the United Kingdom (Hinton-Smith 2015) to the extent that lone parents make a concerted effort to self-identify as 'good mothers' to distance themselves from the 'bad sort'. This assertion is explicitly dealt with in many of the media texts themselves. In Extract 11, for example, Laurie Penny writes:

Extract 11

There is no creature more loathed and misunderstood in modern Britain than the single mother on benefits. She is blamed both for the financial crisis and for the attendant collapse in men's self-esteem. (Laurie Penny, *The Guardian*, May 17, 2013)

Significantly, Penny's representation of the socially vilified single mother is also inflected by class and status through the associated prepositional phrase 'on benefits'. This association suggests that gender hierarchies or social status are inherently linked to compliance with the dominant heteronormative model for a family in which at least one parent works, and thus further connects the status of a gendered parental identity to adherence to a neoliberal economic system.

The *single mother* collocation is not only more frequent than *single father* (there are only 4 instances of the father/dad compared with 14 mothers/moms), the former is presented more positively and deserving rather more of admiration than his female counterpart is of compassion. In presenting single mothers as misunderstood social scapegoats, the texts nevertheless often reinforce the powerlessness of these female identities in attempting to decry the injustices they endure. In Extract 11, the social position of mothers is reinforced lexically and grammatically – single mothers are referred to as 'a creature' which alludes to their vulnerability and they are embedded in subordinate clauses and passivised verb constructions where agency is removed. The Americanised form of *single mom* also appears in the texts as 'hard-pressed' in one instance, and where their lower social status is compounded by their other intersectional identity categories, namely their ethnicity, class and youth:

Extract 12

Forty percent of family breadwinners are, in fact, women. But the majority of that 40% - two thirds - are single **moms**. Less common are married women with children who out-earn their husbands. Those women tend to be college-educated, white and relatively wealthy, with a combined family income averaging nearly \$80,000. By contrast, the single-mother breadwinners are more likely to be black or Latina, less likely to have a college degree, and younger.

(Jill Filipovic, *The Guardian*, June 6, 2013)

A notable contrast to the single mother representations which are highlighted by the corpora is that *father* as a noun more often appears in conjunction with specific professional identities. In FEM2, other nouns which appear with father are *soldier*, *manager*, *anthropologist* and *writer*, in MASC1 *engineer*, *ex-force* and *hod-carrier* in MASC2 where the profession of a mother appears once as

psychologist in FEM2 alongside the more generic *boss* and *employee* (within the same sentence) as well as *editor* in MASC1.

The use of Van Leeuwen's (1996) representation of social actors as a framework for parental roles is highly productive for this data and renders insights into the 'gendered discourses' (Sunderland 2004) of parenting through an analysis of the collocates of *mother* and *father* in particular. Such discourses coalesce around particular parental 'types' in this data, namely *supermothers*, *hapless but involved fathers*, *fun dads* and *single mothers*. The discussion of the linguistic representation of these figures certainly signals potential discursive and ideological underpinnings as discussed. However, as Baker (2006, p. 150) suggests, nominal collocational analysis might well be enriched by subjecting 'verb collocates... to a transitivity process analysis' and therefore this is the focus of the following section.

5.6 Agency and shifts in parental discourses

This section considers how the representation of mothers and fathers compares in terms of their agency and the verbal processes associated with them in the corpus data. This is because, as explained in Chapter 3 section 3.4.4, Halliday's (1994) transitivity system and classification of verbal processes can help to reveal how discourses are linguistically encoded, and can be particularly useful in highlighting the perceived power relations. Similarly, Thompson (2004, p.98) in an illustration of identifying relational processes (one of the possible types of verbal processes) takes the critical and inferential possibilities to any grammatical analysis further: 'A value or token [both possible nominal constituents of this particular type of clause] analysis will often guide us towards the broader concerns and values of the writer. Essentially, the Value reveals what values the writer (and ultimately the culture that he or she is part of) uses to categorise the Tokens that he or she deals with' and these in turn can 'suggest wider ideological beliefs' Thompson (2004, p. 98). The potential shift in parental discourses between the earlier data set (FEM1 and MASC1) and the more recent subcorpora (FEM2 and MASC2) is also considered.

5.6.1 Parental Agency and Processes

The *Sketch Engine* corpus tool allows an analyst to view the verb processes associated with a particular noun, providing what initially appears to be a straightforward representation of the latter as either subject or object of a clause. However, the initial categorisations as object or subject of clauses need to be examined on a case by case basis, in fact, as some of the data can be misleading. The position of

subject, in simple terms, can often suggest an agency which is not always enacted in the meaning of the clause. To illustrate, a concordance view of 'mother as subject' in the femininities corpus (FEM 1) renders the following extract '...poor little children being dropped off at nurseries by their **mothers** who **were** forced to go out to work.' In this case, *mothers* have been categorised as being in a subject position but their agency is refuted both lexically and grammatically, through the overall sentence structure (here *mother* is embedded in a subordinate clause), the passivisation of the verb process and by the obvious connotations of victimisation or submission semantically intrinsic to the use of *forced* to do something. An analysis of the verb processes associated with mothers in the earlier data sets (FEM1 and MASC1) are revealing of the particular discourses and role constraints imposed on mothers, as represented in these articles, showing a distinct lack of agency in various ways.

A comparison of the verb processes associated with mothers and fathers in the 2013-2015 data reveals, perhaps unsurprisingly, that the most frequently-used verb associated with both social roles is 'be'. The femininities and masculinities corpora for the earlier period (FEM1 and MASC1) show that *mother* and *father* feature 165 and 160 times respectively (in a corpus of just under 368,000 words) but the verb 'be' is used almost twice as many times with *mother* as the subject than *father* (15 versus 8 instances). In most of the concordance examples, the verb is part of a relational process which is either attributive or identifying; *A working mother is an accusation of a stay-at-home mother; My half-Russian mother was an agent for classical musicians; my mother is an Israeli-Arab; My mother is less sure; Mothers aren't enough; his mother was a strident feminist*. This is also the case for fathers, but to a far lesser degree: *My own father was and is a brilliant dad; Many females believe their father is a benchmark for their future partner; His father was a war hero*; with other instances of the verb 'be' being part of either passive or other verbal constructions; *fathers are routinely portrayed as moronic incompetents; single fathers are congratulated for their selfless devotion; Her father was diagnosed with the neurodegenerative disorder; his father was researching early Andean communities*.

An interpretation of these differences in broader discursive and ideological terms is potentially problematic, not least because the number of examples are few. It is perhaps to be expected that in media articles where masculinity and femininity and their various representations are the central themes such archetypally gendered social roles (mother/father) be (re)identified and described and that, in doing so, writers draw on their own experiences (hence the prevalence of the first person possessive pronoun *my*.) Nevertheless, a consideration of the overall picture of the verb processes

associated with *mother* and *father* suggests some significant discursive differences. Mothers in these texts do not *do* much, but they do *say* and *feel* things.

There are two main groups of verb processes typically associated with mothers in this data. The first and most salient of these is a range of verbal processes (see Halliday 1994 and Thomson 2004), including *say*, *tell*, *mention*, *respond*, *explain*, *speak* and *ask*, whilst the only similar verbs for fathers are *say* and *tell* (but with fewer instances in both cases). The other two process types are both mental or behavioural and semantically relate particularly to emotion and cognition; including verbs such as *pine*, *cry*, *suffer*, *struggle* (denoting emotion) and *discover* and *think* (denoting cognition). Where mothers are involved in material processes, in which they have clearer agency in that they are the ‘actors’, the verbs typically conform to gender stereotypes of maternal and feminine roles, as in the following example:

Extract 13

I see more of my mother than my father, who goes off to work on his bike every morning before I get up, while my mother **makes the fire** and **shops** and **cooks** and **cleans** until he returns after five.

(Ian Jack, *The Guardian*, May 17, 2013)

Within the same data set, however, *fathers* are connected with more varied and, in general, more material processes and certainly with marked contrast in terms of the emotional connotations of mental or behavioural processes.

5.6.2 Shifting scrutiny and discourses

A similar comparative analysis of the verb processes associated with *mothers* and *fathers* for the more recent data sets (MASC2 and FEM2 2016-2018) hints at a shift in the discourses of parenting associated with the two roles. Not only are fathers mentioned more frequently (with 195 instances for *father* versus 153 for *mother*) but also, in this case, the frequency of co-occurrence with the verb ‘be’ is reversed. *Father* as subject co-occurs with ‘be’ 22 times, compared with 10 instances for mothers. Similarly the range of verb processes have changed for mothers with far fewer instances of verbal and mental or behavioural processes and more variety overall. The table below illustrates the differences:

Verbs with <i>mother</i> as subject	Verbs with <i>mother/father</i> as subject (number of instances respectively)	Verbs with <i>father</i> as subject
coo 2 0	have 8 3	take 0 1

reply	2	0	deserve	1	1	need	0	1
leave	2	0	become	1	1	follow	0	1
revile	1	0	go	1	1	hold	0	1
belong	1	0	say	1	1	sit	0	1
extend	1	0	work	2	3	teach	0	1
pour	1	0	be	10	22	want	0	2
tell	3	0	die	2	5	uphold	0	1
bear	1	0	do	1	3	brag	0	1
wish	1	0				traffic	0	1
pass	1	0				refresh	0	1
buy	1	0				give	0	3
recall	1	0				beat	0	2
watch	1	0						
view	1	0						
provide	1	0						
struggle	1	0						
believe	1	0						
change	1	0						

Table 4 Word sketch comparison of 'mother'/'father' as subject in MASC2 and FEM2 (2016-2018)

Mothers are afforded more agency in the more recent data, but also representations and constructions of fatherhood are scrutinised and problematised more often and perhaps more explicitly in the later corpus articles (FEM2 and MASC2). This is significant and indicates that traditional parental roles are being examined and potentially disrupted, and could suggest a move towards more egalitarian gender discourses particularly in terms of what appear to be increasing social pressures on men to perform parenting duties in the same way that women have traditionally been expected to. However close inspection of many of these texts in which male roles in contemporary society are the subject of increasing debate belies a discourse of (gender) competition which, I would argue, permeates these representations of parental roles and identities and ultimately polarise what might otherwise be construed as either a more joint or even collective endeavour. This is apparent in articles written about parenting both by female and male journalists, as I highlight below, though the polarisation notably adopts a slightly different focus.

In an article by Mark Rice-Oxley (2017) ('The "masculine mystique" - why men can't ditch the baggage of being a bloke...' *The Guardian*, Nov 21 2017), the journalist describes the 'revolution that never happened' of the 'home-dad' as signifier of a redressing of the traditional roles of stay-at-home mothers and breadwinner fathers. The writer argues that cultural norms of masculinity, which he describes as 'being strong, dominant and successful' are leading to 'an epidemic of unhappiness similar to the one felt by Betty Friedan's 50s housewives'. He thus situates the current paternal

identities firmly within the 'crisis of masculinity' discourse which is discussed in in Chapters 2 and 6 of this study and pervades many of these texts both implicitly and explicitly. Although the crisis discourse is itself superficially questioned through the use of interrogative forms ('is it leading to an epidemic of unhappiness...?') and hedging asides, 'the crisis of masculinity, if it exists, is very different...', the assumption is that the 'crisis' is real and, in fact, a 'mirror-image' of the dissatisfaction felt by 50s housewives.

Moreover, the linguistic structure and tense choice in Extract 14 below highlights the pre-supposition that women's fight for equality (encapsulated by the clause 'Some of us might want to work') has essentially been won (and hence equality achieved), as indicated by the past tense use of the verbs: *Women... were saying; Women had an oppression to rail against; the outcome was a broad awakening...* ' in juxtaposition to *Men... are saying* and *The "oppression" of men is far more subtle*. This presupposes that the dissatisfaction once felt by women is in the past, in contrast to the current uncertainties, even inequalities, being experienced by men, according to the male journalist. Another pre-supposition in the text is that gender equalities are, in simple terms, equivalent to the right to work or the right to work less, rather than comprising a complex interaction of social, legal, cultural constraints which serve to ultimately regulate gendered identities and social roles. This not only oversimplifies what is meant by equality, but also contributes to the neoliberal co-optation of gender discourses (as discussed above), which arguably reduces gendered identities and roles to how they may or may not function as cogs in the neoliberal economic wheel.

Extract 14

The crisis of manhood, if it exists, is very different from that faced by women in the 50s and 60s. In some senses, it's a mirror image. Women - some at least - were saying: "Some of us might want to work." Men - some at least - are saying: "Some of us might want to work less." Women were saying: "We want to be taken seriously in public life." Men - some at least - are saying: "We want to be taken seriously in our private life."
(Mark Rice-Oxley, *The Guardian*, Nov 21, 2017)

Another significant presupposition in Extract 14 is that 'work' is only work when it is paid labour or employment in the public sphere. The suggestion that being at home is 'working less' is an indicator of the sustained traditional and ideological hierarchies established between work in the private and domestic sphere as opposed to work in the public sphere. It could be argued that work is indeed

another ‘cultural concept’ (Silverstein 2004) which is structured by contingent ‘knowledge schemata’ or ‘-onomic knowledge’ pertaining especially to ‘a macro-sociology of -onomic knowledge’ (Silverstein, 2004, p. 621). It is significant in this respect, because it underpins assumptions in these texts of what is considered work and what ‘work-type’ activities are privileged through particular social capital. It is perhaps unsurprising then that the ‘revolution’ (of stay-at-home fathers) never happened (according to the journalist and as discussed in the article), as it would involve a concomitant reduction of social status and power. Ultimately Rice Oxley’s article (Extract 14) is a clear example of what many scholars denounce as the false conviction that feminist movements are no longer relevant, as Silva (2015, p.169) explains:

In a mediated society where women are incessantly reminded of the ‘opportunities’ that are available to them, that they have ‘come a long way,’ and that it was the social movements and activism of earlier generations that brought them those rights, the continued need to fight to achieve equality is now said to be irrelevant and of little consequence. [...] The reality indicates that we haven’t arrived at all.
(Silva 2015, p.169)

Rice-Oxley’s article (Extract 14) also highlights an instance of a type of *ideological squaring* (Van Dijk 1998) which occurs in many of the media discussions of gender and parenting. The writer is both representing and linguistically encoding (through a structural juxtaposition repeated clauses and phrases) a polarisation in the experiences of the two social groups reflecting an implied ‘us’ (men) and ‘them’ (women) positioning. Although it is not clear whether the journalist is engaging in ‘positive self-presentation or face-keeping and its outgroup corollary, “negative other presentation”’ (Van Dijk, 1998: 267), there is an interplay of past and present associated with the two groups which underlines their distinctiveness. It suggests that the social inequalities experienced by one group (women) are no longer applicable and, arguably, have shifted on to the other group (men).

This polarisation and ideological squaring is apparent in many texts. For example, in an article lamenting and critiquing perceived differentiated demands on men’s and women’s parenting responsibilities, (‘A sexist culture of low expectations...’ *The Guardian*, Nov 24 2016), Livingston (2016) once again refers to a cline onto which men and women’s parental roles are mapped in stark opposition to each other; that of the emotional care of children versus their practical or domestic care which echoes the dominant discourses discussed in section 5.4 of the current chapter. The article thus conveys a sense of two groups (fathers and mothers) pitted in opposition to each other as well as an

arguably essentialist view of particular social roles in terms of a pre-supposed homogeneity of experience or representation:

Extract 15

Mothers deserve better than the restrictive yet overwhelming expectations they are laden with; fathers deserve better than the patronising one-dimensional image of them as cavemen unable to grapple with domestic life. (Eve Livingston, *The Guardian*, Nov 24, 2016)

5.7 Parent(s)

As a superordinate noun which is not specifically gendered semantically, an analysis of the behaviour of *parent(s)* in the corpora was another avenue of exploration for how discourses of parenthood in these texts might uncover and serve particular discursive representations of masculinity and femininity. One hypothesis was that the use of this term (rather than *mother*, *father* or equivalents) which in isolation obfuscates gender, had the potential for revealing a concern with more egalitarian and/or counter discourses of gender identity (within the context of parenting in this type of media text). As with its gendered hyponyms, this is a high frequency noun appearing in the top 100 for the whole corpus with over 250 instances of use, and its collocates and modifiers suggest *parent* carries significant ideological baggage as well as forming part of alternative identity discourses.

It is evident that when used in the plural form and not marked by other attributes, references to *parents* in the texts are likely to conform to heteronormative and conservative assumptions of the traditional parental figures in their traditional relationship to each other (i.e. male, female, heterosexual and likely married). This is articulated through implicature in some instances, but also signalled explicitly in other instances, as Extracts 16 and 17 respectively show:

Extract 16

While many women are expected to juggle both their work and home lives, she points out that no male CEO has made it to leading the boardroom while also being the **lead parent**. (Jo Confino, *The Guardian*, March 7, 2014)

Extract 17

He was born in Essex to working-class parents. He says his father, an engineer, was a weak and narrow-minded man. His mother suffered from mental illness... (Simon Hattenstone, *The Guardian*, October 8, 2014)

In Extract 16, the modifier *lead* again suggests that parenting responsibilities cannot be equally distributed and that the roles of mother and father are part of an implied hierarchy of involvement

which is determined by factors such as career status. This in turn reiterates the culturally-bound conservative discourses of parenting discussed earlier in the chapter in section 5.4.1. Furthermore, I would argue that *parent* is both a role and an activity which is discursively affiliated to the concept of work and the social role of worker which suggests that parenting has a discursive relationship to competitive neoliberal productivity and, by implication, neoliberal ideologies, which are defined succinctly by Bruce (2015, p. 46) as based on 'the core idea of ... economic freedom and autonomy of the individual.' This discursive link of parenting to economic labour is evident in the use of the modifier *lead* which is generally associated primarily with working roles as is exemplified even within this corpus (FM1) where *lead* as an adjective is a collocate of *investigator*, [acting] *role*, *author*, *surgeon*, *investigator*, *chronicler* and *perpetrator*. Similarly in another example the phrase 'portfolio parent' is used to describe parents who are able to work flexibly and independently, and thus with greater involvement in childcare. The implication in Extract 18 below is that such *portfolio parents* are, in fact, male, as women are referenced separately, and *parent* in this example functions as a synonym of *worker*. The effect of this is to suggest that this type of parenting is modern and progressive (like its equivalent of 'portfolio working') but also that it is particularly masculine. This is reiterated by the following sentence referring to the abstract nouns 'courage' and 'resilience' which are, arguably, typically [masculine] gendered traits.

Extract 18

Modern families are made up of co-earners and **portfolio parents** - and many women, as in my little nuclear family, are the main breadwinners.
It takes courage and resilience to dump that safe-but-suffocating job.
(John Perry, *The Guardian*, August 29, 2018)

Thus, this linearity between gendered roles (as represented through parenting) and economic productivity hints at the dominant neoliberal co-optation of gendered identity discourses as already discussed and supported by much of the literature.

5.7.1 Cultural parenting - intersectional identity markers

Unlike its hyponyms, the attributes of *parents* in these texts are considerably less evaluative and much more likely to align to other intersectional identity markers denoting age, class, ethnicity, cultural background, marital status, political affiliations and working status (as Figure 5 captures). *Parent* in corpus FM1

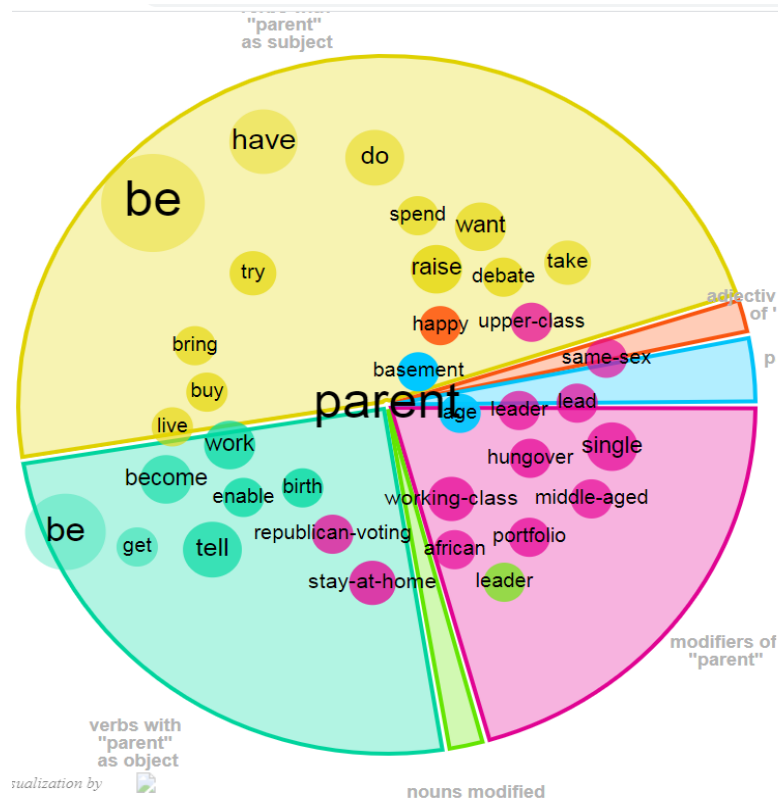


Figure 5 Graphic of word sketch for 'parent' FM1 (2013-2018)

The co-occurrence of *parent(s)* with other intersectional identity markers including *working-class*, *middle-aged*, *single*, *same-sex*, *republican-voting*, *upper-class* and *stay-at-home* suggests that the activity of parenting or how the role is socially enacted is potentially directed by these other collective sociocultural identities, for example:

Extract 19

Towards the end of the 19th century large numbers of men embraced sports and physical fitness, and launched fan clubs of pugnacious footballers and boxers. It wasn't just working men. **Upper-class parents** in America and Britain had begun to send their sons to boarding schools in the hope that their bodies and moral characters would be suitably toughened up in the absence of corrupting feminine influences.
(Pankaj Mishra, *The Guardian*, March 17, 2018)

Extract 20

When I was diagnosed with borderline personality disorder there was one clear message my **African parents** wanted me to understand: you keep this to yourself.
(Sarah Marsh and Guardian readers, *The Guardian*, November 24, 2016)

Extracts 19 and 20 show how class and cultural background drive both social actions and attitudes. In these cases the identity markers index a tendency towards the upholding of the dominant conservative discourses of certain privileged, hegemonic masculinities (Connell 1995) and the experiences (being sent to boarding school to be toughened up) and stances (men need to be both physically and mentally robust) often associated with them. This illustrates how parents and indeed parental functions both reflect and foster the dominant discourses of particular cultural domains indexed by intersectional identity markers such as ethnic group, class, religious affiliation and so on. As figures of authority, it is perhaps unremarkable that parents should serve this function, however, it is also in this sense that they feature in the biographical narratives representing frameworks either of censure, contrast or support which loom large on the identity constructions of those that invoke them, particularly among LGBTQ+ communities or those with non-heteronormative identities. This is as illustrated in the interview with Grayson Perry cited above (Grayson Perry: 'Just because you don't have a dress on doesn't stop you being a tranny' by Simon Hattenstone *The Guardian* Weekend, 8th October 2014) where the parental figures represent the traditionally conservative family milieu where an alternative transvestite identity and sexuality covertly flourished.

5.7.2 Resistance narratives— queering parents

Transgressive, alternative and counter-hegemonic identities are referred to throughout the current study (including Chapters 5 and 8). It is therefore worth noting that the corpora show also that the noun *parents* is also modified by *gay*, *same-sex*, *lesbian foster*, with *gay* appearing as frequently as *single* and there are many instances in which parents are at the core of discussions around alternative sexual or gender identities, as alluded to above. A common discursive trope in these texts about alternative family and personal identities is that of encountering or resisting prejudice. It is perhaps also significant that the *gay* and *same-sex* modifiers mentioned refer, in these cases, to female partners so the prejudice itself is represented as particularly gendered:

Extract 21

Yet still the received wisdom, first perpetuated by Freud, is that a boy needs a father in order to become a man. A boy with a mother, much less two of them, is more often pitied than praised. He will be fatherless, feminised, bullied. He might turn out to be gay. This prejudice masquerading as concern is directed not just at gay parents but all women. The underlying message? Mothers aren't enough.

(Chitra Ramaswamy, *The Guardian*, May 5, 2015)

This experience of prejudice is echoed in the statements from a long feature which captures a worldwide survey (*The Guardian*, 2013) eliciting personal responses to the question 'What is it like to

be gay around the world in 2013?' The article (see Extract 22) is especially significant partly because of its length (over 9500 words) but also because the accounts involve extended direct speech (see Extract 22 below). Discursively this has several effects which might be interpreted according to Van Leeuwen's (1996) inventory of ways in which social actors might be classified, particularly personalisation and individualisation. According to Machin and Mayr (2015, p. 79-80), the effects of impersonalisation can lend weight to particular discourses since they can represent institutions or whole communities rather than individuals. However, in this article the personalisation and individualisation have the ideological effect of giving members of the LGBTQ+ a voice and thus affording them power and potential reader empathy. As well as this there are enough 'voices' collated to confer emergent motifs and their associated discourses (for example, resistance to or overcoming of prejudice) with arguably greater significance.

Extract 22

Weekend: Over the rainbow: Russia introduces an anti-gay law, while Britain makes marriage legal. So what's it like to be gay around the world in 2013? Men and women from Afghanistan to Uruguay talk about love, the law and coming out to your mum
(Jonathan Watts, Tom Kington, Jason Burke, Harriet Sherwood, Kim Wilsher, Dan Nolan, Harriet Sherwood, Jo Tuckman, Mexico, Helen Russell, Patrick Kingsley, Afua Hirsch, Jonathan Watts, Helen Russell. *Guardian Weekend*, November 16, 2013)

Finally, there is resistance expressed in these texts to the naturalised hegemonic discourse of parenthood itself. As Extract 23 shows, one male reader's letter introduces the terms *non-mother*, *non-father* and *non-parent* to signal the erasure and discrimination towards those who do not access the social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) of parenthood itself, albeit again depending on its complex, culturally-determined and hierarchical forms:

Extract 23

Bibi Lynch ('It's exhausting and crushing', *Family*, 29 October) nails the emotional cruelties casually handed out to non-mothers (to adapt her preferred term of non-parents). Non-fathers are on the receiving end of similar treatment. At its worst, while dads are happily left in charge of other parents' children, we non-fathers are not so trusted. It was recently suggested to me that paedophiles are "mostly men without kids".
(Letters, *The Guardian*, November 1, 2016)

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed how *mothers*, *fathers* and *parents* as salient social identity categories in the corpus are at the core of gendered identity representations in these newspaper texts and the discourses of masculinities and femininity embedded in them. In response to Research Question 1,

the data reveals how conservative discourses of traditional and unequal gender roles and relations are dialectically related to egalitarian discourses though it is not always clear which is dominant in these texts. I argue that texts in this corpus are not easily classifiable into particular discourse positions or domains, but rather that they present and reflect the tensions involved in both male and female parental identity positions. In this respect a superficial reading might suggest greater equality and a disruption of the conservative gender order but this oversimplifies a complex and hierarchically organised matrix of polysemous discourses, which operate dialectically. Some of the similarities captured (between the representation of male and female parental roles) hint at the potential dominance of more egalitarian discourses. The data articles suggest that *mother* and *father* are potentially contested and problematic identity options and both affected by a neoliberal co-optation. This in turn suggests that parenting and working are considered in relation to one another and the tensions effectively lie between the working and parental roles and their respective demands.

However, a discourse of competition and discord subverts this apparent equality; in these texts women seem to be in competition with other women, while men are primarily in competition with the opposite sex. This in turn relates to theories of hegemony (Gramsci 1971) which suggest that this type of disarticulation serves ultimately to re-establish dominant discourses. Notwithstanding this suggestion that gender inequality persists and has been normalised (which related to Research Question 1 of this thesis), the texts also show that there are signs of disruption and a destabilising of the traditional gender order through the explicit and reiterative consideration of alternative, heterogeneous, non-heteronormative and minority identities. This potential shift and disruption partially addresses Research Question 2 of this thesis, suggesting that while certain discourses remain dominant, gender representations in The Guardian also show a growing tendency to resist such discourses.

Chapter 6. Feminists and Feminism

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter the role of feminism and feminists in the discursive representation and construction of gender identities in the corpus is explored. Since the current study focuses on opinion articles in newspaper texts, it contributes to an existing and significant body of work which connects (feminist) linguistics with feminism in other disciplines such as media. As has been noted by theorists, ‘a wide range of research on language, gender and sexuality’ has ‘feminist foundations’ (Bucholtz 2017, p. 23). Therefore, as well as the prevalence of feminism and feminists in the academic literature, it is not surprising that they are also central foci in a corpus of media articles related to gender and specifically the constructions of femininity and masculinity.

The noun *feminist* is 37th in the keyword list in corpus FM1 (articles from 2013 to 2018) and one of the few social actors which appears in the keyword list which is not, at least superficially, semantically generic as many of the others are (e.g. *friend*, *man*, *woman*, etc.). Moreover, *feminist* (as both noun and adjective) is clearly salient and relatively frequent in my data when compared to other reference corpora such as the English Web 2015 (enTenTen15). An initial comparison of the keywords for both my focus corpus (FM1) and the reference corpus shows the relative frequency score for *feminist* is 1.2 for the reference corpus compared to 189.2 for my focus corpus (see Figure 6). Figure 6 also shows a ‘score’ of 84.12 which, in *Sketch Engine*, gives an indication of the relative frequency of a word in two corpora⁴.

Although *feminist* and indeed *feminism* are both frequent nouns in my corpus, the adjectival form is also frequent (ranked 28th in the keyword list) and denotes that *feminism* is also represented by the phrases such as *feminist movement* and *feminist theory*. The latter are the two most frequent adjective + noun combinations in the corpus, with 18 and 9 instances and logDice scores of 10.3 and 9.84 respectively, as indicated by the wordsketch representation of *feminist* as an adjective. Therefore feminists and feminism are closely connected in this corpus though sometimes in intriguing ways. For

⁴ The associated figure refers to the simple maths calculation which ‘is a method for identifying keywords of one corpus vs another. It includes a variable which allows the user to turn the focus either on higher or lower frequency words. Generally, a higher value (100, 1000, ...) ... focuses on higher-frequency words (more common words), whereas a lower value (1, 0.1, ...) focusses on low-frequency (more rare words)’ (Kilgarrieff, 2015 www.sketchengine.eu/).

example, feminism as a movement or theory is sometimes invoked in relation to specific feminists or feminist identities. However, in other instances these texts highlight the omission or erasure of feminism (in terms of the theories, political positions and aims of the movement) in discussions about feminist identities and gender representations or relations.

Keywords | Sketch Engine

	Word	Frequency?		Relative freq.?		Score
		Focus	Reference	Focus	Reference	
1	masculinity	1,073	34,257	1,335.906	2.223	414.83
2	femininity	374	16,512	465.637	1.071	225.28
3	patriarchy	203	18,194	252.739	1.181	116.37
4	feminism	366	54,351	455.677	3.527	100.89
5	masculine	241	37,968	300.05	2.464	86.92
6	misogyny	108	8,646	134.462	0.561	86.78
7	sexist	152	18,546	189.243	1.203	86.34
8	feminist	732	151,746	911.355	9.846	84.12
9	sexism	167	24,188	207.918	1.569	81.31
10	tran	271	54,411	337.4	3.531	74.69
11	Trump	353	77,652	439.492	5.039	72.95
12	Pg	98	11,796	122.012	0.765	69.68
13	manhood	123	20,582	153.137	1.335	66
14	Grayson	96	17,189	119.522	1.115	56.98
15	Guardian.com	45	67	56.026	0.004	56.78
16	feminine	233	71,565	290.09	4.644	51.58
17	block-time	38	18	47.311	0.001	48.25

Figure 6 Keyword comparison for FM1 and enTenTen 15

This chapter explores several main questions including how feminists, and by extension feminism, are represented in my corpus and how such representations operate discursively; what type of feminists or feminist identities are represented in the articles and the significance of this in understanding gendered identity constructions and gender relations as well as the possible ideological underpinnings of both. This perspective relates to Research Questions 1 and 2 of this study. I also consider how the representation of feminists in my data compares to the established literature and other mainstream media representations. In the sections that follow, I first outline the significance of feminism and feminists in *The Guardian* both in terms of topical coverage and in relation to particular journalists or contributors to the newspaper. This is followed by an analysis of how feminists are represented and a subsequent consideration of the discourses that frame and drive such representations (section 5.3). Section 5.4 explores the discourse of identity politics in the corpus in relation to the previous section (5.3) and to an overview of the labels for feminists used in the corpus. Section 5.5 constitutes an analysis of the relationship between feminists and masculinities, which is followed by a related focus on significant salient verbal processes and related discourses of silence and dissent (section 5.6) in the

corpus. The chapter ends with an investigation of the representations of academic feminists and feminism highlighting a significant discursive shift over time in representations of academic feminism in my corpus, as well as a consideration of the potential relationships between and ideological framing of the various discourses detected.

6.2 *The Guardian* on Feminists

The Guardian as a broadsheet with left-leaning tendencies (see Chapter 1) has been highlighting feminists and issues of concern to them for at least two decades (Dean 2010, Jonsson 2014). The paper has a section specifically dedicated to 'Feminism' in its online version (see <https://www.theguardian.com/world/feminism>) and the articles in my corpus capture a range of ideological positions with regards to feminism as well as being written by various types of feminists (such as academic feminists, liberal feminists or activist feminists) and public figures. The variety of 'types' relates partly to the various definitions or understandings of feminism (see the definition in Chapter 1 of this study), but they also have ideological connotations. These feminist labels are identified in the literature but are also based on writers' professional activities. Nevertheless the labels are not always clearly delineated or even distinct. Issues relating to the identification of and espousal of feminism are discussed in this chapter and relate to the co-existence of various understandings of feminism discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 of this study. An informed readership is likely to associate these public figures with particular intersectional identity markers (related to age, socio-political views sexual orientation or profession, for example) so texts included are by writers such as Louise Mensch, Laurie Penny and Anna Ford⁵ as well as established *Guardian* columnists who frequently focus on feminist issues, such as Hadley Freeman. There is also a proliferation of references in-text to well-known mainly western feminist public figures such as Naomi Woolf, Caroline Criado-Perez, bell hooks, Gloria Steinem, Germaine Greer and Sheryl Sandberg, among others.

In his study of the representation of feminism in *The Guardian* and *The Times*, Dean (2010, p. 296) argues that *The Guardian* reveals 'sites of contestation' rather than a coherent single representation of feminism and its social actors explaining that:

⁵ Louise Mensch is a British blogger, novelist, and former Conservative Member of Parliament; Laurie Penny is a feminist English journalist, columnist and author; Anna Ford is an English former journalist, television presenter and newsreader.

The vast majority of articles explicitly about feminism appear either in the comment section of the paper, or in the “comment is free” section of the paper’s website, which consists of short opinion pieces that can be commented on by readers. The articles are, for the most part, written by freelance journalists, or sometimes experts in specific fields, including academics and activists. It is thus nonsensical to conceptualise a single “Guardian position” on feminism. (Dean 2010, p. 296)

Although it is true that a range of (often conflicting) views are given a platform, and that this may well signal contestation (Dean 2010) and indeed social change (Lazar 2017), the analysis below highlights how it is nevertheless possible to identify prevalent discourses and discourse hierarchies. A discussion of the interpretations or articulations of feminism forms the basis of the sections below starting with an exploration of feminist identity constructions and representations in these texts and the discourses associated with these.

6.3 Representations of feminists

Academic studies of the representations of feminists and feminism in the media tend to concur that, at best, they are conflicted and ambivalent and that more widely they tend to conform to negative stereotypes converging around views of feminists as humourless, anti-(hetero)sexual and angry (Dean 2010, Jaworska and Krishnamurty 2012, Scharff 2014). Similarly, recurrent allusions are made to Faludi’s (2009) exploration of the backlash to feminism, and McRobbie’s ‘double entanglement’, (2009, p. 12) in which feminism is at once invoked, taken into account, and maligned across the public domain’ (Dean 2010, p.391) .

This persistent disavowal of feminism, highlighted in the literature, has arguably made *feminist* a label of primary potency that ‘operates as a negative cognitive frame’ (Jaworska and Krishnamurty 2012, p.403, citing Bushman and Lenart, 1996). Many of the arguments derived from previous academic studies seem to be borne out in my corpus though the authorial and editorial stances towards feminists in the data are multifaceted. Wordsketch searches and closer readings of how feminists are represented coalesce around several discursive tropes, some of which clearly chime with Rhode’s (1995) identification of media strategies used to undermine the status and legitimacy of feminists and their concerns; *demonisation*, *personalisation* and *trivialisation*, and *polarisation*.

One way of analysing the representation of particular social actors or groups and uncovering the discourses attached to them is to investigate the collocates of nouns which refer to these actors within a corpus. As Baker (2006, p. 96) asserts, citing Stubbs (1996, p. 172), ‘...words occur in characteristic collocations, which show the associations and connotations they have, and therefore the assumptions

which they embody.’ In order to examine the collocates of *feminist*, I started with a *word sketch* of the *feminist* as a noun in FM1.

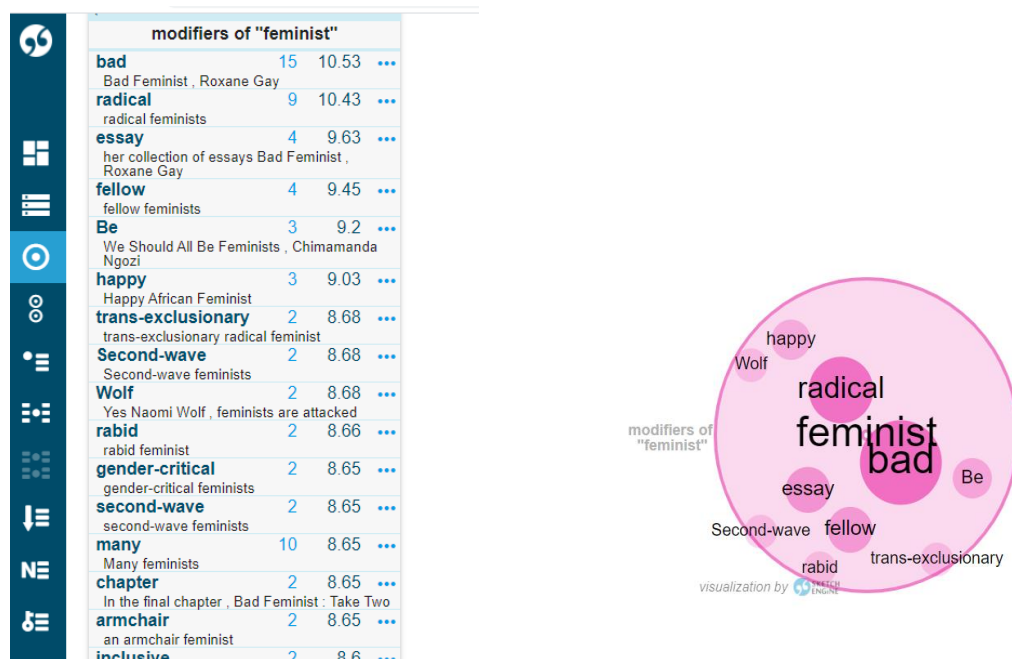


Figure 7 Word sketch of 'feminist' as noun in FM1.

Figure 7 shows that the two most frequent modifiers of *feminist* in my entire corpus (FM1) are *bad* and *radical*. Although the former is discussed in a slightly different context below, all but two of the fifteen instances of the collocation *bad feminist* refer to the 2014 publication *Bad Feminist* by Roxane Gay⁶. Having analysed each concordance line of the fifteen contiguous co-occurrences of *bad* with *feminist* in my corpus, FM1, it was possible to see that two articles which included four instances of the collocation were the same article in two different sub-corpora, and the other five co-occurrences, although from different articles, were also referring to the same publication (*Bad Feminist*). Therefore, I discounted *bad feminist* as a linguistic collocation, in this instance, as it primarily referred to the title of a book. Nevertheless it is worth noting that debates on what it means to be a good or bad feminist are evident in the data and relate to specific discourses as I demonstrate later in this chapter.

The initial exclusion of *bad* as a collocate of *feminist* means that *radical* with a typicality (logDice) score of 10.26 is the strongest actual adjectival collocate in the data with 9 instances in the corpus (one

⁶ *Bad Feminist* by Roxane Gay is a collection of essays some of which deal overtly with the contradictions inherent in espousing both traditional heteronormative femininity and all its accoutrements, and feminist discourses.

repeated) and a fairly even temporal distribution. It appears in two articles from 2013, two from 2015, one from 2016, one from 2017 and two from 2018, and appearing equally in the masculinity and femininity subcorpora (MASC 1, MASC2, FEM1 and FEM2). Although semantically the term *radical* is not neutral in that it denotes forms of political extremism, its contextual use can be inflected with positive or negative associations. For example, a *radical thinker* or a *radical theory* may be positively associated with innovation and originality whereas *radical extremism* can be associated with negative representations of, especially *religious* dogmatism and intolerance. *Radical feminism* may be contextually imbued with either, or indeed both, positive or negative evaluations. Other quasi-synonymous terms to *radical* and indeed the discourse prosodies of *radical feminist* in the corpus produce modifiers such as *militant rad*, *maverick libertarian*, *hardcore*, *militant lesbo*, and compounds such as *angry femi-nazi*. This range of modifiers seems to reveal apparently derogatory and/or anti-social associations; *hardcore* connotes pornography, *lesbo* is an offensive term for lesbian, *nazi*, *militant* and *angry* all relate semantically to violent intolerance and confrontation. However, where these most derogatory referents are used, they are generally ironic and aim rather to subvert negative associations of unreasonable extremism and social marginalisation.

This subversion of negative stereotypes is exemplified in Extract 1 below in which the writer, Jenni Murray⁷, effectively appropriates the term *militant lesbo* in order to symbolically and physically align herself with this feminist social group, by ‘sitting’ with them. Moreover, the *militant lesbos* and the issue of *working mothers* are pitted in opposition to the interviewee, Margaret Thatcher, whose authority is undermined as robotic and unfeeling through the nominal referent *prototype*. The latter refers to the prime minister and what is described in the article as her new image aimed at reengaging with her electorate. Similarly the informal and prosaic use of *boss* and the withholding of honorifics in relation to her political leadership, as Machin and Mayr (2015, p.82) point out, serve discursively to diminish the authority and power of the subject (Thatcher). This disempowerment is also achieved through the passivised verb processes *was tested* and *was questioned* of which the Prime Minister is the subject and the subordinate clause in which *was questioned* is syntactically situated. Furthermore, the writers’ reported difficulty *keeping a straight face*, the informality of the nominal phrase *some fairly hairy moments* and the conversation discourse marker *I must admit* further underscore a tone of humour and irony.

⁷ Jenni Murray, a well-known Radio 4 broadcaster and journalist, writes about an interview with Margaret Thatcher on Women’s Hour, *The Guardian*, April 9, 2013

Extract 1

After some fairly hairy moments in the wind tunnel, the new prototype was tested on Woman's Hour, where the boss was questioned by one of the *militant lesbos* about the role of the working mother. </s><s> I had some trouble keeping a straight face, I must admit, as I sat behind the glass, with all the other lesbos knitting their CND T-shirts. Jenni Murray, a well-known Radio 4 broadcaster and journalist, writes about an interview with Margaret Thatcher on Women's Hour: 'Margaret Thatcher 1925-2013: 'I DON'T LIKE STRIDENT FEMALES'...' (Jenni Murray, *The Guardian*, April 9, 2013)

As well as this ironic subversion, the *militant lesbos* are textually aligned with feminism which is represented positively. Not only are the *lesbos* holding a politician to account (they are the agents of *was questioned*), but they are associated with serious socio-political issues and concerns regarding working motherhood and the campaign for nuclear disarmament (CND). The potentially negative connotations of militancy, aggression or intolerance in the noun phrase *militant lesbos* are ultimately refuted by the descriptive relative clause *knitting CND T-shirts* which connotes a familiar, benign and ultimately non-threatening femininity indexed through the gendered and cultural practice of *knitting*.

Notwithstanding such ironic subversions and positive representations of feminists, the following examples in extracts 2 and 3 show how the discourse prosodies of *radical feminist* more subtly reinstate negative representations of them:

Extract 2

In the late 1980s, there was a schism among feminist activists whereby some **radical feminists** began excluding women whose female identity was anything other than entirely conventional. This exclusion has been controversial and small-minded from the outset. It continues to this day, even though it seems plain that the last thing needed by women who have suffered so much trauma to be accepted for what they are, is this fundamental and fundamentalist rejection. (Deborah Orr, *The Guardian*, January 19, 2013)

In Extract 2 above, Deborah Orr presents *radical feminists* as the active agents of exclusion (of other suffering women) and evaluates their 'action' as *controversial*, *small-minded* and *fundamentalist* (a particularly loaded adjective in its associations with religious extremism and associated violent terrorism). Discursively, the opposition is linguistically signalled through various syntactic and semantic mechanisms, including impersonalisation and nominalisations in the text. In the first clause, *there was a schism among feminists*, the use of *There was* represents an existential process which, as Thomson (2004, p. 105) explains, suggests that the writer 'is renouncing the opportunity to represent

the participant(s) (the Existent) as involved in any 'goings-on', and the distinctive structural pattern provides an explicit signal of this renunciation'. As well as this, the relative clause explaining the *schism whereby some radical feminists began excluding women* includes an active material process which becomes subsequently nominalised: *This exclusion, It (continues), rejection*. As Machin and Mayr (2015, p. 137) note, among others, nominalisation can have ideological effects in that they 'can obscure agency and responsibility'. In this extract, nominalisation has the particular effect of concealing an active debate (about trans women) and ascribing a *de facto* and, by implication, intransigent political stance to the *radical feminists*. As the entire article concerns the public debate among feminists of whether women born biologically male (who may be transgender or not) are accepted unequivocally as women, the author's stance and negative representation is clear in that her qualification of the women in question suggests they are 'other than conventional' and 'women who have suffered', passivising them as the victims, in this case of the exclusionary radical feminists.

Extract 3

What kind of feminists do these girls consider themselves at 17 years old? "I'm not a very **radical feminist**," says Gao. "I don't think there's any point in getting angry or berating an individual. These issues [of gender equality] are not the cause of one person - it is society, the accumulation of history."
(Yuan Ren, *The Guardian*, February 29, 2016)

In Extract 3, the direct quotation of the *negative* identity statement 'I'm not a very radical feminist' enacts a clear repudiation, but it is in response to a leading rhetorical question about what *kind* of feminist the interviewee is. The implicature of Gao's justification (in Extract 3) is that radical feminists misdirect their anger to individuals who are not responsible for collective social ills. It should be noted too that the most frequent noun collocates of *angry* in the corpus is *sisterhood* which itself invokes feminists, and other associated modifiers of feminist such as *enraged*, *strident* and *militant* also link semantically to anger and to feminists in the corpus.

The two examples above (Extracts 2 and 3) highlight the negative representations of radical feminists but also belie a discourse of conflict as well as relating closely to a discourse of identity politics which is explored later in this chapter. This discourse is articulated in various ways and contributes to the reduction of feminists and feminism to an identity struggle which arguably undermines their agency and effectiveness as social *actors*. The polarisation of feminists in the data operates in several contexts, and both implicitly and explicitly highlight discord. This polarisation strategy (by the media) is signalled in the literature; Rhode (1995, p. 701) in explaining how feminist protests are reported in the media suggests 'that debates among women are cast as catfights. Men remain above the fray as

seemingly objective onlookers, never opponents, in the feminist struggle (Douglas 1994, 185, 221). Such coverage undercuts claims to sisterhood while masking male resistance to gender equality.' Similarly in commenting on the US media coverage of feminism, Loke et al (2017, p. 125) describe a struggle of 'authority to define' what a feminist is. This is a struggle in which one group (of women) delegitimises another, as the authors illustrate:

Kathleen Parker (2010), a syndicated columnist, wrote, 'proving one's feminist bona fides has become the latest challenge for women aspiring to public office' (para. 1). Parker (2010) questioned the definition of a 'real' feminist versus one who is a 'faux' feminist (para. 2)... (Loke *et al* 2017, p.125).

This legitimisation or delegitimation of certain identities relates also to the trope of the *bad* or *false feminist* in the corpus articles and is another way in which an adversarial discourse is operationalised. The recurrence of this motif is evident in the data as Figure 8 shows. The *word sketch* of *feminist* shows that of the 10 verbs that appear as collocates with *feminist* as object, *be* has 70 instances while all the others have either 2 or 3 instances in the data. On examining the concordance lines of *be + feminist* (as object), 15 of the instances (Figure 8) show that there is a concern in the corpus with definitions of authentic feminism and the associated expectations about the beliefs or identity positions (lines 4, 6, 7, 14), political affiliations (lines 1, 2, 8) behaviours (lines 5, 10) and tastes (line 12) of *real* or *proper* feminists. Such implicit expectations of a 'true' feminist identity serve to alienate those who deviate from certain beliefs and practices, which tend to conform, by implication, to *second-wave*, *radical* or *activist* feminist identity constructions. 9

Figure 8 Concordance lines of 'be' + 'feminist' (as object), 15 instances

filter [#575987 #558164 #452721 #409110 #334780 #3226... 15 (18.68 per million) X				
	Details	Left context	KWIC	Right context
1	doc#60	November 17, 2016 Thursday 8:00 AM Can you be a	feminist	and vote for Donald Trump? </s><s> Yes, you can; W
2	doc#60	voted for Trump and whether this means they 're not	feminists	. </s><s> Here's what they said. </s><s> Laura, 27: 'I
3	doc#66	Because it's important to talk the talk, but if you are a	feminist	you will also want to walk the walk. </s><s> I've found
4	doc#66	: </s><s> If what you see makes you angry, you 're a	feminist	. </s><s> You can comment on this article and others on our
5	doc#73	Is or otherwise - obviously doesn't mean you are n't a	feminist	. </s><s> Perhaps, then, hen dos are a neat metapho
6	doc#93	lives at 17 years old? </s><s> "I 'm not a very radical	feminist	," says Gao. </s><s> "I don't think there's any point in
7	doc#116	/ among western feminism that "you can't be a proper	feminist	if you are a woman of faith". </s><s> From the anti-M
8	doc#123	like to twist into proof that Thatcher was an unwitting	feminist	. </s><s> These include, "We have to show them that
9	doc#183	n down your throat. </s><s> This is the Trojan Horse	feminists	and Hollywood leftists will use to (vainly) insist on the
10	doc#243	lised medicine-loving pinko academic. </s><s> I 'm a	feminist	, for God's sake. </s><s> What am I doing spending e
11	doc#250	d on Pride and Prejudice. </s><s> If Bridget is a bad	feminist	, is Lizzie Bennet? </s><s> Is Jane Austen? </s><s>
12	doc#299	bellling herself with the "f" word. </s><s> "I am a bad	feminist	because I am . . . a woman who loves pink." </s><s>
13	doc#323	r Rhiannon Lucy Cossett's piece on being half-arsed	feminists	. </s><s> It's okay, guys. . Check out the Confused C
14	doc#409	pain. . . . Jessa Crispin is the author of Why I Am Not a	Feminist	: A Feminist Manifesto </s><s> 11 </s><s> November
15	doc#424	like everyone else. </s><s> "I would rather be a bad	feminist	than no feminist at all," she writes, and on reading this

An examination of all the concordance lines of *feminist* as a noun (with 407 instances in FM1) shows that there are modifiers of *feminist* and related discourses prosodies suggested by syntactic structures which adhere to this discourse of authenticity or legitimization. They include the adjectives or modifiers *faux*, *armchair*, *half-arsed* (line 13, Figure 8) as well as complex constructions such as *you can't be a proper feminist if...* (line 7, Figure 8) or *while identifying as a feminist, I...* It is worth noting that this de-legitimation and conflict can be self-directed and internalised; women are presented and present themselves as problematically espousing a feminist stance whilst conforming to traditional embodied and social practices of hegemonic femininity (perceived as oppressive) or of remaining passive in the pursuit of feminist goals, as Extract 4 below illustrates. The mental processes (Halliday 1994, Thompson 2004) associated with the subject and narrator of the extract make her a senser, rather than an active agent, and the semantic hedging intrinsic to *tried to* and the use of *probably* suggest passivity and uncertainty notwithstanding the writer's self-proclaimed attempts to engage actively with feminism by *get[ting] out of the armchair*.

Extract 4

I remember my stepdad calling me an armchair feminist when I was about 14, which made me really furious. He was probably right. I've tried to get out of the armchair.
(Alice Birch, *The Guardian*, January 22, 2015)

Other examples of discourses of conflict are discernible. In Extract 5, the brief categorical affirmation *Wolf's words aren't feminist* allows for no nuance and, perhaps more importantly, pits one individual public feminist against another. In the article, Criado-Perez and Naomi Wolf (both well known feminist authors) are critical of each other's positions with respect of female persecution on social media, with both fundamentally disagreeing on how to manage or militate against the online abuse experienced by many female feminist public figures. In the article, the journalist uses the *trap* metaphor (in Extract 5 below) suggesting there is danger in assuming the wrong feminist ideological or identity positions. This is another strategy identified by Rhode (1995) which she suggests is typical treatment by the media of public figures, but with a 'special edge' for feminists; 'A favorite strategy is to personalise women's political struggle' (Rhode, 1995, p. 694).

Extract 5

So Wolf's words aren't feminist.
Strong claim, I know. But to be fair to Wolf, it's an easy **trap** to fall into.
(Caroline Criado-Perez. *The Guardian*. October 22, 2013)

Conversely, in Extract 6, one type of feminist (liberal or corporate) is abstracted and homogenised into *American feminism*. The latter is reinforced as the agent of *gets organised, sees where power lies and mobilises*. The liberal feminist position is signalled through the use of an economic discourse (*power* and *money* repeated twice) and military and governance discourses (*mobilises, run for office, legislate, influence*). The material processes reflect the writer's view of *American feminism* as active and dynamic, and the use of the present simple tenses suggest conviction in the characteristics of this form of feminism. Similarly, the simplified syntactic structure which adopts the form of a definition and use of nominalisation to refer to capitalist processes (*running for office, founding a company, becoming COO...*), further underlines the writers claim to authority:

...feminism ...is about [nominalisation], [nominalisation] + [nominalisation],
empowerment [...] *means* [nominalisation=money].

The effects of capitalism, then, are evident in this representation through discourses with aggressive competition and contingent connotations of survival of the fittest at their core. It is also clear that the writer essentialises feminism in America by representing it as a monolithic, class-bound and homogenous identity position whose behaviours conform to liberal economic and political drivers and indicators of social power.

Extract 6

American feminism gets organised. It sees where power lies, and it mobilises to achieve it. It gets its candidates elected. Feminism here is about running for office, founding a company, becoming COO of Face-book or Yahoo. It is power feminism that realises that actual empowerment for women means getting more money, since money and liberty often equate, and being able to legislate or influence.

(Louise Mensch. *The Guardian*, May 30 2013)

Aside from the provocative *stepdad* in Extract 4, it is notable that the critique of a particular feminist position in much of the discussion in the articles in my corpus is primarily among women as previous extracts 2, 3, 5 and 6 show. It is not represented as a debate or conflict in which men are involved unlike, for example, the civil rights movement (Van Delinder, 2009). This seems to cohere with Dean's (2010) finding that in *The Guardian* feminism is 'domesticated' so that where it is combative and challenging, in many instances, this is neither threatening nor indeed especially relevant to masculine identities. He argues that the 'dominant rhetorical strategy in *The Guardian* is to "domesticate" feminism by affirming it at the same time that the traces of "man-hating" — and perhaps, by extension, a critique of men — are disavowed.' (Dean 2010, p.398). Although to an extent, my data supports this argument, the representation of feminists has evolved towards more nuanced and potentially positive, representations in more recent articles (subcorpora MASC2 and FEM2) as is explored in more depth below.

Although there is much serious consideration and argumentation in these media texts about the merits of feminism and the tensions between particular *types* of feminism there is also some trivialisation of feminists and feminism. Extracts 7 and 8 illustrate this. In both, the performance and indexes of femininity are trivialised to the merely physical; *shaving hair* in extract 7 and wearing *high-heeled shoes* in extract 8) and these markers of femininity are presented in these excerpts as explicitly at odds with feminism and feminists. In extract 7 below, Hadley Freeman adopts an initial position, in the first two sentences, which aligns to a rejection of the requirement for women to remove their body hair, only to syntactically undermine this position in the third sentence beginning with *Yet...* She further uses colloquialisms *hairy gams* and *pits* to add humour to what is by implication a feminist issue on the constraining societal expectations of idealised femininity and its associations with hairlessness. The underlying humour effectively trivialises the issue and its underlying ideological effects.

Extract 7

There is, unquestionably, plenty of sense here. There is no reason at all, really, why women should be expected to shave their legs and under their arms and men not. Yet the link between

femininity and hairlessness is so strong that even the most well-intentioned feminist can flinch a little at seeing photos of hairy gams and pits.
(Hadley Freeman, *The Guardian*, August 5, 2014)

Extract 8 highlights, once again, apparent disputes between varying feminist positions by invoking other social identity categorisations related (here) to class and gender. The dispute is underlined by the pronouns *we* and *our* and *their* whereby the writer positions herself as a particular type of middle-class feminist repudiated by other female and feminist groups. This pronoun use also brings the reader into an in-group which is middle-class, powerful (sits on *editorial boards*) inclusive or accepting of trans women, but not hyper feminine, while othering *activists* (who are presumably not middle class), *essential feminists*, and particular performances of femininity. The latter and the reference to *fuck-me shoes* also implies a repudiation of expressions of femininity which may be inflected by class and conform to traditional hegemonic gender roles and relations. And again in this extract, radical feminist positions or identities are cast as strident and angry (*activists, essential*) through the only active material process in the clause *shouted at*.

Extract 8

Since then we have been shouted at by activists for being middle class, by essential feminists for having a trans woman on our editorial board, and by the high-heeled for condemning femininity in general, and their "fuck-me shoes" in particular.
(From International Women's Day debates. *The Guardian*. March 8, 2014)

As well as polarisation, the trivialisation of feminists and feminism is a strategy well-documented in the literature (Rhode 1995, Skeggs 1997, Lind and Salo 2002, Jaworska and Krishnamurty 2012 and Scharff 2014). By focusing on appearance and the body as well as the performative practices of traditional femininities, the serious issues of gender equality, reproductive rights, and gender violence, for example, are obfuscated.

6.4 Discourse of identity politics

As suggested in the introduction to this chapter and section 5.3 above, identity politics emerges as a distinct discourse framing the representations of feminists in the corpus. Identity politics is a complex concept with multiple definitions and interpretations as Bernstein (2005, p.48) highlights, citing Lichterman (1999) who refers to it as a "slippery term." Moreover, Bernstein explains that 'Fraser (1997, p.113) concludes that 'the expression "identity politics" is increasingly used as a derogatory synonym for feminism, anti-racism, and anti-heterosexism' (Bernstein 2005, p.48). I concur with Bernstein's (2005, p.48) view that identity politics essentially suggests 'competing theoretical ways to

understand the relationship between experience, culture, identity, politics and power.’ The analysis of my corpus data FM1 suggests that in representing feminists and feminism, the range, varieties and conflicts between different feminist and gendered identity positions are given primacy over feminist political issues (such as abortion rights or equal pay, to name a few), as well as potentially obscuring the cooperation or collaboration among various social and feminist groups, and it is in this sense that identity politics as a discourse underpins the data.

Aside from competing types of feminism discussed above and evident, for example, in Extract 8 and the proliferation of labels in the corpus discussed, the *word sketch* for feminist (noun) in FM1 shows that the most frequent verb collocate of *feminist* (along with the preposition *as*) is *identify*, as Figure 9 illustrates.

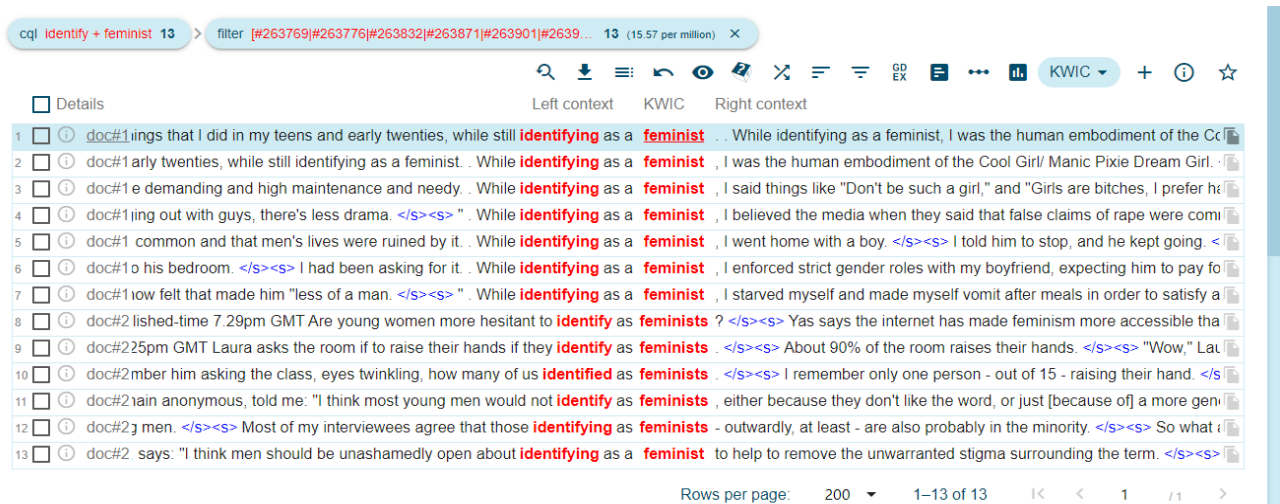


Figure 9 Concordance extract of 'identify + as +feminist' in FM1

Having found that *identify (as)* is the highest frequency verb and a marked identifying verbal process (Halliday 1994) associated with *feminists*, the whole corpus, FM1, was examined for other nominal co-occurrences with 'identify as'. This revealed that the verb almost exclusively appears in connection to gender queer or transgender identity affirmations and non-heteronormative sexualities in this corpus (*identify as* appears with *feminist*, but also with *bisexual*, *transgender*, *male*, *female*, *woman*, *men*, *lesbian*, *heterosexual*, *a gay woman*, *gender queer*, *LGBT*). This significant discursive link between feminists and alternative or counter-hegemonic gender and sexual identity positions yields several complex and potentially overlapping as well as conflicting interpretations.

In one sense, there is the negative representation or stereotype of the *radical feminist* which, as highlighted in the analysis of extracts 1, 2 and 3 is popularly characterised as angry, man-hating and/or

lesbian. Furthermore, this stereotype is identified repeatedly in the literature; e.g. Rhode 1995, Jaworsky and Krishnamurthy 2012, Scharff 2014, *inter alia*) and to an extent explains the (also documented) popular disavowal of feminists. As well as this, there is the possibility that feminists have been central to debates around performative gender identity constructions (in Butler's (1990) sense), particularly given the semantic nuances of *identify as* which suggest both an individual and deliberate espousal of an identity (rather than it being ascribed), which is where discursive connections might be drawn. However, I would argue that the use of *identify as* (rather than less marked *be/am*) has an othering effect on *feminists* as social actors. This use of *identify as* positions feminists (though not exclusively) in an outgroup in the hegemonic gender order, particularly since the construction tends to capture the dissonance between feminist ideologies and hegemonic 'feminine' practices, behaviours or actions which might be construed as oppressive to women (and therefore *unfeminist*) as the example below highlights (Extract 9).

Extract 9

While identifying as a feminist, I starved myself and made myself vomit after meals in order to satisfy an idea of what I thought an attractive woman should look like.
(Louise O'Neill, *The Guardian*, January 21, 2015)

In Extract 9, which is from an article by a young author based on her book tracking her engagement with feminism, the subordinate clause *While identifying as a feminist* appears six times (in the same article) in repeated clause constructions and fronts each sentence, making it a marked theme in the Hallidayan sense (Thomson 2004, p. 145) as it contrasts explicitly with the subject of the main clause. This suggests that the feminist identity position espoused by the author is both central to her personal identity construction and is also repetitively and actively undermined through the material and reflexive verb processes that follow *starve myself, made myself vomit*. It is significant that the conflict between feminist beliefs and the practices associated with normative or hegemonic feminine identities (in this case manifested in unhealthy eating behaviours serving to conform to an idealised physical manifestation of femininity) is represented or experienced as an internalised conflict in the author rather than being attributed to socially and culturally imposed hegemonic notions of female attractiveness. This is captured through the repetitive first person pronoun use *I* and *myself*. It is interesting too that the subordinating conjunction *while* in this case suggests both contrast (similar to adverbs such as *although*) and temporality (meaning *during a period* or *at the same time as*).

The concern with feminist *identities*, in particular, rather than issues or actions, has an effect on the role feminists might have in influencing debates about different masculine or feminine identity constructions and representations. As already illustrated, much of the concern in invoking feminists in the corpus seems to be with ascribing a particular form of feminism or feminist identity to them (*radical, activist, academic, etc.*), and often in evaluative terms relating to how effective and/or alienating the particular feminist position is. There is ample evidence of this especially in terms of labelling or ‘the overt mention of identity categories and labels’ as Table 2 and the discussion below reveal.

Labelling is identified in the literature as one of the ‘indexical processes [...] ‘whereby identity is discursively produced’ (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005 p.594). Therefore, in order to gauge how labels and attributions of feminism were manifest in the data, I used the *word sketch* and concordance functions for *feminist*, as both noun and adjective, as well as *feminism* to compile a list of all the ways feminists were referred to as a group in my FM1 corpus. In doing this, I excluded explicitly or exclusively evaluative modifiers such as *rabid* or *armchair* as, in such instances, the collocation serves to provide the writers’ perspective on feminists as a generic group rather than to label or refer to them. I then analysed the list of referents (indicated in columns 1 and 3) in order to ascertain whether they could be grouped together thematically in relation to particular categories. The categories identified (and shown in columns 2 and 4) include labels which refer to types of feminism (related to feminist beliefs or behaviours, such as *radical* or *activist feminists...*); academic feminism (*feminist scholars, feminist critics...*), labels which intersect with other identity categories, such as *black* or *muslim*; feminist labels related to the historical and social evolution of the movement, such as *second-wave...*; and labels which are paired with professional activities, such as *feminist writers*. There were also referents which identified feminists as individual figures and as a collective. The extensive range of labels in the data and my grouping of them are reproduced in Table 2 below.

Table 2 gives an indication of the complexity of *feminist* as an identity label (in both adjectival and nominal forms, indicated in columns 3 and 1 respectively). It also highlights the range of associations which can ‘haunt’, to use Scharff’s (2014, p. 843) term, the figure of the feminist. The list of labels in columns 1 and 3 of Table 2 supports the argument that conflicting feminist positions and beliefs are pervasive in these articles, and that feminists are frequently focused on as intellectuals and in association with other intersectional and ethno-cultural labels. As well as these myriad feminist identities, another discourse is hinted at, namely that of an ideological dogmatism, which is intrinsically negatively evaluated through the lexical connotations of nouns such as *commentariat*,

brigade, overlords, dictator and even *crusader*. However, this negative evaluation cannot be taken at face value as one supported (overtly) by *The Guardian*, but one which rather reflects the writers' perceptions of popular discourses or understandings of feminist groups as proselytising and dogmatic. In all of these instances (*commentariat, brigade, overlords, dictator* and *crusader*), the particular ascribed label is attributed to others (the subject of an interview, for example) tends to be used ironically to undermine the presented view, as the following example (Extract 10) shows:

Extract 10

One of the main complaints voiced by so-called men's rights activists is that in popular culture husbands and fathers are routinely portrayed as moronic incompetents. They appear to detect some sort of organised malice in this, as if Homer Simpson were the product of a conspiracy hatched by **our feminist overlords**.

(Tim Dowling, *The Guardian*, February 18, 2014)

In Extract 10, Tim Dowling, who regularly writes a lighthearted column on family life, uses irony to subvert complaints by men's rights groups of being misrepresented in their male social roles as *husbands and fathers*, and the implicature is that this misrepresentation is attributed to feminists and feminism. This view is linguistically undermined through modifiers such as *so-called men's rights activists* and hedging *They appear to detect some sort of* which underlines a sense that this accusation or misrepresentation is vague and unfounded. The writer distances himself from these views by referring to this male group as *they* and furthermore draws an explicit connection between such views and conspiracy theories, as well as with the comic male cartoon father *Homer Simpson*.

Table 4 Feminist labels in the FM1 corpus 2013-2018

Feminist and associated labels in the corpus (2013-2018)				
1 <i>feminist</i> (as noun)	2 <i>Label type (superordinate)</i>		3 <i>feminist</i> (adjective/modifying nouns)	4 <i>Label type (superordinate)</i>
radical feminists second-wave feminists fourth-wave feminist feminist foremothers	<i>Historical/social evolution of feminism</i>		feminist activist feminist campaigner	<i>Types of feminists</i>
trans-exclusionary radical feminist gender-critical feminists inclusive feminists liberal feminist sex-positive feminist sex-negative feminist essential feminists	<i>Types of feminist (related to beliefs)</i>		feminist scholars feminist thinkers feminist theorist feminist critics feminist academic feminist historians feminist academic	<i>Intellectual feminists</i>
			feminist writer feminist author feminist poet	<i>Professional</i>
black feminist Happy African Feminist white feminists French feminists Muslim feminists Western feminists Kurdish feminist Egyptian feminist American feminist	<i>Intersectional identity markers /(inter)national feminism</i>		lefty feminist mothers feminist schoolgirl feminist parents feminist queer people feminist single mother lesbian queens	<i>Other intersectional identity markers</i>
			feminist hero feminist leader feminist crusader feminist dictator	<i>Single feminist figures</i>
			online feminist commentariat feminist groups	

			feminist circles feminist brigade feminist overlords	<i>Collectives</i>
Feminism labels				
radical feminism fourth-wave feminism	<i>Historical /social evolution</i>			
mainstream feminism corporate feminism modern feminism Conservative feminism Intersectional feminism	<i>Types of feminism</i>			
Muslim feminism white feminism	<i>Intersectional identities</i>			

Much of the data and analysis presented in sections 6.3 and 6.4 in this chapter highlight, I would argue, an identity turn in media discourses, which is particularly powerful in my corpus and its focus on feminists. Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) proposed framework for analysing identity as produced in interaction is useful in understanding this focus on identity in the newspaper articles and, in particular the view that:

identities are relationally constructed through several, often overlapping, aspects of the relationship between self and other, including similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice and authority/delegitimacy.
(Bucholtz and Hall, 2005 p. 585)

This may help to explain why there are repetitive instances throughout the corpus where one feminist or group of feminists call into question the credentials of another, or are represented as doing so, and indeed why the concepts of difference, genuineness and authority or delegitimacy often seem to drive the representations of feminists in these newspaper articles. Although these texts are not 'linguistic interactions' in that they are not transcripts of dialogues or conversations as are found in many linguistic analyses of identity construction, the articles and their authors often speak to and about each other. I contend, therefore, that it is helpful to see them as a form of discursive interaction in that they capture an implicit dialogism in the Bakhtinian sense (1981) not only with readers but across texts and among their authors and, significantly, because many of them arise as varying juxtaposed commentaries on events in the world or particular, often popular, cultural products. This view is partially echoed by Dean (2010, p. 397) who suggests that in *The Guardian* 'a significant number of articles are cast against an imagined interlocutor, whose gender is not clear, but is somebody who assumes that the established stereotypes about feminism (that it is boring, anti-sex, and anti-men) are well-founded.'

Notwithstanding discursive nuances presented in the sections above and the interpretative richness in the representation of feminists described, this discourse of identity politics is ultimately problematic. It foregrounds differences and inter-group critiques (principally among women and by association particular constructions of femininity) while obscuring, to an extent, the structural and ideological effects of reducing feminist concerns to identity politics on women. It also effectively sidesteps or downplays both the role of and effects on men. This is corroborated by some of the literature on media representations of feminists. Loke et al (2017 p.129), in analysing the media coverage of US female politicians espousing feminist identities (e.g. Sarah Palin, Hillary Clinton...), conclude that there is 'a tendency to define feminism as an identity rather than a movement or

ideology [...]; the discourses revealed a familiar discord in the news media's coverage of feminism [...] while [being] nearly devoid of any notion of feminism as a social movement with goals and political activity.' However, while these authors suggest that in the media texts they analysed '... journalists and columnists missed an opportunity to address feminist issues in their coverage of feminism,' this is not entirely the case in my data for *The Guardian*, where representations are more complex and layered and where a range of 'feminist' issues (such as gender-based violence) are explicitly considered. Nevertheless, the persistence of an identity focus and the proliferation of labelling is a way in which issues and debates can be obscured, simplified or polarised.

6.5 Feminists and masculinities

The influence of feminists and feminism on [linguistic] studies of masculinity is well documented in the language and gender literature (including discourse and corpus analyses, such as Baker's, 2014). As Bucholtz (2014 in Ehrlich *et al*, 2017 p.37) points out, the position of masculinity in academic studies has evolved from being a focus as (merely) the source of inequalities (in second wave feminist studies) to a 'sustained object of study.' Indeed 'masculinity studies' has emerged as an academic field, rooted in radical feminism, and 'primarily concerned with investigating masculinity as a sociocultural construct [...] to challenge masculinity as a warranty for male dominance and to undo the constraining effects of masculinity on men's subjectivities' (Bucholtz 2014 in Ehrlich *et al*, 2017 p. 34). Thus, the references to feminists in many newspaper articles about masculinity in my corpus may not be entirely surprising. However, in my data many of the articles do seem to display a particular relationship between masculinity and feminists, which is problematic and which connects feminists in some cases to the discourse of *masculinity in crisis*, which is further discussed in the next chapter.

One of the most prolific writers on masculinity for *The Guardian* is the freelance journalist Ally Fogg with 15 articles included in the corpus FM1. Fogg writes particularly on 'men's issues' from a heterosexual and broadly heteronormative male perspective and the topics he covers include male fertility, prostate cancer, platonic relationships with women, male violence, men-only clubs, internet porn and relationship education. Other well-known commentators on gender and gender relations in the media and within this corpus include Owen Jones, who has an overtly non-heteronormative (and left-wing) stance, and both writers frequently invoke feminists in their commentaries. The authorial stance of these and other journalists writing on masculinity (and it is not exclusively male journalists since masculinity is also central to articles by feminists and female journalists and in articles about feminism), and in this case Fogg's in particular, reveal inherent contradictions which effectively encapsulate the 'double entanglement' McRobbie (2009) already discussed. The extracts below from

an article by Fogg called “Traditional masculine values” are evolving, not dying’ demonstrate how this double entanglement operates discursively. The first two paragraphs in Extract 11 correspond to the first two paragraphs, and the final paragraph corresponds to part of the fourth paragraph of Fogg’s article.

Extract 11

I thought I had heard enough febrile, hyperbolic pronouncements on modern **masculinity** to get me through any year, but I had not counted on Camille Paglia⁸. In an interview with the Wall Street Journal, the maverick libertarian feminist pondered the implications of the feminisation of society and the devaluing of traditional masculine values. "What you're seeing is how a civilisation commits suicide," she declared.(1)

Paglia is not a lone Cassandra. Hanna Rosin and Christina Hoff-Sommers have written on The End of Men and The War on Men and Boys respectively. This year, Diane Abbott warned of a crisis of **masculinity** that is seeing her young male constituents in Hackney corrupted by hardcore pornography and "a Viagra and Jack Daniels culture". From North America to Europe to Oceania, **masculinity** is being prodded, pathologised, diagnosed and bemoaned by voices from across the political, cultural and social spectrum. The great irony is that the overwhelming majority of these voices are female. (2)

The sledgehammers and stilettos of a gendered society impact upon, and are wielded by, every man, woman and child. Women - and feminists in particular - have spent centuries developing the vocabulary to discuss the myriad ways in which their lives are affected by gender constraints, and, crucially, they have carved the space in which to host those discussions. Men, too often, mutter into our pints and change the subject.(3)
(Ally Fogg, *The Guardian*, Dec 31, 2013)

An analysis of the use of metaphors, cultural references as well as a consideration of the verb processes following Van Leeuwen’s (1995) framework for analysing representations of social action (drawing on Halliday, 1995), including aspects such as [de]-agentialisation and abstraction (for example) proves revealing. In Extract 11, the social actors are feminists and female public figures, the writer/journalist (I), men and women (children are also mentioned but they pertain to every *man, woman and child* which suggests they are not single actors *per se* but rather constitutive of all humanity). The following verb processes are directly used to describe the actions associated with feminists and female public figures: *pondered, declared, have written, warned, have spent centuries developing the vocabulary to discuss, and have carved the space in which to host these discussions*. All

⁸ Camille Paglia is a controversial US academic and social critic who has been publicly critical of feminist thinkers such as Judith Butler and other popular feminist public figures.

these processes are verbal (Halliday 1995) and go from the straightforward *declare* to the more oblique and metaphorical *carve the space in which to host those discussions*. This focus on verbal processes is reinforced in the text through the instrumentalised use of *voices* to represent these (female/feminist) social actors. The above verbal processes connote authority and action (*carving space, hosting discussion, developing vocabulary*) whilst the verbal processes also attributed to men (*mutter, change the subject*) carry affective connotations of a lack of conviction, avoidance and subjugation.

There is another set of metaphorical material verb processes *prodded, pathologised, diagnosed* and *bemoaned* which link to *masculinity*. According to Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) metaphorical framework, here the source domains of body and (ill) health cross map to the target domain which is masculinity so that the latter is conceptualised as an ailing body, itself reminiscent of the *body politic* metaphor used in political discourses. This metaphor operates semantically via the meanings of the verbs, but also syntactically via the passivised verb forms so that the sick body (masculinity) is the passive goal of the metaphoric material verb processes (*prodded*, etc.). This passivisation is significant (Fairclough 2000) because it reinforces the lack of agency attributed indirectly to men (or 'masculinity') but avoids blaming specific social actors. Furthermore, the passive verb forms adhere to a process of de-agentialisation as highlighted by Van Leeuwen (1995, p.96), where actions are represented as events and therefore acquire a kind of abstracted inevitability. However, these verbs also have particular connotations. For example, *prod* can mean to incite to action and *pathologise* can suggest a characterisation of typical or normal behaviours as medically or psychologically abnormal. The implicature is that it is the analysis and dissection of masculinity that has caused masculinity to become 'sick', to extend the metaphor. This would mean, in turn, that those who do so would logically include academics, and especially feminists (among other public figures).

There are also several symbolic and metaphoric linguistic choices in the text which are classified as 'overdetermination' by Van Leeuwen (1995, p. 100). Examples of the latter also include the metaphoric verb processes analysed above— *prodded, pathologised, diagnosed, bemoaned, wielded by*, as well as *a lone Cassandra*⁹ and *"a Viagra and Jack Daniels culture" the sledgehammers and stilettos of a gendered society*. In the case of the verb processes, they highlight a 'quality of action

⁹ In Homer's Iliad, Cassandra was a daughter of the last King of Troy, Priam. She was not a prophet but she accurately foresaw the fall of Troy and death of Agamemnon and yet she was not listened to.

rather than representing the action itself' Van Leeuwen (1995, p. 101). This quality of action is represented as unnecessary and futile (e.g. *pathologised*), as well as discomfiting (e.g. *prodded*). Similarly, the deployment of the mythological figure of Cassandra in association with Camille Paglia legitimates the latter's assertions and predictions about masculinity (and by extension humanity) being in peril if '*traditional masculine values*' continue to be undermined (alluded to by the phrase *the feminisation of society*). As Van Leeuwen (1995) argues, the use of myth in this extract (here the *lone Cassandra* refers to the mythological Greek priestess who uttered true prophecies but was destined to never be believed) has a 'legitimizing function' which in this case is concentrated in those who identify the disruption of traditional male values as a threat to society, itself also symbolically represented as a '*civilisation commit[ting] suicide*'. The extended metaphor of the Greek tragedy and the demise of a civilisation is counterbalanced in this text by the use of contemporary cultural symbols (*Viagra*, *Jack Daniels*, *stilettos* and *sledgehammers*) which index particular enactments of hyper (and western, traditional) femininities and masculinities. In this text, these traditional masculinities and femininities seem to constitute cultural concepts themselves (Silverstein 2004), recognisable as they are in the cultural symbols associated with them. And again, the notions of a monolithic masculinity or of a masculinity in crisis are also captured in the symbolic representation of masculinity as an ailing and dysfunctional (and therefore self-medicating) body.

Finally, the overall topic of the article and the abstraction of male social practices into a concept of *masculinity* is also worth noting alongside the many nominalisations in the whole Fogg (2013) newspaper article: *masculinity*, *modern masculinity*, *a crisis of masculinity*, *the supposed crisis of masculinity*, *hazardous alcohol and drug abuse*, *men in psychological crisis*, *self-destructive male habits*, *...a crisis in economics and employment*, *education and social policy*, *health and social service delivery*. These nominalisations are examples of 'eventuation' and 'existentialisation' (Van Leeuwen 1995, p. 96), whereby social actions (which could be conveyed actively) are represented as events or 'something that just 'happens' without the involvement of human agency...' (Van Leeuwen 1995, p. 96) or as 'an action or reaction...represented as something that 'simply exists'... and is 'objectivated' (Van Leeuwen 1995, p. 97). The significance of this is that *masculinity* or *men*, rather, are divested of agency and effectively of responsibility for the problems presented as besetting them; social problems among men thus become naturalised. Similarly, there is a sense that such problems are ultimately intractable, and therefore hardly worth discussing, hence the rejection of any further 'febrile, hyperbolic pronouncements on modern masculinity' (Ally Fogg, *The Guardian*, Dec 31st 2013).

In terms of the relationship between feminists and masculinity, therefore, many articles also show that mainstream essentialist perceptions of feminists as anti-male, or rather as threatening to hegemonic masculinity and the structural inequalities which sustain it, persist, as reflected widely in the literature and echoed in my corpus. Extract 12 below is one example of many in which such representations of feminists are evident in articles on masculinity.

Extract 12

'It's a shit college, full of feminists.' One of them was having a birthday party that night, and they said, 'Why would we want to be going out with the bitches? Let's have a lads' night.'
(Sally Williams, *The Guardian*, October 11, 2014)

Perhaps more disturbing, and less obvious, are the implicit disavowals of feminist commentaries or (academic) analyses of gendered social practices and identities which are apparent in some texts such as the article analysed in Extract 11 above (Ally Fogg, *The Guardian*, Dec 31st, 2013). Such disavowals seem to comprise a recurrent and almost fossilised discourse of anti-feminism which seems rather to shoot the messenger rather than to address the gender[ed] issues drawn out for scrutiny.

6.6 Discourses of dissent and silence

Connected to the analyses in section 5.5 of the discursive representations of feminists and masculinities, as well as an examination of the types of verb processes linked to feminists in the corpus, there is a preoccupation with the juxtaposition and interplay of two ideologically significant social acts; speaking out or being silent, or silenced. The section (Extract 11) from Fogg's article analysed above (*The Guardian* Dec 31, 2013) illustrates this preoccupation; feminist figures are clearly portrayed there as vocal commentators on masculinity; they *make pronouncements, declare, write, warn, host discussions*, in contrast to men who *hear, mutter and change the subject*.

This pattern of feminists and female outspokenness and debate contrasting with an implied male silence is prevalent in much of the corpus. Of the 16 processes listed in the word sketch of feminist which appear as collocates of feminist as a subject, *argue* (3 instances), *disagree* (2 instances) and *claim* (2 instances) feature. This may not seem particularly remarkable in terms of instances and collocational strength, but in taking a closer look at the verb with the highest number of instances (with *feminist* in the subject position) by analysing the concordance lines, the verb *have* (22 instances) appears two thirds of the time as the perfect auxiliary for semantic verbs including *say, analyse, criticise, make this point, point out, express, agree, stress, and discuss* (see Figure 10). These verb processes are all semantically linked by either being verbal or cognitive processes (Halliday 1994)

which involve discussion or assertions (whether literal or academic) and, by implication, public denunciations or revelations of one kind or another.

The screenshot shows a concordance search interface with a list of 12 results. Each result is a numbered line (1-12) with a checkbox, a document ID, and a snippet of text. The phrase 'feminists have' is highlighted in red in each snippet. The interface includes a search bar at the top right with the text 'KWIC', a 'Details' button, and a 'Left context' / 'Right context' toggle. At the bottom, there is a 'SORTED. JUMP TO...' button and a 'Rows per page: 100' dropdown menu.

Line	Document ID	Snippet
1	doc#462	ng of a family violence brochure: "IT'S TIME TO SAY ENOUGH" (which feminists have been stressing for centuries). </s><s> I think of my mother. </s><s>
2	doc#320	for the very thing feminism is struggling against - their power. </s> <s> Feminists have often expressed their frustration to me that men are applauded for
3	doc#77	format is hardly new - the US version has been airing since 2002 - and feminists have been criticising it since its inception. </s><s> It has always been b
4	doc#446	y arises: what would the world be like if it weren't there? </s><s> Some feminists have argued that if women gain equal rights in society, patriarchy will be
5	doc#222	ture damages all women, not just survivors of sexual assault. </s> <s> Feminists have been making this point for decades, perhaps most comprehensive
6	doc#1	they feel under threat for a long time, yet this was questioned. </s> <s> Feminists have analysed male violence for decades, but this is somehow old-fash
7	doc#375	s considered effeminate is automatically undesirable. </s><s> As other feminists have pointed out, it's often assumed that masculine behavior is the defe
8	doc#66	do not experience life in the same way. </s><s> And anyway, as black feminists have been saying since the dawn of feminism, that kind of universalisin
9	doc#66	onomic policy manifesto, it's a system of critique. </s><s> Self-declared feminists have never agreed on all the answers to the world's problems. </s><s>
10	doc#413	they feel under threat for a long time, yet this was questioned. </s> <s> Feminists have analysed male violence for decades, but this is somehow old-fash
11	doc#511	of Chris Hemmings and Robert Webb are now seeing the truth of what feminists have been saying for decades. </s><s> But it's a re-lief to have them or
12	doc#511	er man. </s><s> Which is why we need books like Be a Man. </s><s> " Feminists have been discussing these issues for decades," Hemmings told me. </s>

Figure 10 'have + verb' with 'feminist' as subject position in FM1

The present perfect tenses used in the concordance lines in Figure 10 suggest a connection between past and present; particularly in terms of the voice of feminists denouncing social ills (such as male violence) or injustices related to equal rights and gender relations. Therefore, this tense use locates feminist analytical insights and eloquence within a historical context and tradition which not only reinforce its contemporary relevance, but also alludes to a long tradition of not being heard or listened to. Thus, while feminists are afforded a degree of (counter)political agency in this data, it might well be inferred that this has not been entirely effective in leading to systemic change as the use of present perfect also suggests a lack of completion to the processes described.

These discourses of dissent and silence are evident also in the uses of phrasal verb *speak out* in the corpus. There are 22 instances of the verb in FM1 with 7 instances of women and female victims as the subjects of *speaking out*, 1 instance of feminists being the subject and 12 instances of men being the subjects. Although there is only one instance of *feminists* being specifically named as the 'speakers' of this borderline verbal/relational process (Halliday, 1994 p. 141) *feminists* and *feminism* are strongly associated with it through discourse prosodies, not least because the issues in the concordance lines which are being denounced relate to sexism and violence against women, for example, both central feminist concerns. Extract 13 below shows how feminism is invoked through discourse prosodies in that the final sentence suggests that the preceding questions in the extract are designed to determine and explain what a feminist is and what their aims are. Therefore, although *you* rather than *feminist* is the subject of *speak out* in the extract's concordance line, it becomes clear that being a feminist is an indirect subject and the main topic of the extract.

Extract 13

Do you support women rather than pull them down, do you refuse to judge women—including yourself— on the absurd standards of hypersexual femininity, do you **speak out** against violence against women, do you support victims of male violence, do you listen to women less privileged than you are, and talk to women from different backgrounds and ethnicities about what they want from equality, do you buy dolls for your son or encourage your daughter to be strong and fierce? Yes? Then you're a feminist.
(Sarah Marsh and Guardian Readers, *The Guardian*, October 12, 2016)

In examples such as that presented in Extract 13, the verb *speak out* indicates an engagement with particular social issues, appearing alongside *gay rights*, *inequality*, *sexual harassment*, *violence*, and *gender oppression* as an examination of the 22 concordance lines for *speak out* shows. This refocuses the role of feminists in the data to one which moves beyond identity issues towards a broader concern with social issues and socio-political activism. Notwithstanding this, the act of 'speaking out' or 'speaking up' carries a contingent risk which in this case is associated with the metaphorical *up* and *out* particles. These add connotations of the potential threat to the less powerful of speaking out against the more powerful, or of the risks associated with individuals bringing particular hidden issues or accusations into public domains. There is a kind of metaphorical mapping, then, from hidden or internal to exposed and external in the *out* particle in *speak out* and of size or power mapping to *up* in *speak up*. Part of the risk is also related to being met with silence as some articles overtly discuss, and Extracts 14 and 15 highlight:

Extract 14

We should be acutely conscious of that risk when we rally women post-Weinstein with our feminist-you-go-girl pom poms to "speak up"— because without fixing the systems that prop up perpetrator behaviour, everyday working women may end up out on that limb by themselves with unemployment, unpaid bills, and no one interested in their story for their brave efforts.
(Louise Taylor, *The Guardian*, November 30, 2017)

Extract 15

Young women such as Monhamed and Yousafzai are not just **speaking out** in a world that mostly does not want to listen. They are daring a form of speech addressed directly and without apology...
(Jacqueline Rose, *The Guardian*, October 18, 2014)

In contrast, men are also invoked as subjects of *speaking out* but, most notably, for remaining silent and, more significantly, powerful, as conditional clause structures such as the following highlight: *But unless men speak out, the pandemic of violence against women will continue and Unless men speak out, such attitudes will persist and the terror against women will continue* (*The Guardian*, Owen Jones, February 24, 2015). The texts hold men responsible both for listening and for participating actively (by speaking out) for social changes. Similarly, the silence of men (with references in the data to *baffling silence*, *conspiracy of silence*, *bewildering male silence*, *deafening silence*, *ending men's "collective silence"*) partly overlaps, once again, to *the masculinity in crisis discourse* traceable in both the literature (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.10) on masculinity and the articles in my corpus. There is a suggestion that silence is also a form of self-inflicted oppression which might partly account for (masculine) poor mental health and self-destructive behaviours as well as contributing to the ongoing (violent) oppression of women, as represented in the corpus articles and explored more fully in Chapter 7. The discourse of social action implicit in *speaking out* might present as a disruptive and egalitarian or counterhegemonic discourse but once again abstractions and de-agentialisation processes proliferate; *silence* (rather than men not speaking/doing/denouncing), *attitudes* (rather than ways of being or treating others) and *terror* (rather than men committing violent acts) are examples of material processes represented as abstracted nominalisations of oppressive social actions causing both individual and collective harm.

Similarly, there is a certain conformity to established gender stereotypes. Women (or rather feminists) are represented as critical and outspoken and men as still strong, and still silent though the stereotypes have shifted from the domestic to the public sphere. Although this apparent inversion of gender roles in the public sphere focuses on a particular critique of male inertia, it effectively suggests a persistence of the established gender order and the social ills it supports. Thus, the discourses of silence and speaking out or dissent are also complex and polysemous. In some respects they represent a focus on issues and social action, rather than (just) identities, but they can tend toward generalisations and abstractions which belie the usual gender hierarchies and inequalities, notwithstanding the purportedly negative effects of these on everyone.

6.7 Intellectual feminists and intersectionality

The representation of feminist academics in my corpus has shown the most notable evolution in terms of differences between the first data period (2013-2015) and more recent articles (2016-2018). One striking feature in several articles, particularly in the earlier data set (MASC1 and FEM 1), is a disavowal

of *academic or intellectual feminism*, which Extracts 16 and 17 illustrate. They also reflect a sense that scholarly feminists are by definition not activists and are thus ineffective. Mensch's critique (Extract 16 Louise Mensch *The Guardian*, May 30, 2013) is particularly stinging in this respect and is imbued with connotations of passivity and hysteria which adhere to negative stereotypes of traditional femininity; *hand-wringing, frenziedly checking and backing out, sitting around*. The linguistic representation of academic feminists in the extract is heavily nominalised and they are themselves referred to as *the modern feminist movement* and *otherwise intelligent women*. Their agency as social actors is linguistically obscured by means of a list of nominalised verbal processes (involving researching and critiquing) which are instead referred to through a succession of abstracted or static noun phrases: *Full of intersectionality, debates about middle-class privilege; hand-wringing over a good education; "privilege" and not well-deserved success; debates and sitting around frenziedly checking their privilege*. Followed by *It does nothing. It accomplishes nothing. It changes nothing*, the lack of action or achievement is then rhetorically reinforced through repetition of *It* and *nothing* as anaphora and epistrophe which replicate the persuasive rhetorical devices typical of many political speeches. Similarly, the present simple tense of *does, accomplishes, changes*, ultimately works discursively and ideologically to present opinion as fact.

Significantly, this commentator (Extract 16) rejects the notion that oppression or disadvantages may be derived from particular elements of one's identity (intersectionality) or the social and economic capital (Bourdieu 1984, 1986) that may be derived from a particular class identity, for example, in favour of the conservative discourses of opportunity and individually-earned success. Therefore, it is in service to conservative social ideologies that academic feminism must be undermined. This view might further be interpreted as an example of a liberal feminist (generally middleclass and primarily concerned with economic equality) rejecting the perspectives of material feminism (Bucholtz 2017) which views subordination as the result of class oppression.

Extract 16

And that is what the modern feminist movement has become. Full of intersectionality, debates about middle-class privilege, hand-wringing over a good education (this is again "privilege" and not well-deserved success), and otherwise intelligent women backing out of debates and sitting around frenziedly checking their privilege.
It does nothing. It accomplishes nothing. It changes nothing.
[...]Ultra-feminism's mournful obsession with words and categories is making the movement a joke.
(Louise Mensch, *The Guardian*, May 30, 2013)

There are other similar examples in the data which strongly critique the theoretical analyses intrinsic to *feminist discourse* (Extract 17) as *academic posturing* (Hadley Freeman, *The Guardian*, Jan 13 2015) and even *intersectional bollocks* (Louise Mensch, *The Guardian*, May 30 2013)

Extract 17

Steinem, thankfully, has no time for the tedious academic theorising that bogs down so much feminist discourse but favours instead plain speaking, good humour and common sense. (Hadley Freeman, *The Guardian*, April 23, 2013)

Although this dismissive perspective of academic feminism might be regarded as the view of particular media commentators and writers in these articles (such as Louise Mensch and Hadley Freeman), it is not an unfamiliar argument in the academic literature itself. Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) directly addresses this view (Lazar 2017, p.182) suggesting that FCDA is a response to and has ‘much work to do ... against the backdrop of the remarkable persistence of gender inequality...yet at the same time a tendency towards critical inertia.’ Indeed, Lazar (2017, p.185) goes further by highlighting FCDA as a form of academic activism which like ‘critical practice research dissolves the theory / practice dichotomy in which “theory” gets associated with academic feminists and “practice” with grassroots feminists activists.’

However, as suggested at the start of this section, the representation of academic feminism shifts notably in the later data set and might well be derived from events highlighted in the US and UK media, particularly following the Harvey Weinstein scandal (from October 2017) and the resurgence of popular and grassroots feminist movements (such as #metoo) and so-called *fourth wave feminism*, referenced (albeit contentiously) both by journalists and academics. As Chamberlain (2019, p.1) asserts, ‘recent feminist scholarship, journalism and activism have recognised that feminism has reached a fourth-wave iteration (Aune and Dean 2015; Evans 2015; Cochrane 2014; Munro 2013; Baumgardner 2011; Wrye, 2009).’

In the later data set in my corpus (FEM2 and MASC2), the tone certainly shifts towards an acknowledgement of the activism intrinsic to feminist theory, and perhaps more significantly marks a repositioning of these feminist (and therefore academic) theories. The latter become a powerful framework or lens through which to expose structural inequalities in order to potentially start a process of redressing them. Furthermore, Extracts 18 and 19 offer interesting counter-perspectives on the discourse of silence explored above. The first (Extract 18) highlights how historically *silence* has deep cultural roots in the subjugation of women (*I must have first read Paul's letters to Timothy in the*

Bible as a child: "I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to use authority over the man: but to be in silence" (Afua Hirsch, *The Guardian*, June 2018). The second (Extract 19) by Suzanne Moore (*The Guardian*, Oct 28, 2013) argues that feminist theory, despite its long-standing insights into the relationships between power, gender and race has been largely ignored.

Extract 18

They use rape threats because rape is the ultimate weapon for silencing women, for "keeping us in our place". Most of us have known about the silencing of women all our lives, whether we articulated it to our-selves or not. I must have first read Paul's letters to Timothy in the Bible as a child: "I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to use authority over the man: but to be in silence." It was only as an adult that I came to understand the structural nature of that idea. And as a critical mass of feminist scholars are finding a platform for themselves across academic disciplines, the full extent and history of this silencing is becoming apparent. (Afua Hirsch, *The Guardian*, June 13, 2018)

Extract 19

A body of work, compiled by feminist activists, scholars and strategists, exists around such violence, yet every time an act of terror occurs it is ignored. None of these "lone wolves"¹⁰ exist in isolation. Their fear of "the other", whether they be female, gay, black or Jewish, is not a recent invention, but the subtext of increasingly impotent official and liberal discourse. (Suzanne Moore, *The Guardian*, October 29, 2018)

This repositioning of feminist debate and theory leaves behind to a great extent the earlier preoccupations with identity politics in favour of a concern for social justice, tackling racism, violence, sexual violence, discrimination and the mechanisms of oppression. Not surprisingly, feminist concepts such as 'the patriarchy' were relatively infrequent in MASC 1 and FEM1 (the 2013-2015 subcorpora) but with a marked increase in instances of the distribution of the term *patriarchy* in articles from 2016-2018 as Figure 11 shows on the right-hand-side of the horizontal axis. The figure provides a visual representation of the distribution of the noun patriarchy across the corpus with the hits (or instances) across time of the word represented on the horizontal axis. The highest number of hits is in one particular article in which *the patriarchy* was the central topic of discussion.

¹⁰ Refers to the article by Suzanne Moore (*The Guardian*, October 29, 2018) "'Lone-wolf' terrorists and domestic violence: it's time to start joining the dots; Feminist scholars and strategists have analysed violence for years, but their lessons about how power operates through gender and race are being ignored.'

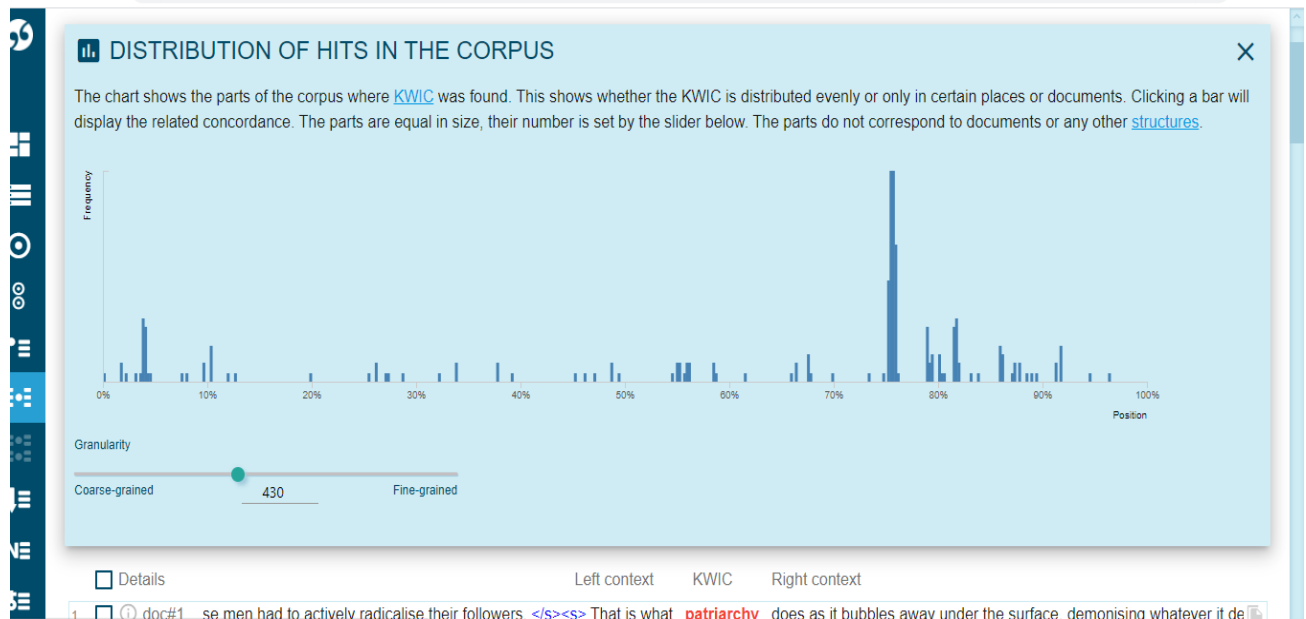


Figure 11 Distribution of 'patriarchy' from 2013-2018 in FM1

As well as a re-engagement with feminist constructs such as *the patriarchy*, feminists themselves are increasingly portrayed as more diverse and engaged in productive dialectical relationships with other social groups and theoretical frameworks such as queer theory and, indeed, male academics interested in feminism, as Extracts 20 and 21 show.

Extract 20

It's a project that is part of a long history of queer and feminist efforts to expand the definitions of "man" and "woman" so that either category can encompass any kind of life, and so that those who choose to reject both labels altogether can do so in peace and dignity.
(Moirá Donegan, *The Guardian* October 26, 2018)

Extract 21

A year ago, in *The Guardian*, the writer Emily Reynolds asked what men could do to examine themselves and show solidarity with the movement; she advised men to ask women questions and start listening. I'm sure there is much to be learned from going on a man camp and discussing masculinity with other men, but I believe the simple advice from Reynolds is potentially more powerful: ask, read, listen, widen your perspective, call your own perspectives into question.

(Carl Cederström *The Guardian*, October 2, 2018)

6.8 Conclusion

In the current chapter, I have argued that several identifiable discourses frame the representation of feminists and evaluate them both positively and negatively in the newspaper texts. This reveals a

complex layering of discourses which correspond to the plurality of positions identified by the academy and the historical evolution of feminism in society. This complexity is, to an extent, captured by Bucholtz's definition of feminism as 'a diverse and sometimes conflicting set of theoretical, methodological, and political perspectives that have in common a commitment to understanding and challenging the social inequalities related to gender and sexuality' (Bucholtz 2017, p. 23). Lazar (2017, p.192) takes this diversity further by suggesting that a 'plurivocality of discourses within texts indexes social and cultural changes within a society, and recognises the complexity of audience positions in regard to the views of gender relations, as well as contributes [sic] to the form(ul)ation of complex hybrid gender identities.'

Therefore, it is not easy to identify or classify a single ideological position in these newspaper texts and in their representation of feminists. One way to symbolise and interpret a plurality of discourses and contingent ideologies is to view it as a type of Bakhtinian (1981) palimpsest or a layering of discourses which are interconnected and interdiscursive. The discourses presented may be complementary or opposing but they form collectively a hierarchical layering which is potentially unstable when social changes are either possible or manifest.

The linguistic analyses in this chapter show that several discourses are discernible including discourses of conflict and discourses of identity politics both of which serve to undermine the ideological positions and legitimacy of feminists and feminism, and which hint at the ideological weight of established heteronormative gender orders. Articulations of these discourses converge around various themes and representations of feminists; feminists as angry, real or false, feminists as anti-men and anti-femininity, feminists as lesbians or aligned to other marginalised sexual identity positions, and feminism as an intergroup identity struggle. These mirror the media strategies identified in the literature discussed above which reveal a tendency towards polarisation and contribute to the popular disavowal of feminists (i.e. *I am not a feminist but...* discourses).

However, as mentioned, these articles nevertheless capture a plurivocality of feminist voices and positions, and I would argue that this plurivocality is a form of particular symbolic power (Bourdieu 1984). As Van Dijk (1989) argues "'symbolic elites" such as journalists, writers, academics...' exercise power on the basis of symbolic capital [...] setting 'the agendas of public discussion, influenc[ing] topical relevance...' and their 'symbolic power is also a form of ideological power' (Van Dijk, 1989 p. 22). Therefore, plurivocality in this sense lends credence and legitimacy to the *The Guardian*, on the basis of its objectivity and considered engagement in public debate.

The significant discursive shifts apparent in more recent articles suggest that ideological changes are also emergent, particularly in respect of the positive affirmation and repositioning of feminist theories and their potential for contribution to the dismantling of the oppressive structural hegemony of traditional gender orders and their pernicious social effects. The dialectical relationship, in particular, between men, and especially hegemonic masculinity, is perhaps especially significant and probed in ways which have the potential, at least of de-stabilising and resisting the traditional structural norms determining gendered identity constructions and their interrelationships.

Chapter 7. Pathologies of Gender and Pathologising Gender

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I argue that the representations of gendered identities in my corpus suggest that gender is pathologised by the media. Much of the gender discourses identified by the analysis in the current study constructs masculine gender identities, in particular, as socially as well as psychosocially problematic, thus addressing in part Research Question 1. However, although there is a dominant discourse of crisis, already identified in earlier chapters and in the literature (Chapter 2) with respect of masculinity, mediated representations are also often negative because this is a key characteristic of what is considered newsworthy. Therefore, this focus on negativity is also a contextual effect on the discourse which may be caused by the newspaper genre itself. In their analysis of the *discourse of news values* Bednarek and Caple (2017) point out that ‘negativity is considered “the basic news value” (Bell 1991, p.156)’, and a commonly cited adage by news workers is “if it bleeds, it leads” (Bednarek and Caple 2017, p.60). Although the texts in my corpus are generally comment and opinion articles rather than news, *per se*, these commentaries are often a response to newsworthy events. Therefore, it is reasonable to expect a contingent degree of negative framing of femininities and masculinities in as much as they are textually constructed and invoked in relation to the particular social, cultural or political events or phenomena favoured as newsworthy by the media.

Notwithstanding a negative framing of gender which may be partially driven by newspaper discourse itself, this chapter examines the discursive linking of gendered identities to social ills and mental illness indicating a pathologising of gendered identities as inherently troubled. The analysis thus addresses all three research questions in the current thesis in that it shows how gendered identities linked to violence and ill health support a dominant discourse of crisis (RQ1 and RQ2). However, the crisis discourse also provides an example of how gender may be jointly theorised and constructed, since the crisis in masculinity represented discursively relies in some respects on upholding binary and essentialist views of gender which also present an aggressor—victim dichotomy. Masculinity is therefore foregrounded and by implication femininities and non-hegemonic masculinities are backgrounded or erased, as are other potentially significant identity markers

In seeking to test the perception and hypothesis that many of the articles in the data reflected a special preoccupation with mental health or dysfunctions, typical corpus methodology did not initially seem adequate as a starting point as wordlists may not always reflect a multifaceted or polysemic conceptual field. Therefore, I began by looking at the headlines and opening paragraphs of the 585

articles in the entire corpus (consisting of four subcorpora as described in Chapter 3, section 3.3) and extracted the articles whose headlines reflected this preoccupation. This means that only where the topic of mental health and associated pathological behaviours, including violence, were explicitly mentioned in headlines or bylines was the article included in the analysis. Despite this limitation, topics such as mental health are arguably more likely to be tangential or incidental if they do not feature prominently in the headline, though this may not hold in feature interviews, for example, where such topics, if they are there, could be drawn out within the text, rather than in the headline.

The review of all the articles in the corpus is presented in Table 5 below which shows that 110 articles in the corpus of 585 articles dealt primarily with the link between a particular gender identity and negative mental health effects. This is a relatively high proportion of the overall corpus (19%). It is of particular interest too that the number of themes or perspectives which emerged in these articles was rather limited and surprisingly consistent across the four subcorpora. Three broad major thematic perspectives were identified including a focus on violence and abuse (normally with males as perpetrators and females as victims, though this was not the only relation), a crisis of masculinity and other mental health problems including suicide, addiction, self-harm and eating disorders. As well as these three main perspectives, there was a small number of individual articles on sexuality, body dysmorphia and other specific problems. Table 5 below summarises the initial content analysis of this subsection of corpus articles and Appendix 2 shows the full list of articles selected from each subcorpus.

Table 5 Content Analysis of gender pathologies articles in FM1

Corpora	Total Articles In corpus	Articles related to mental health / unhealthy behaviour	Proportion (rounded up)	Violence / Abuse (private and public)	Crisis of Masculinity	Mental Health Issues	Other
FM1 (2013-2018)	585	110	19%	43	28	23	16
FEM1(2013-2015)	106	5	5%	0	0	2	3
MASC1 (2013=2015)	196	43	22%	16	12	10	5
FEM2 (2016-2018)	98	16	16%	4	5	6	1
MASC2 (2016-2018)	185	46	25%	23	11	5	7

A preliminary consideration of the number of articles connecting gender to specific pathologies or behaviours and variance over the time shows that there was a relative increase in the coverage of this topic between the period of the preliminary data set (2013-2015) and the later data (2016-2018) across both the femininity and masculinity subcorpora (FEM2 and MASC2) but with a more significant

increase in the number of articles in which these topics co-occurred with *femininity/ies*. What is also evident from the data is that these mental health or antisocial pathologies, including violence in particular, are associated primarily with *masculinity/ies*, with 89 articles across the 6 years deriving from discussions of masculinity compared to 21 for femininity. Although this is notable in itself, this co-occurrence does not shed light on the nature of the connection between masculinity and violence or how the relationship is textually and discursively represented and constructed. Similarly, while the articles show that there is a perceived crisis of masculinity, its discursive production, interpretation and its ideological causes and effects remain obscure without closer analysis of both the corpus and individual texts. Therefore, the chapter sections below deal thematically with the three most salient thematic tropes in this subsection of the whole corpus as well as analysing relevant and related keywords and their discourse prosodies and the dialectical relationships discernible between the various textual gender representations.

7.2 Masculinity and violence

The number of articles dedicated to a discussion of *masculinity* and *violence* suggests these topics are central to mediated representations and constructions of gender. Violence is, arguably, *the* central theme considering that the term yields 652 instances in the whole corpus FM1 and 116 instances of *violent* where the subjects are primarily male. Similarly, the keywords function in *Sketch Engine*, which extracts what is unique about the focus corpus compared to a reference corpus (in this case compared to the *English Web 2015 (enTenTen15)*) shows that *toxic masculinity* and *male violence* are the two most prevalent noun phrases particular to FM1 (ranked 1st and 3rd respectively), *with sexual harassment* and *sexual violence* appearing 4th and 19th on the list of keyword phrases (see Figure 12). However, in viewing the distribution of these phrases in the corpus, it is also worth noting that *toxic masculinity* figures primarily in the later data set (articles on masculinity between 2016-218) while *male violence*, *sexual harassment* and *sexual violence* are fairly evenly distributed across the corpus in discussions of masculinity.

	Word	Frequency [?]		Relative freq. [?]		Score [?]			Word	Frequency [?]		Relative freq. [?]		Score [?]		
		Focus	Reference	Focus	Reference					Focus	Reference	Focus	Reference			
1	toxic masculinity	93	63	115.787	0.004	116.32	***		26	gender pay	18	4,299	22.41	0.279	18.32	***
2	final edition	41	1,488	51.046	0.097	47.49	***		27	gender fluidity	14	185	17.43	0.012	18.21	***
3	male violence	35	1,782	43.576	0.116	39.98	***		28	traditional masculinity	14	191	17.43	0.012	18.21	***
4	sexual harassment	101	37,380	125.747	2.425	37.01	***		29	sperm count	16	2,332	19.92	0.151	18.18	***
5	lad culture	27	135	33.616	0.009	34.34	***		30	male suicide	14	403	17.43	0.026	17.96	***
6	modern masculinity	26	77	32.371	0.005	33.24	***		31	feminist movement	18	4,795	22.41	0.311	17.86	***
7	world news	29	4,770	36.106	0.31	28.35	***		32	masculine identity	13	533	16.185	0.035	16.62	***
8	black woman	32	6,999	39.841	0.454	28.09	***		33	gender dysphoria	13	689	16.185	0.045	16.46	***
9	pay gap	31	6,390	38.596	0.415	28	***		34	pubic hair	17	5,520	21.165	0.358	16.32	***
10	gender identity	52	22,573	64.741	1.465	26.68	***		35	male privilege	13	923	16.185	0.06	16.23	***
11	body hair	25	3,397	31.125	0.22	26.33	***		36	real man	16	4,642	19.92	0.301	16.08	***
12	gay man	31	8,365	38.596	0.543	25.68	***		37	big dick	16	4,948	19.92	0.321	15.84	***
13	male identity	19	656	23.655	0.043	23.66	***		38	sexual consent	12	587	14.94	0.038	15.36	***
14	dick energy	18	0	22.41	0	23.41	***		39	fashion week	15	4,482	18.675	0.291	15.25	***
15	drag queen	20	2,234	24.9	0.145	22.64	***		40	gender pay gap	14	3,563	17.43	0.231	14.97	***
16	everyday sexism	17	405	21.165	0.026	21.6	***		41	phantom thread	11	1	13.695	0	14.7	***
17	big dick energy	16	0	19.92	0	20.92	***		42	reality tv	22	14,579	27.39	0.946	14.6	***
18	white woman	21	5,103	26.145	0.331	20.39	***		43	facial hair	17	8,004	21.165	0.519	14.59	***
19	sexual violence	79	60,438	98.357	3.922	20.19	***		44	online abuse	11	658	13.695	0.043	14.1	***
20	gender equality	89	71,873	110.807	4.664	19.74	***		45	feminine mystique	11	746	13.695	0.048	14.02	***
21	bad feminist	15	97	18.675	0.006	19.56	***		46	female body	15	6,267	18.675	0.407	13.99	***
22	male infertility	17	2,376	21.165	0.154	19.21	***		47	modern man	14	5,234	17.43	0.34	13.76	***
23	female sexuality	17	2,512	21.165	0.163	19.07	***		48	male gaze	11	1,155	13.695	0.075	13.68	***
24	male fertility	16	1,498	19.92	0.097	19.07	***		49	hot pink	11	1,192	13.695	0.077	13.64	***

Figure 12 Multiword Keyword list for FM1 (entire corpus, 2013-2018)

The linguistic and discursive link between violence and masculinities which permeates these texts, as the proliferation of examples suggests, is evidence of the ‘news value’ (Bednarek and Caple 2017) of both violence and its link to masculinity but also of the media’s potential reinstatement of the primacy of hegemonic masculinity (discussed in Chapter 2). The concept of hegemonic masculinity has been identified in the literature as characterised originally (Connell, 1995) by the ‘subordination of women and the vilification of gay men [which is]... indeed often the case.’ (Tomassi 2015, p.1). However it is also true, as Tomassi (2015) suggests that more recent academic studies have rather problematised this conceptualisation of male hegemony as a simplification of more complex realities.

Notwithstanding the complexities and nuances of the academic studies of gender and the arguably dynamic nature of hegemonic masculinity, the corpus texts show a persistent co-occurrence of violence and maleness. And academic research in recent decades attests to this (e.g. Craig 1992, Bowker 1999, Viljoen 2013, Ellis 2017, among others). As Lawson (2015, p.53) highlights ‘over the past 50 years, a large body of research has argued that masculinity and violence are closely related.’ However, this textual co-existence in my corpus only reveals so much. In seeking to explore the discursive construction of violence and a pathologised masculinity, the analysis in this section exemplifies a range of linguistic resources and the contingent ideological effects they invoke, aspects which contribute to answering Research Questions 1 and 2 in this study.

7.2.1 Representations of male violence

Extracts 1 and 2 (with numbered paragraphs indicated in brackets) in this section are taken from articles commenting on two institutional reports or inquiries into gendered violence and abuse, Extract 1 from a report produced by a Domestic Violence agency in New South Wales, Australia and

Extract 2 (later on) in the context of UK schools. The article for Extract 1 was initially selected because the text contains a significant number of instances of the most frequent modifier of violence in the corpus (*domestic violence*). The second article extract is of a similar nature but reporting on an inquiry into abusive behaviours among UK school children.

Extract 1

"The results of this survey show that a substantial proportion of participants **had experienced** emotional and/or verbal abuse in their current relationship, and that these forms of abuse were considerably more likely to **have occurred** than physical or sexual abuse," the report said. (1)

"It may be that **individuals** are more likely to **engage** in these forms of abuse, possibly because **they are perceived** as 'less serious' than acts of physical or sexual violence, or **be perceived as not constituting** domestic violence at all," the report said. (2)

"It may also be possible that **participants** also **have a greater tolerance for** verbal and emotional abuse, and are therefore more likely to **remain** in relationships even if it occurs. This highlights a need for greater recognition within **the LGBTIQ community** that emotional and verbal abuse **are** serious forms of domestic violence." (3)

The chief executive of Domestic Violence NSW, Moo Baulch, told Guardian Australia that some **members of the LGBTIQ community become used to** a level of emotional and verbal abuse, stemming from childhood name-calling or lack of sensitivity around gender identity issues within the family. (4)

The survey, she said, **posed the question** of what "impact that **has** on forming a healthy relationship in the intimate partner context". (5)

"**It's something we know** is under-reported and **can be** difficult for **the LGBTIQ community** to identify," **Baulch** said. (6)

The director of the University of NSW's Centre for Social Research in Health, John de Wit, said **the LGBTIQ community was** "not immune" from family and domestic violence. (7)

Perpetrators were using a **victim's** sexuality and gender identity **to isolate, manipulate and shame** them, **De Wit** said. (8)

"The survey results **suggests** that **people can and will use** anything against **people**, because it [domestic violence] **is about** control and power," he told Guardian Australia. (9)

Nearly 13% of **transgender, intersex and gender diverse survey respondents** said their sexual status **had been used** as a means of control or abuse in their current relationship. (10)

Despite variations in sexual preferences, the survey found most of the **perpetrators are men, or those who identify as male**. (11)

De Wit said the results show that more **needs to be done** to understand the relationship between masculinity and abusive behaviour. (12)

(Shalailah Medhora *The Guardian* November 2, 2015)

The main focus of the Extract 1 article is a survey and subsequent report on domestic violence suffered particularly by local LGBTIQ communities in Australia. The extract is from the middle of an article comprising 29 paragraphs (some of them single sentences) and includes paragraphs 8-19 from the original article. As the text extract illustrates, domestic violence is referred to in various ways by means of a range of noun phrases including *emotional and/or verbal abuse*, *physical or sexual abuse*, (paragraph 1), *forms of abuse*, *acts of physical or sexual violence*, (2) *verbal and emotional abuse* (3, 4) *family and domestic violence*. This high incidence of nominalisation is typical in certain journalism and the reporting of institutional studies where repetition of the main subject may be avoided (in this case *domestic violence*) but nevertheless the nominalisation has the effect of backgrounding agency and causality, as Machin and Mayr (2012, p.138), among others, have suggested.

The processes highlighted in bold in the extract reiterate the backgrounding of agency and causality determined by the nominalisation in the text. For example, in the first sentence of paragraph (1) the clause *a substantial proportion of participants had experienced emotional and or verbal abuse in their current relationship* the verbal process *experienced* operates as a mental process with *participants* as sensors and the abuse being *the phenomenon*, in Hallidayan terms (Halliday 1994). More significantly still, the perpetrators of the abuse are reframed grammatically as a circumstantial adjunct, ‘in their current relationship’, which further obfuscates the fact that the violence occurs at the hands of the other person in the relationship. The second clause in this first sentence— *these forms of abuse were considerably more likely to have occurred than physical or sexual abuse* — can be analysed from an ergativity perspective (Thompson 2004, p.135-137) as a non-ergative clause in which abuse operates as the medium for a process (*occur*) for which there is an absence of causation. Therefore, as Thompson (2004, p.138) suggests, the clause is expressed so that the process is ‘represented as ... self-engendered.’ The other processes in the extract below are also semantically characterised by a degree of vagueness and passivity. The survey *participants*, *victims*, *member of the LGBTIQ community*, *transgender*, are said to *experience* (abuse) and *have tolerance for*, *remain* and *become used to*, with the latter three processes connoting acceptance and a degree of inertia. The abuse itself *occurs* and *is perceived* (by unspecified agents) and the *perpetrators engage in*, and *use* (sexuality/gender) to *isolate*, *manipulate* and *shame*.

In the article there are several main social actors; the victims of abuse in the LGBTIQ community, the perpetrators, and the representatives of the institutions or agencies who have commissioned or analysed the survey report. As the extract shows, only the institutional representatives are specified,

nominated and functionalised (Machin and Mayr 2012, p.80-81): *The director of the University of NSW's Centre for Social Research in Health, John de Wit, and the chief executive of Domestic Violence NSW, Moo Baulch*. The other social actors¹¹ are generic and vague; *individuals* (2) precedes *perpetrators* (8) and the *victims* (8) are initially referred to as survey *participants* (1, 3). Both *perpetrators* and *victims* are also referred to as *people* (9) which again not only obscures the actors and goals of material acts of abuse or domestic violence but also puts them semantically on an equal footing, thus hiding the agency and power relations between them. This anonymisation of particular social actors is compounded by the 'voices' present and absent in the article. Direct quotations are taken only from the institutional representatives and the two other texts referred to in the article – the report or survey, which *shows* (1, 12), *said* (1, 2), *posed the question* (5), *suggests* (9) and *finds* (11) and the article or journalist referred to as *Guardian Australia*. Respondents' comments in the survey are only reported indirectly (10). In terms of the treatment of these social actors in the text, it is surprising that the gender of the perpetrators (*male* or *identifying as male*) is only explicitly stated in paragraph 18. Given that gender and sexuality are at the core of an article reporting on a survey of gender-based abuse and domestic violence, and where no other significant causation or identity features such as socio-economic status, for example, are considered relevant, the delay in signalling the gender of the perpetrators seems especially marked.

Another salient and revealing grammatical feature of the text is the preponderance of particularly epistemic modality, which is often indicative of authorial stance (Machin and Mayr 2012, p.187, Fairclough 1992, 2003). Although the modality cannot be attributed directly to the journalist, the selected quotations from the survey report, and from Baulch and De Wit reflect a significant degree of hedging: *were considerably more likely to* (1); *It may be that... possibly because...*(2); *It may also be possible that... and are therefore more likely to* (3); *It ... can be difficult* (6) and *the survey suggests...*(9). Although this form of modality is typical in much academic, scientific and survey reporting particularly when hypothesising about potential causes and proposing actions, the more categorical statistical findings of the survey report (such as that perpetrators are generally men) are not foregrounded. Instead, there is a repetitive focus on hedged conjectures which seek to explain the incidence of domestic violence as being due to a certain tolerance towards or inurement to it by those who suffer it. The article is written by a female journalist, Shalailah Medhora, who is described in *The Guardian*

¹¹ Indicated in blue or lighter font in Extract 1

as reporting on ‘federal politics for Guardian Australia’ (*The Guardian* online)¹² and the article does not explicitly highlight authorial comment or evaluation of the report in the article, which rather treats the report findings as a news item. This means that authorial or indeed institutional stance can only be inferred from decisions made about the representation of the report, though this suggests that the journalist is also at pains to report objectively.

Considered together, the features described in the section above show how any consideration or analysis of causation, responsibilities and power relations which may lead to the reported domestic violence and abuse are ultimately occluded in favour of speculation around the degree of tolerance displayed by the victims and the role of masculinity and gender, in particular, is pointedly backgrounded. Ideologically, what appears to be a neutral or objective report on institutional survey findings is rather a discursive representation of gender-based domestic violence in which responsibilities are effectively shifted from the male perpetrators to the victims.

7.2.2 Ideologies and male violence

The ideological effects highlighted in the discussion of Extract 1 are echoed to an extent in Extract 2, which is a similar genre of article in its reporting of an inquiry into gender violence within the context of UK schools. In Extract 2, once again, the question of agency and responsibilities for sexual violence, coercion or abuse is a core concern. In this case, schools are indirectly responsible for this gender-based behaviour for doing no more than *simply enabling girls to avoid abuse* (2). The implicature in the extract is that, as with Extract 1, male perpetrators (*boys*) are unaware and passive with respect of the causes and effects of particular attitudes to their female peers. Indeed, the first sentence of the article is grammatically ambiguous in that the *sexual violence and harassment* referred to is framed in the first instance from the perpetrators’ perspective (*a problem for boys*) rather than from the victims’. Similarly, the report deals with the issue of responsibilities directly by citing the expert’s view that *such initiatives need to avoid blaming or accusing boys* (4), an evaluative stance which also seems to underpin the first article in that responsibilities for abuse are attributed to a lack of awareness or understanding.

¹²<https://www.theguardian.com/profile/shalailah-medhora>

Extract 2

Sexual violence and harassment in schools is a problem for boys and men but is being treated as if it were a women's issue, MPs have been told. (1)

The select committee inquiry into sexual violence in schools heard from academics and experts in gender stereotypes and abuse who said British schools should focus on changing the behaviour and attitudes of boys, rather than simply enabling girls to avoid abuse. (2)

[...]

Stanley told the committee initiatives had to focus on "changing boys' behaviour and attitudes rather than simply enabling girls to detect and avoid abuse." He said that while there was not "a straight line" between gender stereotypes to sexual coercion, sexist stereotypes underpin such behaviour. (3)

Pornography was also an issue for boys, Stanley said, citing a strong correlation between pornography and coercion. However, she said her research had shown experts strongly believe that such initiatives need to avoid blaming or accusing boys. (4)

(Karen McVeigh, *The Guardian*, July 5, 2016)

Both Extracts 1 and 2 highlight how causation in relation to gender-based male violence and abuse is contested. Extract 2 cites *pornography* and *gender stereotypes* whilst acknowledging that the nature of the relationship remains unclear and indirect; *not "a straight line"*. Interestingly, while the texts seem to present a lack of clarity as to why and how the relationship between maleness and violence operates, violence is not always presented in the literature as a pathology, that is, a behaviour which is fundamentally unhealthy or even a manifestation of a particular social ill. Lawson's (2015, p.53) survey of other studies of (young urban) masculinities have shown how violence can serve socially strategic and instrumental purposes:

Urban adolescent males use inter-personal violence to establish, consolidate, or compete for a position at the top of their peer hierarchy or as a means of obtaining 'respect' from one's peers. Indeed, in criminological and sociological accounts of adolescent male violence, the concentration has typically been on the instrumental role of violence, that is, violence used to achieve a particular social aim, including the acquisition of status, power, prestige, or material goods.

(Lawson 2015, p.53)

Arguably, this perspective is surprising but echoes somewhat the view of violence as a phenomenon which is socially derived and constructed through stereotyped and hegemonic constructions of masculinity. The latter are replicated in the *pornography* and *sexism* highlighted in Extract 2, tending to normalise and distort violent, abusive or coercive gender interactions so that these effectively reinstate masculine dominance in the gender order. Notwithstanding this instrumentality, academic research also draws parallels between violence, masculinity and (ill) health, as Viljoen (2013) illustrates:

Health, crisis and disease are also important leitmotifs in research on masculinity [...], particularly in terms of print media . [...] Grace Khunou [...] by means of a content analysis of articles on male health in the Sowetan newspaper [...] argues that by and large such news reportage limits the public idea of masculinity to the violent and hegemonic... (Viljoen 2013, p.168)

7.3 Metaphors of disease

As alluded to by Viljoen (2013) above and despite its potential instrumentality, there is also a metaphorical framing of both violence and masculinity (in particular) which draws on illness or disease as the source domain (Lakoff and Johnson 1981). This section considers how metaphors of disease, which are linked in particular to masculinity, contribute to the construction of a discourse of crisis, but also homogenise masculinity and diminish its agency or responsibility. An example of the use of a disease metaphor in an article by Ally Fogg is presented in Chapter 6, section 6.5, (Extract 11) as well as being referred to in Chapter 4. Although in Fogg's article, the metaphor is rather extended and salient, throughout the corpus, this metaphorical encoding is consistently present. In Extract 1 in this chapter, for example, evaluations and ideological positions are grammatically implicit in an article which otherwise rather lacks direct authorial comment. However one cited source in the Extract 1 article states:

The director of the University of NSW's Centre for Social Research in Health, John de Wit, said the LGBTIQ community was "not immune" from family and domestic violence. Extract 1 (7)

The adjectival (*not*) *immune* is used to refer to the situation of the LGBTIQ community in this example and the connection of this quoted statement from a spokesperson for the Centre for Research in *Health* highlights how violence is metaphorically represented as a disease. The metaphor extends throughout the corpus through a lexical field connected to illness and disease; including other related lexis such as *epidemic*, *pathology*, *infect* and *contaminate*. For example, in the headline and subheading of the article from which Extracts 4 and 7 are taken, the journalist Mark Rice-Oxley (*The Guardian*, November 2017) states: 'most men are still trapped by rigid cultural notions of being strong, dominant and successful. Is it leading to an epidemic of unhappiness similar to the one felt by Betty Friedan's 50s housewives?'

Returning to the example in Extract 1, a concordance search of the adjective *immune* in the whole corpus FM1 produces 14 instances. In half of these (7), its use relates semantically to its physiological meaning, whereas in the other 7 instances, its use is once again as a metaphorical source domain (see Figure 13).

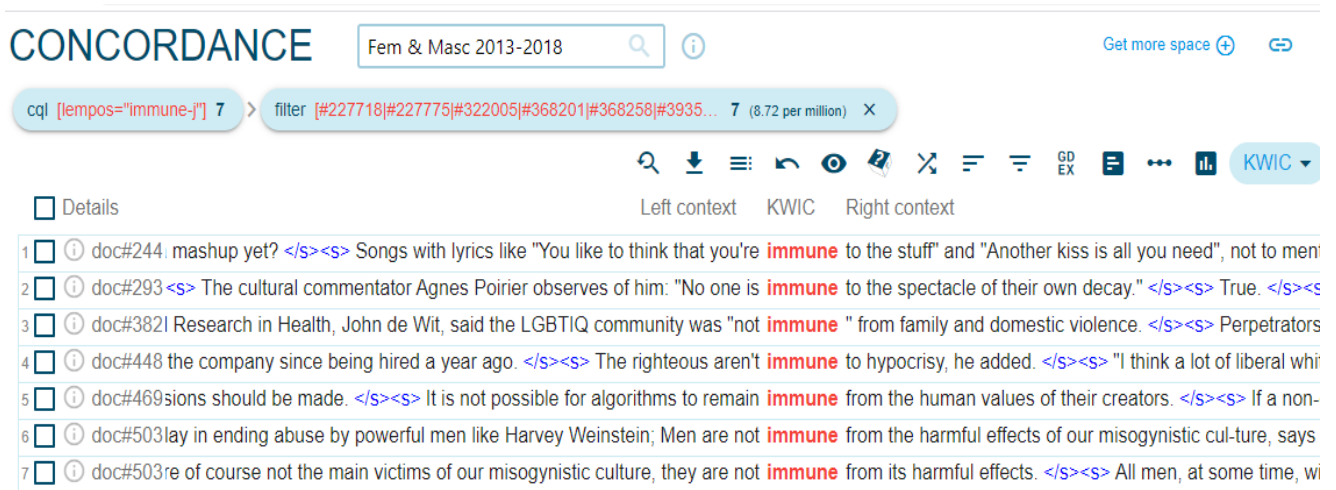


Figure 13 Concordance of *immune* used metaphorically in FM1 (entire corpus, 2013-2018)

These concordance lines (Figure 13) highlight how the use of *immune* features primarily in negative grammatical constructions: *you'd like to think that you're immune*; *No one is immune*; *the LGBTIQ community was not "immune"*; *It is not possible... to remain immune*; *Men are not immune from...* and *they are not immune...* In the instances above, the target domains of the source domain 'disease' inferred from *immune* are:

- 1) love (is a disease you'd like to think you were immune to...)
- 2) the spectacle of their own decay (the outward signs of ageing)
- 3) domestic violence
- 4) hypocrisy
- 5) human values
- 6) the harmful effects of our misogynistic culture x2

Of the above list of target domains, 1 (love), 3 (domestic violence) and 6 (misogynistic culture) are concerned with gender relations. Thus through the mapping of these domains to *disease* (through their grammatical association with 'immune') gender relations are framed as damaging and toxic. This negative framing is even more evident in a concordance analysis of *epidemic*, referred to above in Extract 3, where of 19 instances, 13 relate to gender or gendered behaviours and experiences (*violence, narcissism, loneliness, unhappiness*), and particularly masculinities. Although the other uses of *epidemic* in these concordance samples refer primarily to Aids and the opioid crisis in North America, both the latter are also considered in terms of their interaction with gender and especially male behaviours.

<input type="checkbox"/> Details	Left context	KWIC	Right context
<input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#4	appy all the time? </s><s>	We know already - don't we? - that there are epidemic	proportions of self-harm and eating disorders amor
<input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#21	cross-party Jo Cox Commission described male loneliness as a "silent	epidemic " : more than one in 10 say they are lonely but wor	
<input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#23	men want to destroy us. </s><s>	It does feel like we are diagnosing an epidemic :	that is the work that will let us treat it. </s><s> An
<input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#29	cho making; a prison where suicide, domestic violence, drug abuse and	epidemic loneliness is rampant. </s><s>	A prison where a st
<input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#34	ns of being strong, dominant and successful. </s><s>	Is it leading to an epidemic of unhappiness similar to the one felt by Betty Frie	
<input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#86	Related: Could sourdough bread be the answer to the gluten sensitivity	epidemic ? </s><s>	"Marketers recognized that it was not a ;
<input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#252	finished my third sentence, I've probably already contributed to a minor	epidemic of hypertension among a certain section of Comm	
<input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#256	odies during a war for minerals. </s><s>	Violence against women is an epidemic . </s><s>	It may manifest itself differently from cult
<input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#396i.	</s><s>	It is the behaviour of men, and groups of men, that drives the epidemic . </s><s>	Not enough is done to ensure men have
<input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#396	icy over the next 15 years. </s><s>	The targets include ending the Aids epidemic by 2030. </s><s>	Related: 'Millions of lives' rely on
<input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#396	each them and say, "start on treatment immediately", we could stop this	epidemic in its tracks. </s><s>	On World Aids Day, an imper
<input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#405	ar-old sexpert Joycelyn Elders, fired by Clinton at the height of the Aids	epidemic in 1994 for saying that masturbation should be talk	
<input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#446	in Asia and women farm workers in North America, and the Indian rape	epidemic . </s><s>	It allows people to ask whether some ma
<input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#472	cross-party Jo Cox Commission described male loneliness as a "silent	epidemic " : more than one in 10 say they are lonely but wor	
<input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#480	ally assaulted in their lifetime. </s><s>	Related: We're in the midst of an epidemic of violence against trans people Paris Lees It's fo	
<input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#494	of your capacity to love other people. </s><s>	Related: This narcissism epidemic is harming women far more than it harms men M	
<input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#515i	</s><s>	July 12, 2017 Wednesday 11:30 AM Is North America's opioid epidemic a crisis of masculinity?; Men accounted for 80% of	
<input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#515	merica, as authorities in Canada and the United States grapple with an	epidemic that has claimed thousands of lives on both sides c	
<input type="checkbox"/> ⓘ doc#515	gov-ernment. </s><s>	"The death toll is worse than any other infectious epidemic in Canada, including the peak of Aids deaths, since	

Figure 14 Concordance of 'epidemic' used in FM1 (entire corpus, 2013-2018)

As Extract 3 below illustrates, the relationship between masculinity and a higher incidence of drug abuse and related death is explicitly referred to. As with Extracts 1 and 2, the relationship between a (self)destructive behaviour and masculinity is constructed through a scientific or academic discourse. As a result, again there is a high incidence of modality which hedges any causation claims: *men are more likely to; it is perhaps logical that; they are more likely to; the figure suggests a relationship between; one that may offer clues as to why; where the solutions might lie*. Extract 4 also encodes a passivity and lack of agency by the male subjects implicit in the discussion of the American drug crisis: it is the epidemic that *claims lives*, a linguistic representation which abstracts the agency and actions of individuals. Similarly, in *the death toll continues to rise*, an ergativity analysis shows that death toll is the medium (rather than the agent) with *continue to increase* as the process in a non-ergative clause (Thompson 2004, p.137), showing a grammatical representation of the drug crisis (among men) as something that simply happens.

Extract 3

The struggle is playing out across North America, as authorities in Canada and the United States grapple with an **epidemic** that has claimed thousands of lives on both sides of the 49th parallel.

Against this stark backdrop, a professor at the University of British Columbia has highlighted a different statistic from the crisis: in 2016, of the 935 fatal overdoses in the province, 80% were men.

Research that shows men are more likely to use illicit drugs, so it is perhaps logical that they are more likely to overdose. But the clinical psychologist Dan Bilsker argues that the figure suggests a relationship between the crisis and masculinity - one that may offer clues as to why the death toll continues to rise, and where the solutions might lie.
(Ashifa Kassam in Vancouver *The Guardian*, July 12, 2017)

The use of a metaphor of disease and epidemic can allow for multifaceted interpretations and ideological readings. Viewing and representing masculine behaviours (e.g. domestic violence, rape, suicide) and experiences or states (for example, of loneliness or addiction) as an *epidemic* offers a degree of generalisation which to an extent presents these behaviours as serious and prevalent enough to constitute a public health crisis and therefore worthy of attention and intervention. However, this metaphor also creates a discourse of inevitability and abdication of responsibility, something which is *suffered* by men themselves or others, rather than something in which they are knowing participants. This is problematic, not least because the lack of agency suggested might extend to the possibility of solutions. Furthermore, this metaphor also collectivises the experiences so that in becoming less personalised and more abstracted, they are more removed from the lives of readers or particular individuals. This is echoed in the use of statistical data discussed for Extracts 1 and 2 above. As Tynan (2020) hints, citing Susan Sontag's (1990) discussion of illness as metaphor, this means that the real, individual effects of the target domains of the disease metaphor (e.g. gender-based violence) are more easily ignored or forgotten:

...as Sontag writes, 'diseases understood to be simply epidemic have become less useful as metaphors' because they incite a collective amnesia.[10] As we are seeing today, political and media coverage of Covid-19 has focused primarily on the rates of infection, death, hospitalisation, recovery, unemployment and economic loss that transforms individual instances of sickness and loss into statistics and figures to be compared on local and international stages. Epidemics, be they literal or metaphorical, do not focus on individuals.
Tynan (2020)

As well as having such significant ideological effects, the disease metaphor prefigures and overlaps with a discourse of crisis, particularly in masculinity, which receives significant coverage both in the corpus and in the academic literature as discussed below.

7.4 A discourse of crisis

In this section, the dominant discourse of crisis in relation to masculinity and its ideological effects is discussed. The subsection of the FM1 corpus extracted to analyse the pathologising of gender by the

media shows how prevalent the concern is with *crisis* in articles discussing both femininity and masculinity with 28 of the selected articles explicitly mentioning and discussing a perceived crisis of masculinity in particular as Table 3 above. A word sketch search of the term *crisis* compounds this; in the sample of the 38 instances of *crisis + of*, 27 of the instances relate to gender, gender politics and especially masculinity (23 out of the 27 instances). This was the highest number of co-occurrences with *crisis* followed by *crisis + in* of which there are 19 instances which refer to *masculinity* being *in crisis*. Furthermore, the distribution of the crisis of masculinity co-occurrence is fairly even across the time scale and corpora. Figure 15 below illustrates how crisis is a term which features throughout the corpus across the six years.

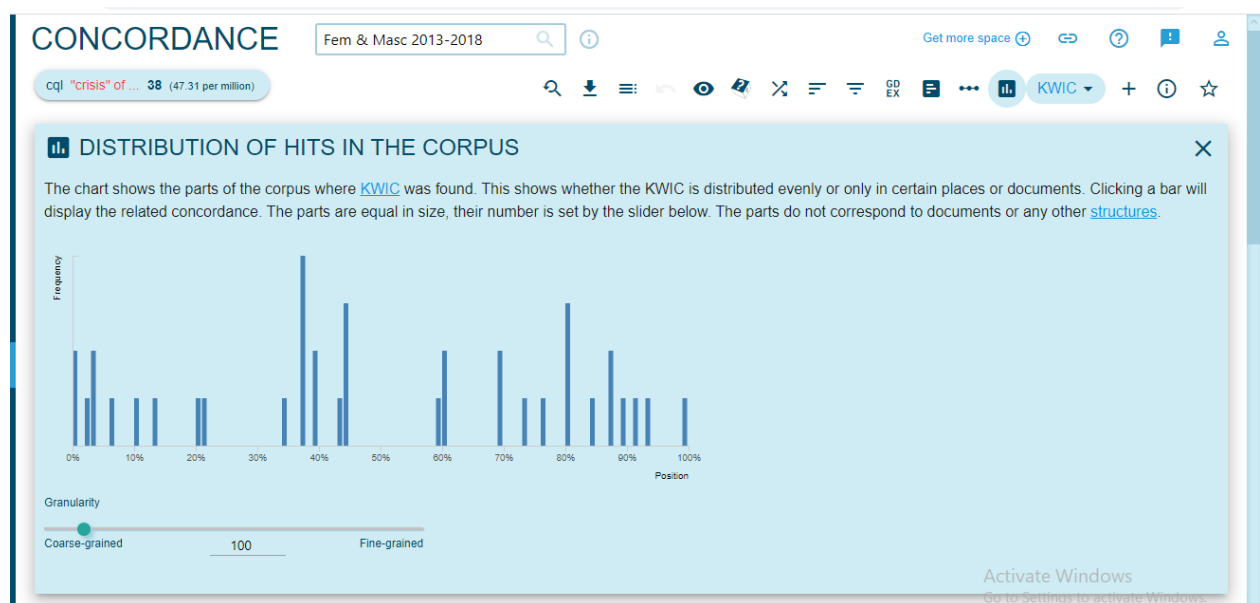


Figure 15 Distribution of 'crisis' of in FM1 (entire corpus, 2013-2018)

This discourse has also been widely noted in the academic literature (see Johnson 1997, Robinson 2000, Benwell 2003, Buiten and Nadoo 2013) much of which problematises the notion of crisis. As Jordan and Chandler (2019, p. 463) assert:

In the UK, played out in the media, in politics, and in popular culture, talk about a 'crisis' of masculinity has expanded (Roberts, 2014). Numerous issues have been constructed as symptomatic of a crisis of masculinity, for example, men's criminality, boys' schooling, working-class men's employment opportunities, 'absent' fatherhood and the 'breakdown' of the family (Griffin, 2000; Jordan, 2014; McDowell, 2000). High rates of male suicide are frequently employed as a piece of especially compelling evidence of this purported crisis (Scourfield, 2005).

Jordan and Chandler (2019, p. 463)

As with the other gender representations of parenthood and feminism analysed (in Chapters 4 and 5 of this study) in relation to this data, the gendered representations of crisis in the corpus are

polyphonous and complex. An initial point of enquiry in the analysis was if and how the crisis is espoused or disavowed by the journalists in the articles. This emerged from the initial concordance lines, many of which, as can be seen, appear either to take a sceptical perspective on the crisis which is linguistically encoded through various hedging strategies or categorically refute it as the two concordance line samples for *crisis of* (masculinity) and *in crisis* exemplify (Figure 16). A tentative disavowal of the crisis of masculinity discourse is fairly explicit in these samples though it is made manifest through a wide variety of linguistic forms. In Figure 16, the use of: *what seems to be* in (line 1), the scare quotes around the phrase *crisis of masculinity* (lines 2 and 5), the interrogative form (line 3), the adjectival modifier of crisis *supposed*, the subordinate conditional clause *if it exists* all signal an authorial distancing from the notion of crisis.

The screenshot shows a concordance search interface with the title 'CONCORDANCE' and a search bar containing 'Fem & Masc 2013-2018'. The search query is 'cql "crisis" of ... 6' and the filter is '[#799037]#678991#358570#354399#163345#24011' with a frequency of 6 (7.47 per million). The results are sorted by 'word, word'. The interface includes a 'Details' tab and a 'KWIC' tab. The results are displayed in a table with columns for document ID, document text, and the concordance line. The concordance lines are numbered 1 through 6. The concordance lines are: 1. doc#20 hi's murderer is only one sign among many of what seems to be a global crisis of masculinity. 2. doc#119 bour MP Diane Abbott is not the first person to kick up a fuss about this "crisis of masculinity". 3. doc#259ngh Kohli and Simon Armitage. Daubney said: "Is there really a 'crisis of masculinity', or have men been told it so many times we actually believe it?" 4. doc#262selves or society's expectations and obligations. The supposed crisis of masculinity is largely a crisis in economics and employment, education and health. 5. doc#489I in any shape or form, so it's hard to find that moral space". The crisis of manhood, if it exists, is very different from that faced by women in the workplace. 6. doc#580; that following the second world war, middle class straight men faced a "crisis of masculinity", largely due to women's increasing social power.

Figure 16 Sample of 'crisis of masculinity' concordance lines (FM1)

This distancing becomes more categorical in some of the sample lines below, again articulated via a range of linguistic mechanisms. These include a third conditional clause— *if masculinity actually were in crisis* (line 1), humour— *blokes who think they're in crisis about their blokeiness* (line 2), a conditional clause— *if boys are in crisis* (line 3), an adverbial— *never* (line 4 and 7) and evaluative noun— *alarmists* (line 4) and a negation— *manhood isn't in crisis* (line 5).

The screenshot shows a concordance search interface with the title 'CONCORDANCE' and a search bar containing 'Fem & Masc 2013-2018'. The search query is 'cql ... in "crisis" 8' and the filter is '[#380974]#382136#464712#521358#521525#5215' with a frequency of 8 (9.96 per million). The results are sorted by 'word, word'. The interface includes a 'Details' tab and a 'KWIC' tab. The results are displayed in a table with columns for document ID, document text, and the concordance line. The concordance lines are numbered 1 through 8. The concordance lines are: 1. doc#2771 tricky one. Or at least it would be if masculinity actually were in crisis. But it really isn't. There's no need for us to worry. 2. doc#278 as a bunch of blokes, and not just blokes but blokes who think they're in crisis about their blokeiness, are going to be painting their faces and waving their flags. 3. doc#333nks video games will be the downfall of men | Pete Etchells If boys are in crisis, I don't think they need their new interests to be blamed and vilified - they need to be supported. 4. doc#380; Centuries of war, pillaging and violence show that manhood is never in crisis, as alarmists like to claim, but it is often at the heart of these phenomena. 5. doc#380nce - was questioned and dismantled. There is a "manhood in crisis" trend story to match each one pondering whether women can have it all. 6. doc#380 pondering whether women can have it all. But manhood is n't in crisis; it is the crisis. Still, last week author and activist Kevin Powell ponders whether men can have it all. 7. doc#380; of war, of pillaging, of violence that show us that manhood was never in crisis, but always was central to this mayhem. So we may need to just accept that manhood is in crisis. 8. doc#507J's October 6, 2017 Friday 12:56 PM Men or mice: is masculinity in crisis? With his criticism of 'dysfunctional' unmarried men, Iain Duncan Smith says that men are in crisis.

Figure 17 Sample of *in crisis* concordance lines (FM1)

Despite this apparent disavowal, however, the overall representation of *crisis* is paradoxical and fraught with contradictions, not least because it seems incongruous to discursively invoke a particular

representation of gender and masculinity only to repudiate its existence. This paradox is evident in Extracts 4 and 5 below. In Extract 4, the conditional clause *if it exists* is embedded in a main clause comprising an identifying relational process in which the *crisis of manhood* (the identified) is identified by means of a comparison to earlier crises experienced by women (identifier). And although “*oppression*” is in scare quotes from which a reader may infer a reluctance to overstate the similarities between the inequalities or difficulties perceived by women and men, the crisis is reaffirmed and, in fact, comparatively defined and evaluated as *far more subtle* and *even self-inflicted*.

Extract 4

The crisis of manhood, if it exists, is very different from that faced by women in the 50s and 60s. In some senses, it's a mirror image. [...]
The "oppression" of men is far more subtle, even self-inflicted.
(Mark Rice-Oxley, *The Guardian*, 21 November 2017)

Similarly, there is an inherent paradox in the reporting of UK MP Diane Abbott's address on the social problems evident particularly among male populations in Extract 5. In this extract, again the use of scare quotes implies a distancing from the concept of *masculinity in crisis* and although the MP's reported views assert the reality of a crisis, authorial stance suggests a lack of commitment to the expressed views by means of the repetitive use of non-factive verbs *claim* and *say*, which as Machin and Mayr (2012, p.195) affirm, imbue the report with a sense of vagueness or uncertainty which is further compounded by their futurity: *Diane Abbott will claim tomorrow* (1); *The shadow public health minister will say* (2); *She will also say* (3); *she will say in a speech* (3).

Extract 5

Britain is facing a "crisis of masculinity", with rapid economic change warping male identity and encouraging machismo and misogyny, the Labour MP Diane Abbott will claim tomorrow. (1)

The shadow public health minister will say that unemployment and the economic downturn risks creating a generation of disaffected young men, fuelling homophobia, machismo and misogyny. (2)

She will also say men are failing to discuss the problems they face. "It's all become a bit like the film *Fight Club* - the first rule of being a man in modern Britain is that you're not allowed to talk about it," she will say in a speech to the thinktank Demos. (3)
(Rajeev Syal *The Guardian*, 15 May 2013)

In spite of the seeming disavowal and paradoxical representation of the crisis of masculinity in some of the articles, in many there is a profound engagement with the crisis discourse in terms of attempting to articulate its causes and effects, and this engagement is shared by both male and female journalists.

This can be seen in Extract 6 below from an article by the male Indian essayist Pankaj Mishra, in which the crisis discourse is clearly maintained.

The crisis (of masculinity) referred to in these articles is conceptually metaphorical in itself and, in Extract 6, it is also represented by means of a metaphor of mental illness, where the source domain of madness maps to masculinity and its crisis. This metaphor permeates the description of especially men's, but also women's, experiences through the following lexical items: *fear; trauma; vulnerability; maddeningly elusive; prone to periodic crises, breakdowns, and panicky reassertions; a hallucination; a straitjacket of ...roles; a source of great suffering; a release from the absurd but crippling fear*. Associated to this mental health metaphor is another related to illusion or fiction, which confers a poeticism to the text but also adds texture to the discourse of madness or mental health. Thus the writer refers to *a mythical male potential; myths of resolute manhood; an unfulfillable ideal; an illusion of mastery, a world where all that is solid melts into thin air, and [where] the... powerful are haunted by the spectre of loss and displacement*. In this example, the writer subverts the literary trope of femininity and madness (see Gilbert and Gubar's, 2020, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-century Literary Imagination*, for example) by associating masculinity to the source domains of madness and illusion and therein metaphorically encoding the connection between male and female experiences which he is at pains to highlight: *This everyday experience of fear and trauma binds them to women in more ways than most men (1) and men would waste this latest crisis of masculinity if they deny or underplay the experience of vulnerability they share with women (2)*.

Extract 6

Compared with women, men are almost everywhere more exposed to alcoholism, drug addiction, serious accidents and cardiovascular disease; they have significantly lower life expectancies and are more likely to kill themselves. The first victims of the quest for a mythical male potency are arguably men themselves, whether in school playgrounds, offices, prisons or battlefields. This everyday experience of fear and trauma binds them to women in more ways than most men, trapped by myths of resolute manhood, tend to acknowledge. (1)

Certainly, men would waste this latest crisis of masculinity if they deny or underplay the experience of vulnerability they share with women on a planet that is itself endangered. Masculine power will always remain maddeningly elusive, prone to periodic crises, breakdowns and panicky reassertions. It is an unfulfillable ideal, a hallucination of command and control, and an illusion of mastery, in a world where all that is solid melts into thin air, and where even the ostensibly powerful are haunted by the spectre of loss and displacement. As a straitjacket of onerous roles and impossible expectations, masculinity has become a source of great suffering— for men as much as women. To understand this is not only to grasp its global crisis today. It is also to sight one possibility of resolving the crisis: a release from the absurd but crippling fear that one has not been man enough. (2)
(Pankaj Mishra *The Guardian*, March 17, 2018)

Significantly, although masculinity is at the core of the discussion of crisis in most of these articles, Extracts 4 and 6 (for example) show how women and experiences of femininity are also critical to this discourse. Indeed, the representation of women and their relationship to this perspective hint at the possible interpretations of the ideological underpinnings of such a discourse of crisis. In Extract 4, the writer effectively argues that the contemporary experiences of men equate to the unhappiness and oppression experienced by the housewives of the 50s, and in Extract 6 the writer suggests that men may find more commonalities in the experiences of women in attending to the misery caused by restrictive and often unattainable notions of traditional masculinity. Therefore, to a certain extent, the discourse of crisis is underpinned by a presumption of equality (between certain masculine and feminine experiences), at least with respect of oppression and suffering, regardless of whether this be externally or self-inflicted. This perspective is made much of in feminist accounts of the crisis discourse (e.g. Lazar, 2015) as many argue convincingly that ‘there is much symbolic power to be reaped from occupying the social and discursive position of the subject-in-crisis’ (Robinson, 2000 p.19). Some feminist writers elaborate on this by suggesting that the recurrent crisis metaphors tend to arise when hegemonies are in flux or under threat and perceived crises reflect a resistance which pulls back towards the established gender order (Connell 1987, 1995), while simultaneously rejecting the propositions and achievements of feminism. Others such as Jordan and Chandler (2019), while questioning the accuracy and validity of some of the media claims around issues such as suicide, propose an analytical framework of analysis which differentiates between conservative or progressive accounts of crisis, and a contingent antipathy or sympathy to the ideals of feminism:

Conservative crisis narratives construct high rates of male suicide as a particularly serious outcome of ongoing threats to ‘traditional’ gender roles and norms and advocate returning to them. In contrast, progressive accounts draw on crisis narratives, but use male suicide to demonstrate that existing gender norms harm men as well as women, arguing that to address male suicide, they should be altered.
(Jordan and Chandler 2019, p.464)

Another aspect of the representation of the crisis discourse which emerges in my data is that it draws a relationship between hidden, internalised or private experiences and behaviours (such as suicide, domestic abuse, addictions, isolation or alienation) and visible, public acts of violence, including murder and terrorism, as well as social ills such as homelessness. Indeed many of the articles discuss the overlap between private and public acts of violence (against self or others) as Appendix 1 shows.

Extracts 7 and 8 show how this dual perspective of hidden/visible violence is construed. In Extract 7 the crisis of masculinity almost represents a catch-all for a wide range of social pathologies which manifest both privately and publicly. These can be internalised or externalised with the former

referred to as *male tragedy* and the latter as *masculine disgraces*. In the latter noun phrases, men are implicitly projected as more or less in control with *tragedy* suggesting lack of control over outcomes and *disgrace* implying more wilful behaviour. Although these pathologies (*suicide, gambling, drug overdoses, rough sleeping, disappearing, rape, murder, terrorism, war, people trafficking, domestic violence, sexual harassment, mass shootings, murders, terror attacks and the brutality of war*) are characterised typically by extreme *actions* they are nominalised in the text, diminishing the agency of male actors but also obscuring other actors and crucially socio-political structures and state, which may play a role in complex social occurrences and behaviours. In listing all these together with minimal nuance or evaluation, there is a discursive oversimplification of the complexities of each as well as an implicit parallelism. It may seem obvious that both *gambling* and *rape* are destructive activities, but not that they are comparable, as they are linguistically represented in the extract. The evaluative modifiers in Extract 7 focus rather on the fact of being male (which is *truly dismal* due to *relentless... expectations*) rather than the listed acts (with the exception of *sickening* murders) performed by males. Thus, masculinity is simultaneously blamed and exculpated from responsibility. This listing of a plethora of harmful or anti-social acts might also be considered a form of ‘overlexicalisation’ which is defined by Teo (2000, p.19) as the use of ‘a surfeit of repetitious, quasi-synonymous terms [...] woven into the fabric of news discourse, giving rise to a sense of overcompleteness.’ References to ‘being a man’ are also overlexicalised in the extract, for example in the phrase: *to have a Y chromosome*. According to Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 37) overlexicalisation signals an ‘area of ideological contention’ and ‘anxiety on the part of the author.’

Extract 7

Writers, actors and performers, including Robert Webb, Alan Hollinghurst and Simon Amstell, will explore the relentless levels of expectation heaped on men and assess whether this is responsible for statistics that suggest it is truly dismal these days to have a Y chromosome.

Suicide is a predominantly male tragedy (a man takes his life every minute somewhere in the world). Ditto gambling, drug overdoses, rough sleeping or just disappearing. Rape, murder, terrorism, war, people trafficking and domestic violence: all are predominantly masculine disgraces. Wherever you go in the world, men always make up more than 90% of jail populations. Flick through today's newspaper and the chances are it will be full of all the bad things that men are doing. Of course, recent weeks have been dominated by sexual harassment, but this is just the tip of the iceberg. Mass shootings and sickening murders, not to mention terror attacks and the brutality of war.

(Mark Rice-Oxley, *The Guardian*, November 21, 2017)

Extract 8 captures the complexity of how state (represented by *senior police officers*), social structures and communities (*gangs, organisations promoting terrorism*), mental health, and experiences across

generations and in the home (parents) interact and are interwoven in the events represented (e.g. *terrorism*).

Extract 8

The link [between domestic abuse and terrorism] is complex, involving more than one generation. According to senior police officers, there is a striking similarity between young men who are drawn towards organisations promoting terrorism and those who join gangs in the UK's big cities. Gang members are generally younger, but both groups tend to come from unstable backgrounds, often involving mental illness either in a parent or themselves. Domestic abuse comes up as a factor, time after time.

(Joan Smith, *The Guardian*, July 10, 2017)

Notwithstanding the complexities acknowledged in Extract 8 and other articles, the discussions of crisis essentialise masculinity or a hegemonic masculine identity into a monolithic and homogenous victim of itself. Other identity markers (race, class, age and economic status) as well as contexts and sociopolitical structures are often erased. The ideological outcome of this erasure is the centering of gender and gender relations in problems which arguably are as rooted in economic, political and social structures as they might be in gendered identities. It proposes a narrative of gender (and especially masculinity) which is at its core toxic, dichotomous, oppositional, monolithic and by implication rather impervious to change, whilst potentially backgrounding the socio-political means by which desired changes might be enacted.

7.5 Feminine malaises

The focus on crisis discourses and the link between violence and gender in the sections above indicate that the construal of pathologised representations of gender primarily apply to men and masculinity. However, it is also true that femininity plays a central role in both aspects. Although the secondary rather than primary subject of most of the relevant corpus articles, women, female experiences, and femininity are nevertheless present as a kind of shadow which haunts these explorations of violence and crisis. This section, therefore, considers the role of femininities in this pathologised representation of gender, as well as the pathologies which are discursively constructed as female.

7.5.1 Pathologised femininities

The representations of female subjects in many of these articles are as the victims, fellow sufferers and even the cause of some of these ills (through feminism and its nemesis misogyny, for example). The aggressor-victim relationship is highlighted in extract 9 below, where the journalist asserts that feminine mental illness and unhappiness is *a social issue* rooted simply in *male violence* (3). In the discussion of the mental health problems experienced by young women (in the UK) in this extract, it is interesting to note the similarities and differences to earlier extracts in this chapter on male violence

and crisis. A particular contrast is in its more explicit authorial stance, although this is unsurprising given that Suzanne Moore was a regular *Guardian* columnist (until 2019) well-known for her provocative style and feminist views. As with Extracts 1 and 2, the article reports on a survey (2) or research on female mental health, which shows a high incidence of anxiety and depression amongst the younger female population. As with other articles, a disease metaphor (through the use of *epidemic*) is also used to convey the scale and severity of the issue, and as with Extracts 1 and 2 surveys are cited directly (2) in order to add weight to the arguments presented.

However, there are also significant differences in the discursive construction of gendered mental health issues in the article from which Extract 9 is taken (see below) to Extracts 1 and 2 in this chapter. The use of the personal pronouns *we* and *you* (1,3) is particularly marked as it connotes an assumed alignment of views and complicity between writer and readers. This pronoun use is complemented by more interpersonal and varied grammatical clause types and features including tag questions, interrogatives, question-answer combinations as well as the imperatives and the use of deontic modality, such as *let's name why* and *we must be much more aware of mental health issues* (3). These linguistic choices mimic a conversational style and perform a persuasive function in suggesting that author and readers share perspectives. The writer does distance herself through the use of *they* from the experience of younger women, *girls*, especially in relation to social media use (2) as well as using *they* to refer to women in the past (4).

Also notable in this discursive construction of female pathologies is the overt inclusion of the role of structural, political institutions and policies which are inextricable to these gendered experiences. Thus, the journalist refers to *counselling on the NHS, therapists working in schools, child and adolescent mental health services*. Female suffering is reiterated by the manifested behaviours and actions and their articulation in conjunction with the pronoun *we* - *we have young women self-harming, self-loathing and feeling underconfident, and still they cannot move freely in the world*. The latter highlights female actions or feelings against themselves, but also by implication attributes a collective responsibility for these through the use of *we have...* Thus, the *outside world* referred to in the extract includes not only *male violence*, but also the *world* of the readers. This representation of gender pathologies is also ideologically imbued but with a more self-consciously persuasive agenda to invoke collective responsibilities and thus potential action.

Extract 9

We know already — don't we? — that there are epidemic proportions of self-harm and eating disorders among girls. We know that everyone talks more openly about anxiety and depression, but actually the resources are not there to deal with it. If you want counselling on the NHS, you may wait up to a year for six sessions of CBT. Therapists working in schools are the first to be hit by budget cuts. They are considered dispensable. Child and adolescent mental health services (CAMHS) is completely over-stretched. (1)

[...]

As for social media and the nastiness that girls experience through it, again this does not exist in a vacuum. Why do they spend so much time online anyway? Because they feel unsafe in the outside world? Is this some mass delusion? "More than half of those aged 13 to 21 have felt unsafe walking home alone, experienced harassment or know someone who has, and nearly half feel unsafe using public transport," the survey states. (2)

This is an astonishing statistic. Yes, we must be much more aware of mental health issues, but this ... this is a social issue. Girls do not feel safe in the outside world. Let's name why: male violence. (3)

Female unhappiness is not new. Freud's patients presented as mute or with all kinds of strange paralyses. These were read as unresolved complexes from early childhood. Yet these women could not speak out or move freely in the society in which they lived. Now we have young women self-harming, self-loathing and feeling underconfident, and still they cannot move freely in the world. (4)

(Suzanne Moore, *The Guardian*, September 19, 2018)

7.5.2 Femininities and self-harm

The topics of self-harm, self-loathing and eating disorders, particularly among young females, are the most recurrent focus on female mental health in this data. In an article comprising an extract of a memoir on a period spent in an eating disorders ward for her own anorexia, Laurie Penny (*The Guardian*, July 1 2014) writes that these issues also significantly affect gender-queer people, suggesting it seems to affect those who either don't conform or are too keen to conform to traditional embodied gender norms: *It is only later that I will learn between a quarter and a half of young people hospitalised with eating disorders are gay, trans or genderqueer*. And although there are significantly fewer articles concerned with female pathologies, those that *are* there tend to focus especially on the young and the body. Another example of this link between youth, the body and feminine gender identity is apparent in Extract 10 below.

Extract 10

This morning the Children's Society published a shocking report that reveals one in four 14-year-old girls in the UK have self-harmed. The report estimates that 110,000 children aged 14 in the UK may be self-harming, 76,000 of them girls. Gender stereotypes and worries about physical appearances are discussed as some of the main causes. (1)

Initially my self-harm arrived in the form of bingeing and purging food. I was trying to erase the outlines of my unwanted female form but the results weren't effective enough. My weight

fluctuated and no matter how many jumpers I wore I could still feel the eyes boring into my skin.(2)

The first time I drew a line of blood on the inside of my thigh I felt like I'd unlocked the secret to reclaiming my body. I could simultaneously punish the soft flesh of my leg, while acting out an element of control. No matter how many comments I'd get about my appearance, this action was mine, no one else's. It was my secret ritual. (3)
(Maggy van Eijk *The Guardian*, August 29, 2018)

The behaviour or illness described by the writer in Extract 10 is represented both in terms of literal action or material process, where girls are both actors and goals (Thompson 2004), as in: *girls in the UK have self-harmed* and *children ... may be self-harming*. This representation suggests agency but the act is also nominalised, abstracted and metaphorised, which highlights its complexity (it is not just a physical action or material process) and power, as it is linguistically encoded as a nominalised, almost personified entity: *my self-harm arrived in the form of...* In contrast to the invisible author reporting in Extracts 1 and 2 above, once again this article draws on statistical research but then personalises the data through a biographical account rooted in direct experience of the problems described. This accounts presents the author as an active agent – *I drew a line of blood*, performing a ritualistic action of control on her own body. In a sense, this representation subverts the generalisations of earlier articles analysed in this chapter and even the disease discourse described in section 6.3 also in this chapter, which collectivises the problems and obscures both the suffering and agency of individuals.

7.6 Conclusion

Johnson (1997) argued just over two decades ago that masculinity was once a neglected topic of language and gender analyses and that this needed to be addressed. And much later, Benwell (2014) returns to Johnson's 'insightful overview' and her call for a focus on masculinity 'as a corrective to the view that the female/feminine is the problematic or "marked" gender sex/gender in the 'gender order' [which renders] thus the status of masculinity as 'unmarked or invisible' (Benwell 2014, p.240). However, since then a plethora of linguistic studies of masculinities have emerged to address this perceived neglect and my corpus data certainly suggest that the academy's interest has been matched in the media. As Cameron argues (2009, p.13), the pendulum has swung so far that masculinity now often receives greater attention than femininity, not least because of the 'tacit assumption that [it] is more socially problematic' (in Benwell 2014, p.242). This is true, but in this chapter, I have argued that gender identity and gender relations have been pathologised in the UK press, so that what is most often attended to are internalised as well as externalised dysfunctions.

These dysfunctions are reified into a concern with predominantly male violence and with a discourse of crisis, both permeated by metaphors of disease. As well as the potential ideological tensions in these discourses, this focus signals, in my view, a discursive mediated dysphoria *about* gender in the media, or at least *The Guardian*. The concept of 'gender dysphoria' is usually a psychomedical or clinical term which 'was first introduced by Fisk (1974) to describe individuals who experience sufficient discomfort with their biological sex to form the wish for sex reassignment' (Zucker et al. 2016, p. 217), and is typically a concept related to the experiences of transgender people, which has received growing recognition in recent years. However, in this thesis, I use it to refer to the focus by the media on the problematising of gender and gender relations, or a discursive unease that seems to frame gender identities. Collectively these articles tend to essentialise masculinities and background femininities as a spectral other. Gender becomes reductively monolithic and explanatory and other identity categories as well as the dialectic between the social, the political and the personal tend to be erased or diminished. More importantly, the gendered pathologies presented in this chapter rely on a dichotomous and binary view of male and female, and it is arguably in attempting to maintain, resist or reassert these dichotomies that the pathologies are rooted.

As Freed (2014, p.640) points out, despite the progress in both popular and academic perceptions of both 'the fuzzy boundaries of gender' (and the influence of intersectionality) public discourse still persists in casting certain issues through the traditional lens of gender binaries. Moreover, she suggests, quoting Cameron (1997), that 'the insistence on gendered behaviour is part of the mechanism not only for creating but also for attempting to maintain gendered behaviour' and the two-gender system (Freed 2014, p.640).

This final data analysis chapter has analysed the relationship between violence and self-destructive behaviours and particularly masculinity, and how this is represented and constructed in the newspaper. In response to Research Question 1, the analysis shows that there is a dominant discourse of violence and crisis with respect of traditional hegemonic masculinity, which continues to cast hegemonic masculinity in a dominant, albeit problematic, relationship to other masculinities, femininities or queer identities. It is arguably in this representation that texts seem to most reproduce the dominant gender orders, particularly in as far as they occlude the prospective agency of particular gender groups. (Research Question 2).

The following chapter sets out and connects the main findings of this study, in response to the research questions and establishes links between the data analysis chapters, situating these findings in the literature on the representation of gendered identities in newspapers, outlining its main contributions to the field, as well as highlighting the methodological innovations in the analysis.

Chapter 8. Discussion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter draws together the main findings in this study, particularly with respect to the research questions and highlights the most salient, as well as situating the thesis in relation to the relevant literature discussed in Chapter 2. It starts with a thematic summary of the data analysis chapters followed by a discussion of the main discourses identified in the corpus including a consideration of their ideological underpinnings. The chapter also includes findings beyond the research questions, relating primarily to the institutional and journalistic stance which have framed the multifarious representations and the often polysemous discourses identified in the corpus. It also considers how some discourses have evolved over time. The chapter is followed by a conclusion which includes an overview of the main contributions of the study as well as its limitations and suggestions for future research.

8.2 Thematic summary of the data analysis chapters

Chapters 4 to 7 in this thesis provide an analysis of the most significant findings in relation to the discursive representations and constructions of femininities and masculinities in *The Guardian* drawn primarily from a corpus of opinion articles selected from 2013 to 2018 in which gender, masculinities or femininities are a core concern. The results chapters are organised thematically based on the features of the corpus data which emerged as especially significant. Since the research questions are centred on masculine and feminine identities, the initial approach to the analysis was based on which social actors (Van Leeuwen 1995, 1996) were represented and how. This has led to two chapters on *parents*, including *mothers* and *fathers* (Chapter 5), and *feminists* (Chapter 6). These are pervasive social actors in the data, which have also been of particular interest because they allow for an analysis of gender identities in relation to each other, as well as other identity constructs where relevant.

Chapters 4 and 7 have a broader focus in that they propose and examine particular discourses across the data which typify the institutional and mediated representation of gender(s), at least within the timeframe and context. The identified discourses are heavily inflected by the particularities of the newspaper (as institution), the specific genres in the corpus and, by extension, the field of journalism, which as Marchi (2019) argues is ‘a social universe inhabited by individuals that are cast in the invisible

structure of the “field” (Marchi 2019, p. 2). Chapter 4 presents a genre analysis of the column as an article type to show how authorial and institutional stance is articulated throughout a whole text through overall text structure and the various rhetorical features that comprise it and serve to frame particular positionings and representations of gender in the corpus. Chapter 7 shows how gender is pathologised by discursively linking it to violence, in particular, but also mental ill-health and dysfunctional social relations.

In the following section, the discussion considers how the data and analysis have answered Research Questions 1 and 2 of the thesis, followed by an exploration of Research question 3, and a summary of the main contributions of the thesis.

8.3 Gender identity representations and ideologies

- What dominant masculine and feminine identities are discursively constructed and represented in *The Guardian* and how do they intersect with each other and / or other identity constructs? [RQ1]
- Do these representations show support or resistance to dominant gender ideologies? [RQ2]

One of the overriding characteristics which frames the representations of gender identities in the data in this thesis accords with Butler’s (1990, p.xxx) observation that ‘the meanings of gender lead time and again to a certain sense of trouble’. In the corpus, gender identities and the discourses that reflect and affect them are, on the whole, polysemous and complex. These discourses indicate that gender is, or continues to be, a site of ideological contestation. Nevertheless, it has been possible to trace dominant discourses and these are summarised and discussed in the following section with a consideration of whether such discourses support or subvert dominant gender ideologies.

8.3.1 Masculinities and femininities through parenthood

Parenthood is a discourse domain which in the data connects very significantly to the construction and representation of gender identities. This is because parenthood, or ways of being a father or a mother, are discursively linked in the data to the performance of particular types of culturally-bound, normative and (especially) idealised femininities and masculinities. Importantly in this study, these gendered roles (*mother* and *father*) are viewed in relation to each other, not least because there is a

dialectic between masculine and feminine parenting roles which underpins the dominant discourses at play.

Similarly, I argue that parenting is symbolically and culturally a powerful site because this discourse domain, the division of roles and activities within it and the social expectations it entails, is in some sense at the core of traditional, heteronormative and differentiated social perceptions of what it means to be a man or a woman. Moreover, parenting is very significantly regulated by contemporary societies through their major organising structures; by means of laws, medical processes, education, as well as the social mores and expectations surrounding particular parental identities. Therefore, the way parents are constructed and discussed in the media is deeply ideological as well as being directly relevant to or affected by material realities. Most noteworthy about the analysis of parental identities in my corpus is not that a traditional or conservative gender order is maintained, in which feminine parental identities are more oppressed compared to their male counterparts, but rather the way in which this hierarchy has been discursively established. This maintenance of the gender order is achieved, in this data, through a discourse of competition among *mothers*, especially, and through a neoliberal alignment of parenting to economic labour. It is a discourse which supports representations of idealised femininities indexed through labels such as *alphanumeric* and the *perfect* or *supermother* discussed in Chapter 5. The social expectations and effects on women of these representations include self-censure and shame. These effects are also articulated in the corpus data as well as in supporting research such as Orgad's (2016) study of professional stay-at-home mothers. However, the data also shows that parental identities are represented as less heteronormative (as sections 5.71 and 5.72 in Chapter 5 show) than might otherwise have been expected given the topic, and more broadly the co-occurrence of parental identities with other intersectional identity markers has significantly highlighted how culturally and locally determined such identity constructions are.

8.3.1.1 *Persistent inequalities among parents*

Maintaining hegemonies

In her analysis of egalitarian and conservative discourses of parenting in a specific cultural context, Lazar (2000) describes the former egalitarian discourse as one in which both parents (mother and father) are working and involved in parenting activities, while the conservative discourse comprises the traditional roles of *father as breadwinner* and *mother as full-time parent and caregiver*. Conservative discourses of this sort are not evident in my corpus. Instead, the focus in my data is not

on whether as a man or woman one is involved in parenting, but rather how effectively the role is performed and what the social constraints and expectations are in enacting this particular identity or social role.

My data and analysis in Chapter 5 show that *alpha or super* mothers, labels for an ascribed or ideal femininity, refer either to career mothers or professional women who have opted to stay at home with no clearly equivalent male figure. Instead, fathers are primarily constructed as *involved, fun or good enough*. Furthermore, there is a discourse of internal competition in the feminine roles which suggests the performance of particular types of feminine mothering identities is hierarchical, with single mothers situated at the bottom of the hierarchy. This is explicitly denoted in the data, for example by Laurie Penny who writes that ‘there is no creature more loathed and misunderstood in modern Britain than the single mother on benefits.’ (Laurie Penny, *The Guardian*, May 17, 2013). Other variables such as class are also significant in this marginalisation but the data also contains examples of professional single mothers experiencing similar oppression and discrimination:

I was a 24-year-old single mother and my male boss asked me how I could guarantee that a baby would not interfere with my work. I was so fearful that, when my small son was in hospital, I commuted between his ward and work, inventing excuses to leave the office ...
(Sarah Sands, Editor of the Radio 4 Today Programme, in *The Guardian*, July 5, 2017)

This suggestion of discourse hierarchies with respect to femininities and mothers signals a struggle for increased social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984, 1986) amongst different female groups, which in turn suggests a persistent social derogation of femininity.

Conversely, this competition is not evident in the discourses surrounding fatherhood, which tends towards a degree of male solidarity and a certain ironic distancing from potentially oppressive social expectations. For example, Alex Bilme’s article on fatherhood (*The Guardian*, March 22, 2014) shows a marked tolerance of parental incompetence and illustrates an in-group solidarity with phrases such as *fellow feckless fathers* and *honour among thieves*. Furthermore, this distancing effect created by the stylistic deployment of irony is reminiscent of Benwell’s (2003, p.16) identification of ‘ironic dismissal’ found in men’s magazines and discussed in the literature review in Chapter 2. Similarly, the activities of parenting associated with male and female identities are discursively differentiated in that for female identities they entail primary routine care, whereas for men they relate to play and fun, which Lazar (2000) describes as ‘emotional’ parenting labour rather than ‘routine work’.

It is significant, also, that the femininities and masculinities presented in *The Guardian* are identity positions which are especially inflected by class. The career mothers and fathers represented by many of the articles are constructed as middleclass and educated, and most probably with a significant degree of economic capital. Femininities, in particular, are set within a 'having-it-all' discourse which, as the literature has shown (e.g. Krijnen and Bauwel, 2015), as well as egalitarian and aspirational, can be oppressive to women.

I view the discourses described above as evidence of how hegemonies in the form of an idealised dominant maternal femininity and a hegemonic masculinity evolve and mutate in order to re-establish a hierarchical gender order as discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.10. However, the power relations implied in this gender order are not straightforward; they seem to be in a state of constant flux and, crucially, are determined by other identity markers and the cultural contexts in which they are formed, as discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.3. In the case of the data sample in this study, the gender identities presented are inseparable from classed representations of feminine and masculine identities, at least in relation to parental identities. As well as this, the re-inscription of dominant discourses and gender hegemonies is established through a process of disarticulation, identified by theorists such as McRobbie 2009 and Silva 2015, which fosters inter-group competition and has the effect of obscuring structural sources of oppression and inequality.

8.3.2 *Feminism as a dominant discourse?— co-opting and resisting feminism*

Feminism as a social movement as well as an intellectual or analytical framework (Cameron 2019) is central to theorisations of gender identities and the data shows that this influence is just as prevalent in mediated textual representations of gender. Feminists as social actors and feminism are invoked repeatedly throughout the corpus articles, just as they are in the sociolinguistic academic literature on gender. However, with these social actors, as with *parents*, *mothers* and *fathers*, the representation is multifaceted and the gender discourses that emanate from these representations of feminists are polysemous and unstable. This polysemous characterisation of feminism is partly a result of the long history and evolution of feminist ideas and the 'varieties' of feminisms that co-exist, albeit sometimes uncomfortably. Indeed prominent sociolinguists and feminists often concur that 'there are many different types of feminism in circulation...' (Mills and Mullany 2011: 2) and that even that many of the central themes or tenets of feminism are Cameron's (2019) are matters of intense and current debate.

This debate within sociolinguistics is also reflected in the media. The data analysis has shown that a proliferation of feminist labels (with *feminist* as a noun or as a modifying adjective, see Chapter 2, Table 2) are used throughout the corpus. This proliferation in the data is a sign of a deliberate indexical process, as highlighted by Bucholtz and Hall (2005 p. 594), undertaken by journalists to discursively produce feminist identities. The range and variety of labels, as the discussion in Chapter 6 indicates, highlights the complexity of the representations. This is illustrated in the various noun phrases and modifiers associated with *feminist* (and indeed *feminism*) which are testament both to the evolution of the feminist movement (for instance in collocates such as *second-wave feminist*) but also to the apparent heterogeneity of feminist beliefs or identity positions. Thus Table 2 (in Chapter 2) shows modifiers of *feminist* including *radical*, *liberal*, *trans-exclusionary*, *inclusive*, *sex-positive*, *essential*, among others, as well as other intersectional and cultural identity markers such as *black feminist*, *Muslim feminist* suggesting that a coherent feminist perspective in fact remains elusive.

This is a perspective echoed in the academic literature. Feminism is commonly cast as confusing and requiring constant redefinition. Thus the academic literature (Arya 2012, Bucholtz 2018) discusses and explains the differences between forms of feminism: Black feminism, radical feminism, cultural feminism, material feminism, liberal feminism, second-wave feminism, third wave feminism, fourth-wave feminism while the media mentions, *angry feminists*, *bad feminists*, *femi-nazis* as my data analysis has shown.

The range of labels and their associations has two discursive and ideological effects. The first is to relativise feminists and ground these identities in cultural contexts. This could be regarded as a positive representation in that it appears to reflect a nuanced understanding of feminists and their positions on gender identities and gender relations. As with other aspects of identity, feminist identities and positions are represented as significantly inflected by a range of identity markers such as nationality, ethnicity, religious affiliations, age, sexual orientation and political beliefs.

The second ideological effect however, which I contend is more dominant, is to suggest a discourse of identity politics amongst feminists and, thus, primarily women. This discourse is redolent of the discourse of competition discussed above in relation to idealised feminine maternal identities in that it is represented as in-group conflicts rather than solidarity. This identity politics discourse also

suggests that feminist identities and feminism are confusing and incoherent. As I have argued in Chapter 6, this discourse deflects from the social issues and effects of feminism and its struggles against persistent and structural inequalities among different gender groups, as well as other marginalised or oppressed social groups or identity categories. Thus, this discourse deflects from the substance of feminist concerns to debates about feminist identities and their relative legitimacy and credentials.

Cameron (2019, p.111) explains how this focus on identities is congruent with 'a more general cultural preoccupation with identity in all its forms.' She elaborates on how theorists and commentators have viewed this focus, explaining that 'the rise of feminism-as-identity' connects 'to the way consumer capitalism appropriates images and ideas from grassroots movements and makes them into marketable commodities'. This divests the movement of its political power and connects directly to the processes highlighted by researchers such as Lazar (2009), as discussed in Chapter 2, who argue that feminism, or rather post-feminism, has been associated with neoliberal discourses of consumerism, individual empowerment and self-care indicating a process of 'co-optation' which 'takes the bite out of feminism' (Lazar 2009, p.273). Cameron (2005) regards this as a transition from the political to the personal (or from the 'What is to be done?' to the 'Who am I?' (Mills and Mullany 2011: 4) which in turn is an effect of postmodernist concerns with identity research and the 'theoretical shift to viewing identity as socially constructed.' Many researchers (e.g. Cameron 2005, 2019 Lazar 2009, Mills and Mullany 2011) suggest that this is a move away from 'collective political action towards one of individualism and a focus on self-identification' (Mills and Mullany 2011: 4), a move which might be viewed as detrimental to the achievement of collective goals or to the mobilisation of structural changes. I would also argue that the representations of feminism as a confusing movement ultimately de-legitimises its aims by focusing more on identities and feminist credentials than on matters of policy or politics. It is not difficult to see how this might ultimately serve the interests of the status quo or the hegemonies which support inequalities.

Nevertheless, while it is important not to dismiss the differences and nuances of understandings of the social world and its inequities adopted by different forms of feminism or espoused feminist identities, my interpretation of this plurality is more positive. I would argue that the various types of feminism which co-exist and are invoked, both in the media and in the academic literature, are indicative of a theoretical framework and an emancipatory movement flexible enough to allow for multiple perspectives, many of which are locally and culturally-bound. There is also a sense that

different forms of feminism are in critical debate with each other [Bucholtz 2019], and that elements and approaches from different perspectives have contributed to the evolution of feminism over time. Thus, the ideological effects of identity politics as being representative of feminism and feminists in the newspaper is undermining but it is not the only interpretation available to interpret the plurality of feminist perspectives as I have argued above.

8.3.3 'Crisis of masculinity' discourse

There is a clear and persistent crisis discourse in the academic literature on masculinity, in particular, as well as in the newspaper texts in this corpus. However, as with feminism, it is a discourse which is also represented paradoxically. The notion of a 'masculinity in crisis' is contentious and called into question in academic theorisation. As explained in Chapter 2, section 2.8.4, many academic researchers disavow the crisis discourse by arguing that it is potentially anti-feminist because the crisis is sometimes attributed to the confusion caused by feminist discourses. This stance is supported by some of the newspaper articles, including Ally Fogg's which has been analysed in Chapters 4 and 6 of the study. Similarly, others such as Robinson (2000), perceive the crisis discourse as involving a false belief in a stable idealised traditional masculinity, as well as arguing that 'the subject-in-crisis' (Robinson, 2000, p.19) position carries significant symbolic capital. This contention is borne out in the corpus as journalists often qualify or add caveats to direct references to the 'crisis of masculinity' but nevertheless invoke and explain it.

However, aside from the direct indexing of the crisis in the articles being somewhat paradoxical, the crisis discourse is constructed in the data in various ways, as Chapter 7 demonstrates. Primarily, the crisis is articulated through the link between masculinity and dysfunctional or destructive social behaviours and relations. These behaviours are often manifest through violence towards women, but also towards other men and even self-inflicted. I argue that the crisis discourse stretches into a signifier for all manner of social and personal ills, including suicide, homelessness, rape, murder, terrorism and war (see Chapter 7, section 7.4) which are represented, perhaps in a rather circular way, as material proof of a gendered crisis. Moreover, the crisis of masculinity and its link to male violence is powerfully and discursively construed through metaphors, (e.g. of disease) and through linguistic features such as overlexicalisation. For example, as discussed in Chapter 7 section 7.4, the range of behaviours or activities which are listed as evidence of the crisis of masculinity include *suicide, gambling, drug overdoses, rough sleeping, disappearing, rape, murder, terrorism, war, people trafficking, domestic violence, sexual harrassment, mass shootings, murders, terror attacks and the brutality of war*. This extensive list of noun phrases from the data are an illustration of the

overlexicalisation referred to above. The linguistic construction of crisis has been identified as fairly typical in some of the literature on representations of masculinity, as Viljoen (2013, p.168) corroborates by highlighting how health, crisis and disease are 'leitmotifs in research on masculinity.'

It is important to note that this pathologising of gender is to an extent mirrored in representations of femininities though feminine pathologies are constructed in distinct ways. Thus, femininities are represented as primarily afflicted by self-harming behaviours (rather than by harm to others), which are in turn represented as embodied suffering. Significantly, femininity as well as non-hegemonic forms of masculinity, are the victims of the masculine crisis articulated through sexual and domestic violence. While violence in the articles is cast by implication as a characteristic of a particular type of hegemonic masculinity, therefore disarticulated from social and ideological structures or causes, female despair is rather seen as a social issue caused by masculine violence and oppression.

8.3.3.1 Gender as a pathology in the media

I would argue that the corpus of *Guardian* opinion articles reveals a contemporary mediated gender dysphoria which is especially evident in the relationship between masculinity and personal or social dysfunctions, particularly in its link to violence. As explained in the conclusion of Chapter 7, I suggest that the dissatisfaction and unease encapsulated by the term 'dysphoria' is an apt way to conceptualise the media's representation of gender identity and gender relations in the corpus. This is because the corpus texts analysed in this study reveal how gender identities and relations are constructed as inherently problematic with causality often obliquely attributed to confusion, the conflicting pressures of social expectations or the mismatch between real and ideal identities.

Furthermore, the discursive connection between hegemonic masculinities and violence to an extent occludes potentially complex social or structural causes which may contribute to or support violence in any of its forms. The discussion of violence and the pathologies of particular gender identities is less nuanced in the corpus, tending to essentialise both masculinity and femininity as the role of other identity markers, cognitive factors or the social order are erased. Furthermore, as violence and violence in gender relations are constructed in terms of disease as well as being characteristic of certain masculinities, the agency (of perpetrators and victims) is diminished as actions become naturalised as *a way of being a man*, albeit one recognised as 'sick', or alternatively as a shared female experience.

Furthermore, as I have argued in Chapter 7, femininities become further obscured and backgrounded as a 'spectral other' alongside other non-normative enactments of masculinities. I use the metaphorical concept of spectral other to refer to femininities or non-heteronormative masculinities, for example. As some of the analysis in Chapter 7 has shown, this is because in respect of violence and masculinities the identities, roles and agency of victims seems almost to haunt debates rather than directly affecting or contributing to them. As suggested, the 'other' is constructed against a form of masculinity which is discursively construed as inherently destructive, monolithic and potentially hermetic. These implied characteristics are prevalent in representations of masculinity particularly in connection to violence. Hegemonic or 'toxic masculinity' is either directly invoked or implied through often hyperbolic, metaphoric and symbolic linguistic constructions, as the example discussed in Chapter 7 shows:

As a straitjacket of onerous roles and impossible expectations, masculinity has become a source of great suffering - for men as much as women. To understand this is not only to grasp its global crisis today...

(Pankaj Mishra *The Guardian*, March 17, 2018)

8.3.4 Action and agency

The issue of agency in relation to the femininities and masculinities represented in the corpus has been elucidated through the analysis of the type of verbal processes used to characterise the behaviours and actions of specific groups and social actors. There is a proliferation of identifying relational clauses which, as Thomson (2004, p.98) suggests, are indicative of the values of the writer, and are particularly culturally inflected. As well as the types of verbal process, the Hallidayan (1994) transitivity system can help to signal power relations between different social groups and this has also been considered in the analysis in terms of how social actors in particular contexts are represented as either active or passive.

One of the dominant discourses traceable in the data is the representation of feminine identities as *speakers* rather than *doers*. The analysis of how mothers are represented (Chapter 5, section 5.6), for example, shows how these social actors are primarily associated with verbal rather than material processes. Similarly, feminists (Chapter 6, section 6.6) are construed as social commentators, particularly with respect to masculinity. Conversely, masculine identities are represented as silent, to their own detriment. This representation of masculine silence in certain texts, and particularly with regards gender relations, also overlaps with the crisis discourse as well as contributing to a polarising

representation of gender differences. These representations reinscribe, in my view, some of the gender difference stereotypes questioned and critiqued by researchers such as Freed (2017) and Cameron (2017) and which ‘may be analysed as part of a society’s apparatus for maintaining gender distinctions and hierarchies with differing natures and social roles and responsibilities.’ (Cameron, 2017, p. 285).

Despite these identified dominant discourses, however, there are significant shifts over time noted in the corpus, which I elaborate on below. After a preliminary summary, the next section considers the diachronic evolution of the corpus data in terms potential shifts to the discourses or counter-discourses identified and argues that *The Guardian* both upholds and resists certain gender ideologies.

8.4 The Guardian and gender; evolution over time

8.4.1 Summary of main discourses

Section 8.3 of this chapter has drawn together the main discourses identified through the analysis of my data. I would argue that because the discourses are nuanced and often polysemous, it is not entirely clear whether *The Guardian* is upholding certain hegemonic gender ideologies such as the belief in naturalised and binary gender differences or proposing alternative counter-discourses of gender. A summary of the discussion in this chapter would suggest that masculine identities in terms of (masculine) parental roles are less oppressed than maternal feminine identities, and intergroup relations are presented as more solidary among men and competitive among women, but such enactments are culturally-determined and significantly affected by other identity markers such as class. This discursive representation of intergroup competition aligns with a neoliberal ideology, not least because parenting as an activity is aligned through semantic prosody to work or economic labour. Thus, the analysis shows how parental involvement is viewed hierarchically (hence the use of collocates from the articles such as *lead parent* or *portfolio parent*) and the determination of roles is directly related to relative career status in typical two-parent families. This neoliberal ideological underpinning ultimately maintains a status quo of female oppression within the gender hierarchy and upholds dominant and hegemonic discourses of gender.

The competitive discourse is also implicit in the discourse of identity politics in the representation of feminism, and the proliferation of feminist labels undermines or detracts from the issues and effects of a feminist emancipatory social movement. Similarly, in pathologising gender, the texts tend to

construct hegemonic masculinity as violent, destructive and problematic, but also essentialise gender and gender relations to one of oppressors and victims. Thus, gender identities are simplified and dichotomised, and intersectional identities and structural concerns are largely absent.

Notwithstanding these findings, there is also evidence in the corpus that counter or alternative discourses and gendered identity constructions are emergent in the data signalling an ideological site which is currently in flux and, potentially, evolving in significant ways. The perceived changes in the data are discussed briefly below.

8.4.1 Diachronic changes and evolution of discourses

The analysis of feminine and masculine parental identities through the verbal processes associated with them in the later data set (FEM2 and MASC2) show that *mothers* become more active agents in subject positions and more engaged in material verb processes which act on the world. There is also an increased scrutiny of fatherhood or masculine parental identities and performances (see Chapter 5, section 5.6.2). More significant still is the reference to alternative, transgressive or non-normative parental identities with collocates such as *gay*, *same-sex* and *lesbian foster for parents*. Similarly, narratives of non-heteronormative identities are positively represented through the direct citation of LGBTIQ+ voices in articles, the public platform afforded to certain gender-queer cultural figures (such as Grayson Perry) or the inclusion of resistance narratives in highlighting the social censure experienced by non-parents, which emerge in some biographical accounts in the articles. Collectively, these discursive representations construct a counter-heteronormative discourse which is potentially disruptive to the status quo of gender relations and gender hierarchies, though it would certainly be worth investigating such representations further.

Similarly, the role of feminism in relation to gender identities and their representation in the corpus is not uniform and develops significantly in the later data set. Academic feminism, in particular, shifts from being the target of an implicit social critique directed against its apparent 'critical inertia' (Lazar (2017, p.185) or the individualised and confusing focus on the legitimacy of particular feminist credentials or self-identification, as highlighted by Mills and Mullany (2011), among others. In the more recent corpus, the representation is more positive, and feminism is invoked and reconstructed as a powerful lens through which to both understand social inequalities and the oppression of certain social groups. Feminism as a theoretical framework, but also as a movement, is represented in more

recent articles as championing a more critical, nuanced and contextualised understanding of social hierarchies. Such hierarchies and their effects in the material world relate to the relative social, economic and cultural capital of particular groups as inseparable from an intersectional understanding of (gender) identities and the social and structural constraints on particular identity positions. In this sense, the data analysis contributes to intersectional perspectives on identity, discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.1.5, and consolidates the views of intersectional theorists on the need to consider identities from a variety of identity positions in order to understand the relative power or lack thereof of particular social groups. These differences in the data to an extent suggest that, at least in the more recent subcorpus, feminism has become an influential dominant discourse. What were once largely academic concepts that emerged from feminist and related cultural and critical theorists and movements (such as *intersectionality*, *the patriarchy*) have (re)entered the popular lexicon and are now familiar to a broad readership through their use in media discourse. However, Cameron (2019, p.113) sounds a note of caution in her reflection that ‘feminism is currently having one of its periodic moments of being “on trend”.’ She posits the possibility that ‘its mainstream appeal depends on watering down its political message and reducing the commitment it entails to a series of symbolic gestures [...] feminism [...] that makes a difference politically, is not so easy or undemanding: it requires time, effort, perseverance, and resilience in the face of others’ indifference or hostility’ (Cameron 2019, p. 113). Although it is difficult to speculate on why ideas gain currency during particular periods, contemporary concerns with identity and the identities of particular social groups as well as the influence of social and digital media on grassroots movements such as the Arab Spring and Black Lives Matter suggests that this renewed interest in feminism is a product of the moment, and it remains to be seen to what extent this focus on identities will support sustained structural shifts.

The corpus data and analysis in this study shows that there *are* signs of prospective developments in the discursive representations of gender identities and gender relations, though dominant and counter-discourses in the data co-exist throughout the period studied. In the following section, I consider what this potentially suggests about *The Guardian* itself as a social and indeed cultural institution. This is an aspect of the findings that falls beyond the research questions but relates to the critical discourse analysis view which relates texts to institutional discursive practices as part of wider social orders and their ideologies.

8.5 Heteroglossic gender representations and self-reflexive journalism

The plurality of discourses and the polysemous potential of certain discourses identified and analysed throughout the study seems purposeful, and I would argue forms part of *The Guardian's* self-construction and the understanding of its own role as an institution with significant social and cultural capital and power. As discussed briefly in the introduction to this thesis, Marchi's (2019, p.10) recent study of the newspaper's self-reflexivity and journalistic culture argues that *The Guardian* has a 'commitment to self-professed journalistic integrity' and it 'explicitly claims to be the newspaper which takes its own role most seriously' (Marchi 2019, p.10). Part of this self-reflexive commitment to a particular form of quality journalism is an adherence to the objectivity paradigm, with paradigm defined as a 'professional ideology' according to Reese 1990 (cited in Marchi 2019, p.218). Objectivity, although undoubtedly a complex concept, might be viewed as a way of indexing a particular, socially-responsible journalistic or professional identity (albeit an institutional one) and is feasibly represented via a variety of discourse mechanisms.

I contend, therefore, that one explanation for the manifest range of discourses in the corpus relates to this principled objectivity, which means that the newspaper is self-consciously likely to seek a broad range of varying and oppositional views (see Chapter 3, section 3.3.1) on topics of wide social interest such as gender identities and gender relations. Thus, throughout the corpus and as identified in the overall description of the data, the newspaper publishes a variety of commentaries from journalists or writers with different cultural and political affiliations. The column is itself a strategic genre through which a newspaper may allow for a range of views without having to espouse them from an editorial or institutional perspective. Nevertheless, the combination of regular and *ad hoc* columns and features from a diverse range of writers contributes to the plurivocality of the discourse practice as exemplified by *The Guardian*. As well as the range of texts, the evaluative positioning of the authors and the articulation of their own stance in relation to the article topic is also central to how heteroglossic, polyphonic and dialogic the gender discourses are.

The linguistic construction and relevance of authorial stance in many of the columns and articles is discussed in previous chapters in the study (Chapter 3, section 3.4.6) and is foregrounded in Chapter 4 in particular though it features in various analyses throughout the study. In the generic analysis presented in Chapter 4, the rhetorical moves in the newspaper column as a genre show how journalists articulate a particular discursive or ideological position about roles, identities or relations, often *in opposition* to or *in defence of* a view expressed by a particular public figure or social commentator. Other linguistic and rhetorical devices, including irony, metaphor, pronoun use,

evaluative language, exophoric cultural referents (among others) deployed by the writers also serve to indicate authorial stance. Significantly the same linguistic features also construct an imagined *Guardian* reader or readership. The explicit and implicit invoking of readers is highlighted as one of the newspaper's particular idiosyncrasies and at the heart of 'interaction' which is posited as one of its 'core values' (Marchi 2019, p. 200). Marchi (2019, p.221) goes on to explain that alongside ethics and 'an investigative vocation', the 'most prominent [element of the newspaper's identity] is the interaction with readers. Readers are addressed directly and called to active participation.' This interaction and construction of *The Guardian* as a community of writers and readers in which the boundaries between who produces content are often blurred, is no doubt partly commercially strategic in that reader subscription and loyalty are key to its financial sustainability. However, this affiliation between the newspaper and its readers also suggests a particular ideological position which espouses plurality and ultimately means that dominant discourses can be both supported and resisted in the corpus.

Sections 8.3 to 8.6 of the current chapter have focused on Research Questions 1 and 2 and the main findings of the study in relation to the dominant gender discourses and ideologies identified in the corpus. The following section attempts to address the final research question by reflecting on how the analysis might be viewed as modelling a particular approach to theorisation about gender discourses in the press.

8.6 Joint theorisations of gendered identities

- Do the texts (from the newspaper) reveal the possibility of a sophisticated joint theorising of gendered identities? [RQ3]

The final research question is in a sense the most difficult to address or answer because it seems to invite the proposal of a novel set of linguistic analytical tools or perhaps implies that previous analytical frameworks or studies were somehow unsophisticated. This is far from my intention or my understanding of the sociolinguistic, corpus assisted or critical discourse analyses of gender identities and discourses that have preceded and indeed supported the current study. However, at the start of my investigation and following the review of the gender literature, I was often struck by how many studies tended to focus exclusively on certain groups in relative isolation, often looking at how gender identities were constructed within or about a particular identity category in specific contexts or within certain discourse or text types. There is a wide-ranging proliferation of examples of studies of this kind

from the 90s to the present (such as Coates 1996, Cameron 1997, Edley and Wetherell 1999, Benwell 2003, Coates 2003, Dean 2010, Baxter 2011, Baker and Levon 2015, among many others).

There are undoubtedly very convincing reasons for focusing an analysis on particular (gender) groups, not least because such studies often lay bare the options available to marginalised or oppressed groups or identities (including women and non-heteronormative groups), and the ways in which [dominant] gender discourses and ideologies reflect, encode and enact their marginalisation, following Foucault's view of discourses (Foucault 1972), or indeed the ways in which such groups might subvert oppressive or hegemonic discourses. Such critical work is often also a form of resistance in itself. Therefore, this study does not seek to position itself in contrast to such studies, since it shares a similar socially-conscious and critical agenda.

Nevertheless, my interest stemmed from a curiosity about how gender identities and gender relations might jointly consider both masculinities and femininities, especially in relation to each other. Therefore, I have sought to model an approach to a joint theorising about the discursive construction of gender identities (in *The Guardian*) by selecting for analysis topics which seemed of equal relevance and concern to both masculinities and femininities, guided initially by the affordances of the corpus tools which highlighted relevant characteristics of the data, through features such as the frequency and keyword lists, for example. This rendered the discourse domains of parenthood, feminists/feminism, mental health and violence as worthy of closer corpus assisted critical discourse analysis. Subsequent to the consideration of the main topic domain, I proceeded to apply a range of appropriate linguistic analytical tools with which to explore how diverse gender identities interact with each other and, where relevant, other identity constructs. In this sense, the consideration of relative power relations considered from culturally or contextually-bound perspectives has been crucial to the analysis and to the findings. The linguistic analysis has shown how dominant gender discourses or counter-discourses affect *both* masculinities and femininities (in the texts) revealing gender orders or hierarchies and the ideologies which constrain the relations between these gender identities. I believe that this approach both adds to other studies of gender discourses and identities in the media but also contributes an example of an approach which is less prevalent in the literature.

8.7 Conclusion

This chapter has summarised and discussed the main findings of the thesis and considered how these findings have answered the research questions. In the next and concluding chapter, the main

contributions of the study are proposed as well as its limitations and shortcomings and suggestions for possible future directions.

Chapter 9. Conclusion

9.1 Contributions of the study

This thesis has highlighted how some of the contemporary dominant discourses about gender identities and gender relations are linguistically reproduced, constructed and resisted in *The Guardian*. The reason this is important is because the media and newspapers are institutions of significant symbolic, cultural and social capital (Bourdieu 1983, 1992), which contribute to the construction of social roles, realities and power relations, with the contingent privileges and oppressions that belie these constructions. Media texts are also critical to the maintenance of gender hegemonies (Gramsci 1971) and the ‘winning of consent’ that such hegemonies necessitate (Habermas 1999). Therefore, on the understanding that there are still effects in the material world of oppression and marginalisation of certain gender identities that are sustained by particular representations and discourses, it is important to continue to analyse contemporary media texts in order to understand and reveal how these operate discursively. Such analyses can also offer insights into how discourses might shift in order to support emancipatory structural changes for specific identities and groups.

My aim in instigating this study was partially to examine *in particular* how a left-leaning and influential publication with a broad readership, significant cultural capital and an avowed ideological position, as described in the introduction of this study, might help to discursively resist or dismantle gender hegemonies or conversely whether it contributes to their maintenance. The findings have been mixed in this regard, as they have shown how *The Guardian* seems to support simultaneously dominant and resistant discourses, but with a consistent espousal of non-heteronormative identities and a positive re-centring of feminism and intersectionality in their representations of gender identities and gender relations.

This study is innovative because it has focused solely on *The Guardian* and on building a significant corpus with a particular focus on opinion, debate and comment columns and articles in order to examine and evaluate how journalists purposefully and rhetorically construct representations of gender and gender discourses through public debate. Often critical discourse analyses of a similar type will necessarily focus on a far smaller selection of texts or, conversely, corpus linguistic approaches will utilise significantly larger corpora which are not selected for content in the same way and tend to involve bulk uploads of texts from particular publication sources. This means that if used in isolation, these research methods can put the analyst at a relative disadvantage in terms of knowledge of the

texts. Either the researcher is less likely to have a wide overview of how a newspaper may represent a particular subject area because the number of selected texts is too limited or there will be such a large quantity of data that knowledge of single texts, their genre patterns and information about the text producers may be limited. These constraints are likely to affect any analysis of discourses. As a result, a consideration of the journalists and how they establish a relationship to their intended readers has also underlined some of the analysis in this study. As well as this, the analysis has also considered how gender debates and their discourses are inflected by institutional practices (e.g. how *The Guardian* seeks to present itself as objective in presenting a range of views) and by the identities and political positioning of the writers. Thus, this study has considered both the writers where relevant and the genre of the texts and how these contribute to the discursive practices (Fairclough 1995) of *The Guardian*. In this sense, the study also contributes to recent work on how newspapers not only create social discourses, but how they construct their own identities as institutions and create their own communities, as Marchi's recent study of *The Guardian's* self-reflexivity (2019) clearly exemplifies.

The strengths of the study are also in adopting a critical discourse analysis for a substantial corpus of texts, using the affordances of corpus tools and approaches to gain insights to the generalisability of particular linguistic patterns and their discursive effects across the corpus. A range of linguistic frameworks have been used to frame and inform the analysis and interpretations, which means the data and the discourses as well as their ideological effects have been examined from various angles. The incorporation of a degree of eclecticism in the analytical tools which have drawn from sociolinguistics, feminist gender studies, identity studies, critical discourse analysis, corpus analysis and corpus-assisted discourse studies and an attempt at self-reflexivity in the selection both of the focus of particular chapters and the tools utilised adds confidence in the findings. As well as this, while attempting to situate the study within a particular tradition of feminist sociolinguistic studies of gender in the literature review, in several chapters, I have also drawn on discussions of gender discourses from fields beyond linguistics such as media and cultural studies, and these have enriched the perspectives offered.

In terms of the gender identities and discourses represented and constructed in the media, this study has contributed to an understanding of how the social domain of parenting has a significant cultural role to play in the determination of particularly gendered identities and roles and the constraints or expectations of such roles. This is perhaps unsurprising, but the data analysis has helped to highlight how the relationships both *between* masculinities and femininities and *within* these groups often

serve to re-instate hierarchies and the gender order, notwithstanding social evolution in terms of the economic capital among female groups. Conversely, the effects and nuances of intersectionality, sociocultural contexts and the inclusion of alternative, potentially subversive or resistant parental identities and their associated narratives, including queer and gay parents, for example, hint at a potential erosion of the traditionally gendered parental identities as a function of binary gender distinctions.

Another distinctive element of the findings has been to show how *The Guardian*, a purportedly feminist newspaper (see Chapter 1), positions feminists and feminism in relation to constructions of both femininities and masculinities. The study supports others (such as Dean 2010, McRobbie 2009) which have highlighted how feminism carries the double entanglement of being both invoked and maligned across the public sphere as has been discussed in Chapters 2 and 5. In my data set and time frame from *The Guardian*, this interpretation also holds but the analysis shows a more complex perspective. Feminism is characterised in this data as an identity struggle, detracting from social issues and action, but the publication also self-consciously draws on concepts from feminist and identity theory such as intersectionality in discussions of social issues and inequalities. In the later data sets especially, the publication highlights the insights of feminism as an academic endeavour and framework particularly in understanding how gender hierarchies and hegemonic masculinities relate to persistent and widespread violence, for example. However, a further significant contention of this data analysis is that mediated representations of primarily masculine violence as well as other dysfunctions and mental ill health suffered by individuals and groups are presented as especially gendered phenomena. This discursive link manifests as a mediated gender dysphoria which has not been widely discussed in these terms. In pathologising gender in this way, I have argued that other causes of the social ills identified can become obscured, and women and non-hegemonic masculinities in particular are divested of visibility and agency. This is a significant finding in terms of implications for how public debate around masculine violence, which is currently topical, might need to shift and evolve.

9.2 Limitations of the study

As with all research, the scope of the analysis and the findings are finite and always subject to refinements. In the following section some of the limitations of the study are outlined. While not claiming to be exhaustive, the shortcomings or limitations discussed below relate to methodological considerations as well as to what may have been excluded or missed in the data as a result of the

influence of the researcher as well as the constraints of space and time. The section concludes with brief suggestions for possible future research.

9.2.1 Multimodality and reader comments

Recent media and discourse studies (Machin and Mayr 2012, Krijnen and Van Bauwel 2015, Bednarek and Caple 2017) have highlighted the need for multimodal analyses of media and newspaper texts. Newsprint journalism has for a long time combined text and image, and many linguistic studies have long since adopted multimodal analytical approaches, particularly in studies of magazine and promotional materials where visual semiotics are arguably as relevant as text, and in some cases more.

Since the advent of digital and online media and newspapers, content has become increasingly dynamic, interactive and varied, and in some ways more permanent or accessible. Reading *The Guardian* online, for example, it is possible to watch videos and short films, as well as scroll through images and search archives, reading articles from different dates and years on particular topics of interest. As a reader of *The Guardian* online, I frequently engage with the newspaper in this way. Similarly, articles published online allow for reader comments at the bottom of an article, and it would have been possible to create a separate corpus of these comments which would have undoubtedly offered a richer perspective on particular discourses, and in particular the consumption and interpretation of the texts.

I chose *not* to adopt a multimodal focus nor to collate and analyse online reader comments for several reasons. The first was that inclusion of visual or interactive images and media would have limited the potential scope of the analysis in terms of the number of articles that might have been considered. Second, the combination of text and image in corpus approaches is an established ‘blind spot’ (Taylor and Marchi, 2018, p. 84) and although solutions and approaches are proposed (e.g. Caple 2018, p.85 in Taylor and Marchi 2018), they seem to involve triangulation of corpus approaches with multimodal discourse analysis, rather than a corpus assisted critical discourse analysis which includes an equal proliferation of texts and visual or dynamic images. Third, although reader comments would add a very valuable perspective on how newspaper discourses are received by a particular online readership community (i.e. those who engage in commenting on online news articles), this would still only offer a partial insight into how texts may be received. And while there is no doubt that an analysis of reader reception and the variability of interpretations would contribute significantly to understanding the ideological effects of texts, I also concur with the critical discourse view that the close linguistic

analyses of texts are valid and indeed necessary as any interpretation will always start with the text itself. As Fairclough (1995, p.16) argues:

It strikes me as self-evident that although readings may vary, any reading is a produce of an interface between the properties of the text and the interpretative resources and practices which the interpreter brings to bear upon the text. The range of potential interpretations will be constrained and delimited according to the nature of the text (Brunsdon 1990). If this is so, text analysis remains a central element of media analysis, though it needs to be complemented by analysis of text reception as well as by analysis of text production. (Fairclough 1995, p. 16)

9.2.2 Corpus data – time spans and comparative analysis

I have attempted to justify the time span for the articles collected and the decisions to focus solely on The Guardian in earlier chapters (Chapters 1 and 3) but these decisions have affected the study and analysis in certain ways. The evolution of particular gender discourses over time may have been clearer if I had selected a longer period than six years (2013-2018). Although I wanted the study to provide a contemporary synchronic analysis of gender representations in opinion texts in The Guardian, starting from an earlier time period and conducting a comparative analysis between earlier and later periods or taking a more overtly diachronic approach may have proved revealing in terms of whether gender discourses in the publication have developed and how.

Similarly, another potential point of comparison might have been to consider The Guardian in relation to publications - either with political affinities such as The Independent or other press publications with different political leanings. This would have given scope for broader conclusions on mediated gender representations and their related discourses and how they may vary depending on political and ideological orientations in different newspapers. A comparative focus might also have led to more categorical conclusions about whether there are any specific particularities in The Guardian's perspectives on gender and gender relations as compared to public discourses on gender in other newspapers.

9.2.3 Researcher reflexivity and attention bias

In the introduction to this thesis, I explained my interest in the comment and opinion articles which I subsequently selected to compile the corpus and various subcorpora over the 2013-2018 period. This means that choices about which texts to include, although principled in terms of rationale, as Chapter

3 in this study explains, were nevertheless subjectively determined. As well as this potential subjectivity, the fact that Research Question 3 of this thesis sought to establish a framework which might jointly theorise masculinities and femininities in relation to each other, meant that the selection of particular domains to investigate (parenting, feminism and pathologies) may have excluded other significant discourse domains in the data. Although this proposed joint consideration of gender identities and representations and their related discourses might be viewed as a strength of the thesis, it may also be considered one of its limitations.

In terms of the analysis itself, I was always conscious as a researcher that there were more avenues to explore, and near the end of the thesis it became apparent that there were elements in the data which in hindsight I would have given more attention to. For example, the intersectional focus in the analysis has tended to concentrate primarily on the effects of class and non-heteronormative identities in relation to certain hegemonies or discourse orders, but there was scope for greater consideration of other identity markers such as age, race, sexual orientations and other categories and their effects on discourses. It is perhaps not surprising given my positioning, influenced as it is by aspects of my own identity, background and academic interests, that the thesis focuses on the thematic domains of parenthood, feminism and violence as salient elements in the data, even if I have attempted to justify this focus and empirically show their relevance to the data.

Similarly, there were aspects of the data which caught my attention throughout the iterative reading and analysis process, but which there was not enough time and space to explore in this thesis. One of the aspects which would have been of interest to investigate was the use of new language or neologisms that seemed evident in the data discussion of gender identities and relations. Examples of these neologisms include *toxic masculinity*, *mansplaining*, *manfant*, *latte papa*, to cite just a few. I also perceived a discourse domain related to emotions and emotivity, which I would have been intrigued to explore further, although some aspects of this domain were subsumed in the analysis.

Overall, in terms of researcher reflexivity, my positioning will have impacted the study in various ways. I chose to focus on 'social actors' initially as an initial focus in the analysis. This meant that I was drawing on the traditions of Critical Discourse Analyse as well as methods concerned with the linguistic analysis of identity and representations which are themselves ideologically founded and concerned

with uncovering unequal power relations. Hence my interpretations have been affected by these ideological underpinnings as well as being informed in turn by particular influential social theorists and French philosophers in the western tradition, such as Bourdieu and Foucault. This inevitably leads to a particular type of analysis which perhaps obscures other possible interpretative possibilities.

Similarly, I read and followed the work of other feminist academics and sociolinguists and, in this sense, I have followed a feminist linguistic tradition in my own focus and orientations in the study. Thus the thesis contributes to a field in which I am one of many who share similar characteristics and interests. This is potentially a limitation in terms of impact to the field, since as Mills and Mullany (2009, p. 169) point out: ‘Does the field, dominated by white, middleclass academics, really need another study of white (often middle-class women)?’

9.3 Recommendations for future studies

Recommendations for future developments in the study of gender relate in part to some of the limitations and constraints discussed above. Future studies could certainly seek to address the shortcomings of this study as outlined in the previous sections or address some of the notable omissions. Although there may be more limitations and lacunae than those highlighted above, in the final section some possible developments for this study or future lines of enquiry are proposed, while accepting that the possible directions for this type of research may be limitless.

Future studies of gender discourses in *The Guardian* may be multimodal and include an analysis of reader reception or consumption as well as closer scrutiny of the processes of production since these would certainly complement the findings in this study. Other aspects of the data and analysis which could be generative in future might be closer explorations and theorisation of the ‘mediated’ element of these gendered identity representations and public debate. The heteroglossic and polyphonic characteristics of the columns and articles have been highlighted in this thesis, but many linguists and discourse analysts of media texts have used a variety of frameworks which might also prove productive in showing how such heteroglossic discourses might be constituted. For example, Piazza’s (2009) analysis of patterns of attribution and voice might also be applied to opinion and column articles as well as news reports. The data analysis of my corpus has also shown how such texts are self-reflexive in their engagement with their readership, and this dialectic of production, producers

and consumption is worthy of further scrutiny, particularly in as much as they relate to the social constitution of particular identity discourses and their relationship to particular discourse communities.

Subsequent (socio)linguistic studies with a feminist imagination could examine the gendered representation of violence in discursive or opinion newspaper texts and the pathologising of gender identities and relations in more depth. This could involve a comparative focus that includes other newspapers or media texts and even other types of source data. While hegemonic masculinity is foregrounded as problematic in my corpus and subsumed into a crisis discourse, I would tentatively suggest that further scrutiny of the myriad factors which may contribute to its maintenance *aside* from gender itself would be potentially enlightening. A closer analysis of how violence and other gendered pathologies and social disorders are discursively construed may thus contribute to greater insights into how such relations are structurally maintained. This in turn could offer the possibility of agency and change in relation to the gender orders and their contingent social dysfunctions which can at times seem abstract, inscrutable or intractable, even while their real and often tragic effects mobilise protest and widespread condemnation.

Similarly, I would suggest that the data in this corpus or subsequent comparable text data and analyses could focus more on alternative or marginal identities and how resistance or counter-discourses might operate as well as considering a plurality of intersectional perspectives including race and age, for example, in more depth, even where these perspectives do not constitute the dominant discourses identified. This might be a way of reading dominant discourses ‘against the grain’ (Baxter, 2014 citing Eagleton, 1986) as well as revealing how counter-discourses might operate discursively.

To conclude, since my last data collection period in 2018, three years have elapsed in which events in the world have been remarkable. Gender identities and gender relations, as Cameron (2019) suggests, are currently of mainstream public interest, which was not the case when this thesis began in 2013. I have no doubt that if I had started the data collection in 2016 and continued until today, some of my analysis and conclusions might look very different, as texts and mediated texts have been in constant flux with the times. However, history has also shown that despite radical developments and changes in the last 50 years, many of the structural inequalities, marginalisation and oppressions persist, so though discourses may be constantly in flux hegemonies and hierarchies seem also to endure albeit in varying ways. In her analysis Marchi (2019, p. 225) refers to the ‘perpetual untimeliness of research’ and the desire or temptation to add more data or ‘chase the news’ in order to capture the ever shifting

events which may affect an analysis (in Marchi's case also of *The Guardian*). Like Marchi (2019) and other researchers, the caveat to my findings is that they can only represent a very partial snapshot of a period in time and further research will tell how and if the gender discourses and ideologies identified in my corpus persist or evolve over time along with the theorisation which seeks to reveal and interpret them.

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Appendix 1

A1.1 TEXT A Genre analysis of Ally Fogg column, *The Guardian*, December 31, 2013

NP= new paragraph

	'Traditional masculine values' are evolving, not dying	Headline						
	Ally Fogg: Camile Paglia lamenting the feminisation of society is part of a wider examination of masculinity that is largely unhelpful	Abstract / article summary						LENGTH: 691 words
	Sentence	Speech act	Texts / real world	Voices / participants	Identities	Authorial stance	Move / Stage	
1	I thought I had heard enough febrile, hyperbolic pronouncements on modern masculinity to get me through any year, but I had not counted on Camille Paglia.	Characterisation of self lament?	Camile Paglia's pronouncement	Camile Paglia F	Journalist (white, male)	First person pronoun Evaluative modifiers febrile hyperbolic pronouncement	1 Personal orientation	
2	In an interview with the Wall Street Journal, the maverick libertarian feminist pondered the implications of the feminisation of society and the devaluing of traditional masculine values.	reported claim	Interview in Wall Street Journal	Camile Paglia (libertarian feminist)	Feminist (Female, White, Feminist academic)	Maverick libertarian pondered	2 Problem (identified by other) <i>the feminisation of society = crisis of masculinity</i>	
3	"What you're seeing is how a civilisation commits suicide," she declared.	reported claim (direct speech)		DIRECT SPEECH (Camile Paglia)		declare		
NP 4	Paglia is not a lone Cassandra.	assertion				Myth of Cassandra / metaphor from classical mythology <i>assumes cultural knowledge and educated readership</i>	3 Support of position / problem (by others)	
5	Hanna Rosin and Christina Hoff-Sommers have written on The End of Men and The War on Men and Boys respectively.	exemplification	The War on Men (book) The End of Men (book)	Christina Hoff-Sommers ;Hanna Rosin	White US author and philosopher;			

					Israeli-born US writer		
6	This year, Diane Abbott warned of a crisis of masculinity that is seeing her young male constituents in Hackney corrupted by hardcore pornography and "a Viagra and Jack Daniels culture".	exemplification	Hackney MP and constituents	Diana Abbott DIRECT SPEECH	Black UK female politician Young male constituents in East London (Hackney)	Metaphor "a Viagra and Jack Daniels culture"	
7	From North America to Europe to Oceania, masculinity is being prodded, pathologised, diagnosed and bemoaned by voices from across the political, cultural and social spectrum.	summary evaluation	Real world= North America, Europe, Oceania			Metaphor of masculinity as ailing body	4 i Evaluation (opposing argument)
8	The great irony is that the overwhelming majority of these voices are female.	evaluation		Female voices (collectivisation)		great irony	4 ii Evaluation of others (opposing argument)
NP 9	Most men instinctively know why this would be.	assertion			Most men	instinctively know <i>Naturalises knowledge of social debates as male</i>	5 Answer / Explanation
10	It is the first rule of fight club, after all.	comment	Fight Club (US Film – white male, middleclass, heterosexual)			<i>Assumes cultural knowledge / film = exploration of modern masculinity</i>	5 aside
11	Men's concerns, interests, anxieties or even pride in our own gender roles are typically sheltered by the conceits of fiction - as seen in the exquisite 62-hour thesis on modern masculinity that was Breaking Bad - or filtered through protective layers of irony and humour.	claim	Breaking Bad (US series – white, male, middleclass, heterosexual)			listing feelings about 'our' (men's) gender roles exquisite 62-hour thesis on modern masculinity	5 explanation
12	Social media users recently parodied the internal travails of feminism with the hashtag #MeninistTwitter, but behind the walls of laddish banter and sexism, there were some very real anxieties and resentments on display.	claim	Social media #MeninistTwitter	Social media users laddish banter	Social media users	Internal travails of feminism; <i>minimises feminist debates</i>	5 evidence
NP 13	The sledgehammers and stilettos of a gendered society impact upon, and are wielded by, every man, woman and child.	claim				Metaphors of hypermasculinity and femininity	5 explanation (claim)
14	Women - and feminists in particular - have spent centuries developing the vocabulary to discuss the myriad ways in which their lives are affected by gender constraints, and, crucially, they have carved the space in which to host those discussions.	claim		Women feminists		Crucially effects of past / time	5 explanation
15	Men, too often, mutter into our pints and change the subject.	claim	Pints (UK cultural symbol)	groups of men (in pubs)		Mutter into pints = representation of traditional masculinity	5 evidence
16	This goes a long way to explaining why men vastly outnumber women in the figures for hazardous alcohol and drug abuse.	claim					5 explanation / evidence

17	It is why so many men in psychological crisis end up in a police cell rather than a GP's surgery.	claim	Police cell GP surgery				5 evidence
18	At the sharpest end, it may be why men are around three times more likely to take their own lives than women.	hypothesis					5 evidence
NP 19	One organisation dealing with the fallout of this is the mental health charity CALM, the Campaign Against Living Miserably.	identification	Mental health charity – CALM (campaign against living miserably)	Mental health organisation, CALM		Metaphor The fallout	6 Solution (by others)
20	In an attempt to turn around self-destructive male habits, they have announced that 2014 will be the Year of the Male - 12 months of campaigning, debate and discussion aimed at changing both public opinion and public policy towards male gender-specific issues.	reported intention	2014 – Year of the Male				6
21	There will be a state-of-nation audit of modern masculinity, and a public campaign inviting men to share their stories and experiences.	intention	Nation Men			an audit of modern masculinity - metaphor	6
22	CALM's director, Jane Powell, says: "We think it's time to ask some big questions about men and work, health, the media, education, relationships and family and ask what it really means to be 'man enough'?"	reported commissive (direct speech)	CALM Director Jane Powell (Female) Real world- work Health media Education relationships family	Jane Powell (CALM Director) DIRECT SPEECH			6
NP 23	Separately, the Southbank Centre recently announced a major festival at the end of January entitled Being a Man in which voices as diverse as Jon Snow, Baaba Maal and Grayson Perry will contribute to a weekend of performance and conversations on how men's roles are evolving.	reported intention	Southbank Centre	Arts Centre announcement Baaba Mal Jon Snow Grayson Perry	Arts institution (class?) Male celebrities; two white UK; one Senegalese singer	<i>Assumes cultural knowledge of figures in the arts and institutions; assumes affluent and educated reader</i>	6 Similar solution / actions
NP 24	All this leaves hanging a central question of whether examining, debating and discussing masculinity will actually do anything to change the habits and behaviours of men themselves or society's expectations and obligations.	indirect question	society's expectations and obligations				7 evaluation of solution
25	The supposed crisis of masculinity is largely a crisis in economics and employment, education and social policy, health and social service delivery.	claim	Economics Employment Education Health Social services			supposed crisis of masculinity – <i>refutation of original premise</i>	8 alternative interpretation of problem(author)
26	Those are not issues that can be solved with an introspective healing circle.	claim	healing circle	<i>indirectly invokes 'alternative' mental health practices</i>		introspective healing circle	8 alternative interpretation

						Sarcasm / irony- <i>assumes shared cultural values</i>	of problem (author)
27	Identifying and addressing those problems means changing how we behave as men, and towards men.	claim				How we behave as men	9 alternative solution
28	If that means the end of civilisation as we know it, then perhaps it is a model of civilisation that needs to go.	conclusion				Civilisation as we know it <i>assumes shared understanding</i>	10 evaluation / coda

A 1.2. TEXT B Genre analysis of Zoe Williams column, *The Guardian*, June 4, 2014

	Comment: Why must we savage Kirstie Allsopp for having a view?:	Headline					LENGTH 915 words
	One woman's choices are not an indictment of any other woman's. There is no template for being successfully female	Abstract / article summary					
	Sentence	Speech act	Texts / real world	Voices / participants	Identities	Authorial stance	Move / Stage
1	I love that crepuscular moment on Twitter when you can dimly make out that an outrageous thing has been said, but only because, late in the day, some people decide it's not that outrageous after all.	description	Twitter	Journalist Zoe Williams	Female, white journalist	<i>I love...</i> <i>You</i> – addresses reader <i>crepuscular moment</i> , <i>outrageous</i>	1.orientation (self characterisation)
2	Often, I choose the side I am on before I know what the Thing was, or who said it: which is how I came to be agreeing with Kirstie Allsopp yesterday, after an interview in the Daily Telegraph in which she described her advice to a hypothetical daughter:	Positioning / agreement	Interview in Daily Telegraph	Kirstie Allsopp (reported)	White female presenter, affluent	<i>the Thing</i> (irony) Positioning in agreement	1.orientation
3	"Darling, do you know what? Don't go to university. Start work straight after school. Stay at home, save up your deposit . . . then we can find you a nice boyfriend and you can have a baby by the time you're 27."	Reported directive / recommendation	Go to university Work Saving for home ownership	Kirstie Allsopp DIRECT SPEECH	White female conservative affluent		1.orientation

			procreation				
4	Now, clearly, I have some reservations about this.	disagreement		Journalist		Irony / clearly I have some reservation Personalising – pronoun I Conversational style	2.evaluation
5	Having previously taken my relationship advice from Boris Johnson, I thought the whole point of going to university in the first place was to find a boyfriend.	disagreement	Boris Johnson Prime Minister	journalist	White Male Politician privilege	Humour / irony <i>My I</i>	2 evaluation
6	Allsopp's main point, which she made more forcefully still on Newsnight, was: "Nature is not a feminist. Do whatever you want, but be aware of the fertility window. Make your choices in an informed way. This has been a taboo topic. People have not discussed it."	argument and recommendation	Newsnight Feminist nature	DIRECT SPEECH Allsop	White female presenter, affluent		3. Problem from other's perspective Limitations of female fertility limits 'choices' and taboo nature of issue
7	And this, too, I disagree with, since the decline of female fertility is literally all the media has been talking about since I started in journalism in 1996.	disagreement	The media			I disagree / since I started in journalism biographical details	4. Opposing position (disagreement of issue being taboo)
8	We used to do ring-rounds to see who could find the doctor with the most alarmist baby-making deadline.	narrative	doctor	Journalists female peers	Professional females	humour	4. opposing view (evidence)
9	"We just need one who will say 'Do it before you're 30,'" said the (female) editor at the Evening Standard.	Affirmation (part of narrative)	Evening Standard	DIRECT SPEECH Editor of Evening Standard	Female professional		4. opposing view (evidence)
10	"But why?" I asked, rhetorically (also noiselessly, and without moving my lips).	(rhetorical) question (part of narrative)		DIRECT SPEECH (journalist / past)			4
11	I knew why: for the same reason magazines, pre-contraception, would tell you that your husband would have an affair when you hit 35.	Answer / explanation	magazines				4
12	The march of time is as terrifying as any army.	maxim				Metaphor for mortality	5 explanation
13	This is just a way of putting a news spin on mortality, capturing the magnetism of anxiety.	claim				Metaphor	5 explanation
14	But it should be possible to disagree with the particulars of Allsopp's opinion without casting her as misogynist, and without the vitriol.	opinion/ verdictive		Allsopp	Vitriol (voices on twitter)	Use of modality should	6 new position / counterargument
15	The head of the Girls' Day School Trust has called her "patronising"; and one blogger called her a "plumply delectable dollop of wealthy femininity", which seems to me to be a dainty way of calling her fat.	description	Head of Girl's Day school trust	DIRECT SPEECH (for referring to Allsopp)		Citing and evaluating others' positions	6 evidence

16	(This is a new strain of feminism, all right: "Don't tell me what to do with my ovaries! You're FAT!")	reported command	feminism	DIRECT SPEECH (imaginary feminist voice)		humour Metaphor <i>New strain</i> of feminism conversation style bracketing	7 evaluation (aside)
17	Allsopp has been accused of denigrating the childless, the child-free, the single, those with alternative families, the older parent, the mature student, the female student . . .	reporting		Allsopp	The childless Child-free Single Alternative families Older parent Mature student Female student	has been accused of...	8 explanation
18	Consider how different this would have been from a man: Gordon Ramsay saying he wished he'd had a kid at 27; Phillip Schofield saying, "I'm really glad I started work at 17; I'd tell my son to do the same".	hypothesis	Gordon Ramsay Philip Schofield	DIRECT SPEECH (imaginary)	While, male, affluent celebrities	Posing hypothetical alternative reality	9 counterargument
19	Would anybody say they were using their position of influence to badger young men into fatherhood?	Rhetorical question		Journalist / anybody		anybody= implied critics (social media users?)	9 counterargument (elaboration)
20	Would anybody worry that Schofield might discourage the middle-class male from seeking higher education?	Rhetorical question	Schofield Higher education	Journalist / anybody/ Schofield / middle class male	Middle class male Celebrity middle class white male (homosexual)	anybody	9 counterargument (elaboration)
21	Would people accuse them of reducing men to a biological function?	Rhetorical question		Journalist / people	men	people	9 counterargument (elaboration)
22	Would anyone say they were rubbing our noses in their privilege, confronting individuals with decisions that only society could answer?	Rhetorical question		Journalist / anyone / they	society	anyone	9 counterargument (elaboration)
23	No. Men don't have to be ambassadors for their entire sex, nor role models for the youth thereof.	Response and claim / negation	Men	men	men	ambassadors for their entire sex	10 explanation
24	They can be themselves, with all the infinite variety that that may or may not bring.	claim	They /men	men	men	Infinite variety (Cleopatra's beauty? Shakespeare quote?_	10 explanation (elaboration)
25	This kind of anger would once have found its legitimate expression in politics: possibly gender politics, but politics all the same.	claim	Politics gender	(implicit = critics/ feminists/ women)	men	anger – represents social media / critics / feminists?	11 argument (on nature of public debate)
26	The large fault lines around higher education would have been between those who believed it was a public good, and should be publicly funded, and those who didn't; between those who believed	claim	higher education	left or right wing perceptions of education	(those involved in public	Metaphor = fault lines around HE	11 argument (elaboration)

	girls had fair access and those who believed their access could be improved.		issue of role of and access to HE		debate – middleclass)		
27	Today's controversy - why do we have to go to university at 18? What's wrong with going later? - just wouldn't ignite.	Claim (with embedded rhetorical questions)			Controversy Ignite = metaphor	metaphor	12 evaluation
28	The battleground of female fertility should centre on reproductive agency, not the hairsplitting irrelevance of whether a person thinks 27 is a better age to have children than 36.	claim	Issue of reproductive agency having children	a person	a person (Allsopp / reader?)	Metaphor Battleground of female fertility hairsplitting irrelevance	13 argument <i>(important underlying issue is reproductive agency in female fertility)</i>
29	It's true that the discussion about families is thrown off course by its characterisation as a "women's issue", and it will make much more sense when we accept the possibility that men might also be involved in procreation.	concession	Families (reproduction) 'Women's issues' men	we men	men	We (women? Readers?) Discussion thrown off course =metaphor Heteronormative biological assumption of families?; Scare quotes around 'women's issues' - distancing	14 argument <i>(role of men in procreation)</i>
30	But such a consensus won't be reached until we allow women the freedom that we allow men, to not all think the same.	claim	women men	women men we		we = who? Society?	15 argument <i>(disagreement / public debate should be possible)</i>
31	We have reached a bizarre point at which any one woman's choice is taken as an indictment of any other woman's, a place where one woman's opinion is an all-out attack on every other woman.	claim	life choices	We One woman / another woman		A bizarre point we = society	15 argument (elaboration)
32	A working mother is an accusation of a stay-at-home mother.	claim	Working mother		working mother stay-at-home mother	One identity is <i>an accusation</i> of another (metaphor_	15 argument (elaboration)
33	To talk about maternal identity at all is to openly stigmatise women without children.	claim /maxim	Issue of public debate		Maternal identity Women without children	To do x is to... <i>at all</i>	15 argument (elaboration)
34	To talk about the limits to fertility is to try to strip women of their independence.	claim	Issue of fertility limits		women	to strip women... hyperbole	15 argument (elaboration)

35	There is no template for successfully being female - there once was some soft stuff about caregiving, nurturance and, maybe, playing the piano.	maxim (and link to past)	caregiving nurturance playing piano		female	we =society there was once some soft stuff metaphor – template successfully – implication of evaluations of gender performance	16 argument (rejection of homogenising female experience)
36	But we torched it, thank God.	Evaluation		we		metaphor -torching (a template) conversational expression of relief	16 argument (development and evaluation)
37	This kind of debate, in its content and its savagery, shows a culture always looking for a new template, always on its guard lest the old one return or an equally limiting template take its place.	claim	a culture (past and present) public debate			Metaphor savagery, template Culture = personalised a culture <i>on its guard</i>	17 real problem (argument)
38	The endpoint of liberation will be when we rejoice in the fact that any two women can live their lives as differently as any two men can, and can say so without the necessity of an existential threat to anybody.	claim	men women Liberation movement (implied)	we		Endpoint – metaphor	17 summary of main problem coda
39	When the second-wave feminists said the personal was political, they didn't mean this.	evaluation	Second-wave feminists			feminist maxim	18 coda
40	They didn't mean the personal instead of the political.	evaluation					18 coda

Appendix 2

Content Analysis: Gender and Mental Health, Violence, Crisis in FM1 (2013-2018)

FEM1 2013-2015			
Article	Author & Date	Headline	Topic
1	Suzanne Moore July 13, 2013 Saturday	Review: The cellulite police: Who is this deluded, self-hating, irre-sponsible columnist writing for, asks Suzanne Moore: Girl Least Like-ly To: 30 Years of Fashion, Fasting and Fleet Street by Liz Jones 288pp, Simon & Schuster, £14.99	Review of book about EATING DISORDER
2	Jill Filipovic May 29, 2013 Wednesday	Amanda Bynes' public meltdown says more about us than her ABSTRACT Jill Filipovic: What does it show about society when we commodify a pretty female celebrity's meltdown? We certainly don't do that to men	CELEBRITY BREAKDOWNS
3	Laurie Penny May 17, 2013 Friday	Comment: Beyond the breadwinner: To solve the crisis in masculinity we need an honest debate about what men and boys can be	CRISIS OF MASCULINITY
4	Hadley Freeman January 9, 2013 Wednesday* (repeated in MASC1)	G2: Hadley Freeman: Girls, we're told, are growing up deeply, deeply troubled. Here's my guide to raising happy and healthy ones	ANXIOUS / UNHAPPY GIRLS
5	Laurie Penny Tuesday, GUARDIAN FEATURES PAGES; July 1, 2014	G2: 'Of all the female sins, hunger is the least forgivable': In this exclusive extract from her new book, Unspeakable Things, feminist activist Laurie Penny writes frankly about her teenage eating disorder, the pressure on women to be perfect and why weight is a political issue	EATING DISORDER
MASC1 2013-2015			
1	Jonathan Jones February 19, 2013 Tuesday	Libya's guns, gangs and the liberation of a masculine sickness	VIOLENCE AS MALE SICKNESS
2	Adam Haupt February 22, 2013 Friday	Oscar Pistorius case: South Africa is a country at war with its women Adam Haupt: Whatever Pistorius's guilt, Reeva Steenkamp is another victim of a culture of gender-based violence, guns and white paranoia	VIOLENCE against women
3	Clar Ni Chonghaile March 1, 2013 Friday	Kenya heads to polls as women seek justice for violence during last election ABSTRACT People who were sexually abused in Kenya's 2007 post-election violence are still seeking justice as the next vote nears. Clar Ni Chonghaile reports	STATE-ENDORSED VIOLENCE AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE against women and men
4	Rajeev Syal	British men face a 'crisis of masculinity', says MP	CRISIS OF MASCULINITY

	May 15, 2013 Wednesday		
5	G2: Suzanne Moore May 16, 2013 Thursday	Nice guys say don't associate us with rape and abuse. But it's hard not to be angry at the reluctance of men to look at the issues	RAPE AND DISENGAGEMENT OF GOOD MEN WITH ISSUES
6	Laurie Penny May 17, 2013 Friday	Comment: Beyond the breadwinner: To solve the crisis in masculinity we need an honest debate about what men and boys can be	CRISIS OF MASCULINITY
7	Ian Jack May 18, 2013 Saturday	Saturday: Yes Diane Abbott, the men of my father's generation were better at being men	CRISIS OF MASCULINITY
8	Jack O'Sullivan May 21, 2013	Comment: A man walks out of a room: As male roles in society are redefined, women should encourage, not ridicule those who talk about it	CRISIS OF MASCULINITY – ailing masculinity
9	David Lammy May 25, 2013 Saturday	National: Woolwich killing: Why are young British men drawn to radicalisation? From the EDL to extreme Islam, angry males are being manipulated. We must provide them with purpose writes David Lammy	MALE VIOLENCE AND RADICALISATION
10	Ally Fogg July 12, 2013	Yes, boys are struggling - but conservatism is providing no solution	CRISIS OF MASCULINITY
11	Jessica Mack Fri 13 Sep 2013	Redefining what it means to 'be a man' ABSTRACT Jessica Mack: A UN survey of Asian men reveals how widespread violence against women is and how it starts young	RAPE / GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN ASIA
12	Ally Fogg November 7, 2013	Where do all the angry white men come from?	MALE CRISIS
13	Michael Kaufman November 25, 2013 Monday	We must enlist men and boys in the fight to end violence against women	VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN
14	Eve Ensler December 9, 2013 Monday	One Billion Rising: the 2014 campaign to end violence against women	VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN (plague)
15	Daniel Freeman December 13, 2013 Friday	Let's talk about the gender differences that matter - in mental health	MENTAL HEALTH –diffs between genders

16	Lola Okolosie March 7, 2014 Friday	What is the cost to boys of our traditional view of masculinity?	NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF TRADITIONAL MASCULINITY (SUICIDE...)
17	Stuart Heritage May 5, 2014 Monday	G2: I own cycling shorts and once walked out of Mamma Mia! But that doesn't mean modern masculinity is in crisis	MASCULINITY IN CRISIS
18	Owen Jones August 16, 2014 Saturday	Suicide: Man up? Snap out of it? Why depressed men are dying for somebody to talk to: Suicide is the biggest killer of men under 50. For that to change, the stigma of mental illness must be challenged	SUICIDE
19	Jacqueline Rose October 18, 2014 Saturday	Review: The greatest challenge: Open any newspaper and cruelty and violence towards women across the world seem to be worsening by the day. We need a bold, 'scandalous' feminism that avoids claiming control over sexuality and is unafraid to confront the darkest impulses of the human heart, argues Jacqueline Rose	VIOLENCE towards women
20	Lindy West December 2, 2014 Tuesday	I believe Shia LaBeouf - a person doesn't have to be likable to be a victim; The actor's history of bizarre behaviour doesn't mean we should take his allegations less seriously. That would be as bad as dismissing them because he is a man	CELEBRITY – mental health / addiction
21	Louise O'Neill January 21, 2015 Wednesday	Louise O'Neill: my journey to feminism; Teen author Louise O'Neill was 15 when she first used the F-word and called herself a feminist - but didn't understand what it meant and re-mained ashamed of the parts of herself that were female, here's her story and why she wrote Only Ever Yours	FEMALE BODY IMAGE ISSUES ?
22	Jessica Valenti January 30, 2015 Friday	The NFL wants to listen to victims of domestic violence. Where were they last year?; Women who endured intimate partner violence need more than awareness spurred by a TV advertisement. They need accountability for abusers	VIOLENCE TO WOMEN
23	Ally Fogg January 30, 2015	Seriously Boris, calling terrorists 'wankers' is really not helpful; There is some truth in Johnson's attempt at 'demystifying' jihadis, but it gets us no closer to understanding what drives people to kill for a cause	TERRORISM
24	Owen Jones February 24, 2015	Why more men should fight for women's rights; To end the harm inflicted by aggressive masculinity men must embrace feminism - without stealing it	AGGRESSIVE MASCULINITY

25	Ally Fogg March 31, 2015	Men don't worry about their sperm count - but they should; Male fertility in the west is in crisis. But, thanks to a lack of anxiety among men, we haven't yet taken the problem seriously	MALE (FERTILITY) IN CRISIS
26	Keith Stuart May 11, 2015 Monday	The cliché of the lone male gamer needs to be destroyed; Psychologist Philip Zimbardo suggests that boys are increasingly withdrawing into the lonely world of gaming. But this is an outdated view of the medium Psychologist Philip Zimbardo: 'Boys risk becoming addicted to porn, video games and Ritalin'	LONERS / GAMERS
27	Pete Etchells May 12, 2015 Tuesday	The professor who thinks video games will be the downfall of men; Philip Zimbardo is worried that excessive gaming or porn watching is crippling masculinity. But the evidence just doesn't back up these sorts of claims Suzi Gage: If men are 'failing' we need to look to the future, not at lazy stereotypes	PORN AND GAMING ADDICTION
28	Joan Smith June 9, 2015 Tuesday	Oscar Pistorius may soon be out of prison. Should we really be surprised?; Male violence is deeply entrenched in South Africa, where three women are killed by their partners every day. Reeva Steenkamp was a victim both of one man, and of a grim culture	MALE VIOLENCE / CULTURE
29	Alison Flood June 15, 2015	Matt Haig 'crucified' on Twitter for planning book about masculinity; 'If a man wants to write about gender and the pitfalls of masculinity, they're met with sneers,' says the bestselling author, who disputes criticism that he is antifeminist	CRISIS OF MASCULINITY
30	Alison Phipps June 24, 2015	Universities, don't conflate 'lad culture' with 'drink culture'; Institutions should stop making scapegoats for problems they themselves have had a hand in creating - it's time for universities to take responsibility	VIOLENCE IN UNIVERSITIES
31	Melissa Davey June 25, 2015 Thursday	Social isolation a key risk factor for suicide among Australian men - study; Black Dog Institute report tackles gap in research on what drives so many men to take their lives	SUICIDE
32	Joseph Wakim July 29, 2015	It took the death of my wife to realise how much I missed out on as a dad; When my wife died, men suggested I find a new wife, women offered to help. But in becoming a single parent to my three daughters, I found my best self	CRISIS OF MASCULINITY
33	August 14, 2015 Friday 2:46 PM GMT BYLINE: Zach Stafford	Why can straight white men have sex with men without social consequences?; White men have more room to push sexual boundaries without being immediately being treated like they have a pathological problem	SEXUALITY - pathologised

34	August 25, 2015 Tuesday 5:33 PM GMT BYLINE: Jonathan Jones	The bullfighter activist was a woman breaking up a male fantasy; A female protester who jumped into a bullring to comfort a dying ani-mal was an intruder into the masculine world of blood lust and glori-fied violence	VIOLENCE / BULLFIGHTING
35	September 12, 2015 Saturday 4:16 PM GMT BYLINE: Lyn Gardner	The penis: barometer of heart and head; A new theatre show explores the impact of erectile dysfunction on men's physical and mental health. Its creator, Mark Storr, says he is terrified of the responsibility: 'If we fail, we have to fail spectacularly'	IMPOTENCE AND MENTAL HEALTH
36	September 30, 2015 Wednesday 2:45 PM GMT BYLINE: Laura Bates	Young, male and feminist - if only there were more of them; Schools and universities have their share of students engaging in sexist and misogynistic behaviour. But there are also those who are standing up against it - and their numbers are growing	HEALTHY AND UNHEALTHY MASCULINITY
37	October 29, 2015 Thursday 4:46 PM GMT BYLINE: Oscar Rickett	If only more men could express emotion like Professor Green; Talking about his dad's suicide moved the rapper to tears. But too many of us still think it's not manly to talk about feelings - and the consequences can be deadly	VIOLENCE AND SUICIDE
38	BYLINE: Zach Stafford October 29, 2015 Thursday 2:10 PM GMT	It's time to do away with the concept of 'manhood' altogether; Centuries of war, pillaging and violence show that manhood is never in crisis, as alarmists like to claim, but it is often at the heart of these phenomena	VIOLENCE and masculinity in crisis
39	November 9, 2015 Monday 4:30 PM GMT BYLINE: Tiq Milan	I thought I knew what it meant to be a man - then I transitioned into one; I thought becoming a man was a righteous undertaking, but manhood is deeply bruised at the smallest slight while pretending to be a pillar of strength	VULNERABILITY / MALE CRISIS
40	BYLINE: Carol Rumens December 1, 2015 Tuesday 11:46 AM GMT	Poem of the Week: Straight Up by Owen Gallagher; A playful and euphemistic poem about masculinity and the festering, phallic fear of sexual inadequacy	SEXUAL INADEQUACY
41	BYLINE: Michael Bloomfield December 2, 2015 Wednesday 8:02 AM GMT	Being a woman, a man or otherwise is more than just a difference in genitalia; Recently published research raises the intriguing possibility that as far as our brains are concerned, we may all be bi-gendered to varying degrees	BRAIN STRUCTURES & gender
42	December 3, 2015 Thursday 3:49 PM GMT BYLINE: Edwin Cameron	World Aids Day: 'We need to end stigma and change our ideas about manhood'; In South Africa HIV treatment is now widely available but stigma pre-vents many people - particularly men - from getting tested and receiv-ing treatment	MALE ATTITUDES – leading to AIDS
43	December 21, 2015 Monday 11:36 AM GMT	In defence of young, white British men;	CRISIS OF MASCULINITY

	BYLINE: Rhiannon Lucy Cosslett	They're lazy, promiscuous drunkards, according to the great British public. Believe it or not, this is a rampant stereotype that bears little relation to reality	
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2016-2018

	Fem2 2016-2018		
Article	Author & Date	Headline	Topic
1	March 9, 2016 Wednesday 5:33 PM Rose Hackman	As millennials, we're all in dire straits. But I worry most about our men; Everyone under age 35 is struggling, but men are also grappling with not being able to measure up to antiquated gender expectations	CRISIS OF MASCULINITY (young men)
2	Olga Oksman May 28, 2016 Saturday 3:01 PM	Are gendered toys harming childhood development?; Research has found that dividing children's toys based on gender can have lasting developmental implications	DEVELOPMENTAL IMPACT OF GENDERED TOYS
3	BYLINE: Jay Watts November 30, 2016 Wednesday 1:37 PM GMT	Should women with PMS get free therapy on the NHS?; A leading medical society has suggested that sufferers of severe premenstrual syndrome should be offered free cognitive behavioural therapy. Framing it as a disorder is a political act	PMS as a disorder - POLITICAL
4	BYLINE: Deborah Orr February 18, 2017 Saturday 7:00 AM GMT	It's painful watching the male crisis onscreen - more painful in real life; By exploring negative aspects of masculinity, Manchester By the Sea and Moonlight help us all	MALE CRISIS (on screen)
5	BYLINE: Hadley Freeman March 6, 2017 Monday 12:43 PM GMT	Not wearing the trousers: why do some schools still have sexist uni-form rules?; Most women will spend the majority of their adult lives suffering for outdated ideas of femininity. When they're eight they should feel nothing but freedom	OUTDATED FEMININITY CAUSES SUFFERING
6	September 1, 2017 Friday 9:00 AM GMT BYLINE: Fiona Sturges	How Not to Be a Boy by Robert Webb review - the gender conditioning of men; This is less a manifesto by the actor and comedian than a highly personal story of not fitting in and a crisis in early adulthood. It is also funny	MALE CRISIS
7	November 21, 2017 Tuesday 4:07 PM GMT BYLINE: Mark Rice-Oxley	The 'masculine mystique' - why men can't ditch the baggage of being a bloke; Far from embracing the school run, most men are still trapped by rigid cultural notions of being strong, dominant and successful. Is it leading to an epidemic of unhappiness similar to the one felt by Betty Friedan's 50s housewives?	MALE CRISIS – epidemic of unhappiness

8	BYLINE: Hadley Freeman November 25, 2017 Saturday 9:00 AM GMT	It wasn't feminist theory that cured my anorexia - it was having some-thing to eat for; I was extremely lucky to have found a wonderful doctor who under-stood me and who I couldn't outsmart	ANOREXIA – eating disorder
9	BYLINE: Gaby Hinsliff January 17, 2018 Wednesday 6:00 AM GMT	Has strong become the respectable face of skinny for young women?; A generation of Instagram stars and personal trainers are challenging old-fashioned notions of femininity, replacing images of thinness or fecundity with brute strength. Whether this is healthy is another matter	FEMALE BODIES – not healthy
10	BYLINE: Pankaj Mishra March 17, 2018 Saturday 8:00 AM GMT	The crisis in modern masculinity; Luridly retro ideas of what it means to be a man have caused a dan-gerous rush of testosterone around the world - from Modi's Hindu su-premacism to Trump's nuclear brinkmanship	CRISIS IN MASCULINITY
11	April 8, 2018 Sunday 11:00 AM GMT BYLINE: Michael Kimmel	Almost all violent extremists share one thing: their gender; Most people who commit acts of terrorist violence are young men. We overlook their gender to our peril	YOUNG MEN & EXTREMIST VIOLENCE
12	April 26, 2018 Thursday 4:10 PM GMT BYLINE: Gary Younge	Nearly every mass killer is a man. Why aren't we talking about that?; After the Toronto attack, there should be a debate about toxic masculinity, and the issues of identity and rage that turn so many men to-wards violence	TOXIC MASCULINITY – MALE VIOLENCE / RAGE
13	June 29, 2018 Friday 6:33 PM GMT BYLINE: Laurie Penny	Mass shootings show why we must stop pandering to white male fragility; The killing of five journalists at the Capital Gazette in Maryland is merely the latest massacre driven by misogyny	MALE VIOLENCE _ WHITE MALE FRAGILITY
14	BYLINE: Maggy van Eijk August 29, 2018 Wednesday 1:30 PM GMT	At 14, I self-harmed to erase my body. But my body was not the enemy; Faced with bullying and sexual harassment, I turned my anger on myself. New and shocking figures on self-harm show teenagers are still in trouble	SELF-HARM – erasing body (FEM)
15	September 19, 2018 Wednesday 5:48 PM GMT BYLINE: Suzanne Moore	Of course girls feel miserable. They can't move freely in the world; Yet another survey tells us fewer girls are happy or confident. Let's be honest - in the end, this is down to male violence	FEMALE DEPRESSION / UNHAPPINESS (caused by male violence)
16	October 29, 2018 Monday 6:19 PM GMT BYLINE: Suzanne Moore	'Lone-wolf' terrorists and domestic violence: it's time to start joining the dots; Feminist scholars and strategists have analysed violence for years, but their lessons about how power operates through gender and race are being ignored	MALE VIOLENCE
MASC2 2016-2018			
1	March 9, 2016 Wednesday 5:33 PM Rose Hackman	As millennials, we're all in dire straits. But I worry most about our men; Everyone under age 35 is struggling, but men are also grappling with not being able to measure up to antiquated gender expectations	STRUGGLES OF YOUNG MEN
2	July 5, 2016 Tuesday 4:35 PM Karen McVeigh	Schools tackling sexual violence should focus on boys, MPs told;	MALE (SEXUAL) VIOLENCE

		Experts say initiatives should concentrate on changing boys' behaviour and attitudes rather than helping girls to avoid abuse	
3.	September 5, 2016 Monday 11:00 AM Rose Hackman	'I didn't choose to be straight, white and male': are modern men the suffering sex?; I kept dismissing complaints from men that feminist advancements were leading to an unfair double standard. But they kept coming. Could it really be true?	MEN as SUFFERING SEX (CRISIS?)
4	September 8, 2016 Thursday 7:00 AM Owen Jones	Not all men commit abuse against women. But all must condemn it; Male violence against women is rife - and it's getting worse. We need a new, inclusive form of masculinity to eliminate it	MALE VIOLENCE / ABUSE
5	October 4, 2016 Tuesday 11:23 AM Owen Jones	We should be ashamed of what we're doing to Britain's children; The intolerable pressures placed on our girls and boys are resulting in shockingly high levels of mental health problems	MENTAL HEALTH problems in children
6	October 19, 2016 Wednesday 2:56 AM Steve Dow	ABC's Man Up tackles the tragedy of male suicide - but only among blokey blokes; The series is well-meaning but spends too much time trying to entertain and too little challenging the normalised, constructed identity of Australian manhood	MALE SUICIDE
7*	November 24, 2016 Thursday 4:59 PM Sarah Marsh and Guardian readers	'As boys we are told to be brave': men on masculinity and mental health; New analysis found links between so-called masculine traits and depression and substance use. We asked men about gender stereotypes and mental health	MASCULINITY and MENTAL HEALTH
8	December 13, 2016 Tuesday 9:00 AM Sam Jordison	Fight Club's dark fantasies have become an even darker reality; Chuck Palahniuk's novel once seemed far-fetched, but two decades on its ugly vision of violent, paranoid men seems all too close to the world around us	MALE VIOLENCE and PARANOIA
9 (Repeated in FEM2)	February 18, 2017 Saturday 7:00 AM Deborah Orr	It's painful watching the male crisis onscreen - more painful in real life; By exploring negative aspects of masculinity, Manchester By the Sea and Moonlight help us all	MALE CRISIS (on screen)
10	February 20, 2017 Monday 9:10 AM Kelly Mattison	Teaching boys about healthy relationships: 'They need it from birth'; A course in schools, youth justice departments and youth centres aims to prevent violence against women and girls	MALE VIOLENCE against women (Healthy relationships)

11	March 15, 2017 Wednesday 1:46 PM Harrison Jones	Many young men feel hopeless - is it a surprise they turn to gam-bling?; With such poor prospects in jobs, housing and savings, it's little wonder young men turn to a heavily adver-tised, supposedly mascu-line form of escape	ADDICTIONS (male gambling) / hopelessness
12	March 28, 2017 Tuesday 3:30 PM Hadley Freeman	What do many lone attackers have in common? Domestic violence; Desperate attempts to profile Khalid Masood after the Westminster attacks blame Islam, Kent or even drunk teenagers, but the common thread in terrorism is often misogyny	MALE VIOLENCE / TERRORISM and misogyny
13	May 10, 2017 Wednesday 10:30 AM Simon Gunning	Male suicide: 'Gender should not be a death sentence'; The Campaign Against Living Miserably (Calm) is the leading UK charity dedicated to preventing male sui-cide. Simon Gunning, its chief executive officer, reveals what is being done to encourage men to open up about their emotions	MALE SUICIDE
14	June 26, 2017 Monday 11:00 AM Haider Javed Warraich	Men still die before women. Is toxic masculinity to blame?; Many assume that shorter male lifespans are driven by biological fac-tors. Yet the health consequences of traditional male identity cannot be underestimated	SHORTER MALE LIFESPANS
15	July 10, 2017 Monday 4:30 PM Joan Smith	The seeds of terrorism are often sown in the home - with domestic violence; A strain of toxic masculinity learned in childhood is at the heart of Islamic State's offer to angry young men in London, Manchester, Paris and Brussels · Joan Smith is a human rights activist	TERRORISM linked to DOMESTIC VIOLENCE
16	July 12, 2017 Wednesday 11:30 AM Ashifa Kassam in Vancouver	Is North America's opioid epidemic a crisis of masculinity?; Men accounted for 80% of the 935 fatal overdoses in British Columbia last year - and a researcher says it's time to pay more attention to the risks they face	CRISIS OF MASCULINITY / DRUG ADDICTION
17 (repeated in FEM2)	September 1, 2017 Friday 9:00 AM Fiona Sturges	How Not to Be a Boy by Robert Webb review - the gender conditioning of men; This is less a manifesto by the actor and comedian than a highly per-sonal story of not fitting in and a crisis in early adulthood. It is also funny	MALE CRISIS
18	October 6, 2017 Friday 12:56 PM Ross Raisin	Men or mice: is masculinity in crisis?; With his criticism of 'dysfunctional' unmarried men, Iain Duncan Smith added to the clamour of concern over the male psyche. From football fans to 'feminised' workplaces, Ross Raisin asks if men really do have a problem with modern life	CRISIS IN MASCULINITY

19	October 7, 2017 Saturday 5:40 PM Jessica Valenti	The week in patriarchy: there's no denying our country's sickness now; A year after the Trump Access Hollywood tape, allegations of sexual harassment emerge - finally - against a leading film producer	MALE VIOLENCE PATRIARCHY & Metaphors of sickness
20	Sarah Johnson October 11, 2017 Wednesday 9:37 AM	Why don't men seek help for eating disorders?; In the last six years, men admitted to hospitals for eating disorders increased by 70%, but experts believe many more are being over-looked	MALE EATING DISORDERS
21	October 12, 2017 Thursday 6:38 PM Bob Jacobson	We all have a role to play in ending abuse by powerful men like Harvey Weinstein; Men are not immune from the harmful effects of our misogynistic cul-ture, says Joe McCarthy ; we must tackle the power imbalance at the root of all oppressive behaviour, says Ruth Eversley ; don't stand by, stand up, says Bob Jacobson	MALE ABUSE
22	November 9, 2017 Thursday 3:08 AM Van Badham	Masculinist power fantasies unleashed have catastrophic results; Looking back on past mass attacks we can no longer deny the correlation between violence and woman hating	MALE VIOLENCE & MISOGYNY
23	November 18, 2017 Saturday 10:00 AM Jenny Kleeman	'It tears every part of your life away': the truth about male infertility; Men are facing a fertility crisis, so why is most practical and emotional support offered to couples struggling to conceive aimed at women?	MALE FERTILITY CRISIS
24 (repeated FEM2)	November 21, 2017 Tuesday 4:07 PM Mark Rice-Oxley	The 'masculine mystique' - why men can't ditch the baggage of being a bloke; Far from embracing the school run, most men are still trapped by rigid cultural notions of being strong, dominant and successful. Is it leading to an epidemic of unhappiness similar to the one felt by Betty Friedan's 50s housewives?	MALE CRISIS – epidemic of unhappiness
25	Ally Fogg February 5, 2018 Monday 9:00 AM	This is the real reason more men are dying of prostate cancer; No, Daily Mail, men are not suffering gender bias. But they do need to shed machismo and seek earlier health advice	PROSTATE CANCER and machismo
26*	March 17, 2018 Saturday 8:00 AM Pankaj Mishra (repeated FEM2)	The crisis in modern masculinity; Luridly retro ideas of what it means to be a man have caused a dangerous rush of testosterone around the world - from Modi's Hindu su-premacism to Trump's nuclear brinkmanship	CRISIS IN MASCULINITY

27*	April 8, 2018 Sunday 11:00 AM Michael Kimmel (repeated FEM2)	Almost all violent extremists share one thing: their gender; Most people who commit acts of terrorist violence are young men. We overlook their gender to our peril	MALE VIOLENCE YOUNG MEN & EXTREMIST VIOLENCE
28*	April 26, 2018 Thursday 4:10 PM Gary Younge (repeated FEM2)	Nearly every mass killer is a man. Why aren't we talking about that?; After the Toronto attack, there should be a debate about toxic masculinity, and the issues of identity and rage that turn so many men towards violence	TOXIC MASCULINITY – MALE VIOLENCE / RAGE
29	April 30, 2018 Monday 3:30 AM Meera Atkinson	Patriarchy perpetuates trauma. It's time to face the fact; We need to snap out of the fantasy that socialised traumas like rape are aberrations in an otherwise fair society	PATRIARCHY AND TRAUMA RAPE / VIOLENCE
30	May 7, 2018 Monday 7:00 PM Ruby Hamad	How white women use strategic tears to avoid accountability; The legitimate grievances of brown and black women are no match for the accusations of a white damsel in distress Sign up to receive the latest Australian opinion pieces every weekday	RACE AND TEARS / FEMALE VIOLENCE
31	May 17, 2018 Thursday 5:25 AM Van Badham	When we make excuses for male violence, we encourage it; There's a single good reason to be outraged at the 'good bloke' narrative: prevention	MALE VIOLENCE
32	May 21, 2018 Monday 6:46 PM Jessica Valenti	The recent mass shootings in the US all have one thing in common: misogyny; The longer we ignore the toxic masculinity that underlies so many of these crimes, the more violence we're enabling	MALE (MASS) VIOLENCE AND TOXIC MASCULINITY
33	May 30, 2018 Wednesday 11:56 AM Shon Faye	I'm trans, and I don't care if we were 'born this way'. Neither should you; Obsessing over identity is for your therapist. Instead of focusing on why people are transgender, let's fight prejudice together	CONCERN WITH IDENTITY (over activism)
34	June 13, 2018 Wednesday 6:00 AM Afua Hirsch	The rape threats and racism are vile. But women won't be trolled into silence;	THREAT OF RAPE / VIOLENCE

		That the MP Jess Phillips received hundrEds of rape threats in one night is a sickening reminder of the overwhelming consequences of having a voice	
35	June 21, 2018 Thursday 7:00 PM Kirby Fenwick	Football clubs can end toxic masculinity, but first they need to talk about it; The rape and murder of women exists on the same continuum as sexist jokes and 'boys will be boys' attitudes	VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN
36	June 22, 2018 Friday 12:24 PM Lizzie Cernik	Love Island normalises emotional abuse - and we call it entertain-ment; Too many reality TV shows reinforce a view of women as prizes, to be collected like toys at a funfair. We must demand better · Love Island's Adam Collard accused of 'gaslighting' by domestic abuse charity	ABUSE
37	June 29, 2018 Friday 6:33 PM Laurie Penny	Mass shootings show why we must stop pandering to white male fra-gility; The killing of five journalists at the Capital Gazette in Maryland is merely the latest massacre driven by misogyny	MASS SHOOTING / VIOLENCE
38	July 18, 2018 Wednesday 9:59 AM Amrou Al-Kadhi	I was transphobically abused, and the other bus passengers did nothing; The hate of the man on the bus was horrible. But the silence of those who stood by and did nothing was truly upsetting	ABUSE (TRANS)
39	July 23, 2018 Monday 3:36 PM Chitra Ramaswamy	This is a frightening time to be a woman who speaks truth to power; The likes of Laura Kuenssberg, Rose McGowan and Tarana Burke have faced extraordinary abuse, yet they refuse to be silenced. We must do more to celebrate them	ABUSE
40	August 12, 2018 Sunday 9:00 AM Andrew Anthony	The male infertility crisis: 'My failure at fatherhood ate away at my very being'; It's a real and painful issue for thousands of western men so why, wonders Andrew Anthony, is so little being done - or said - about it?	MALE INFERTILITY CRISIS
41	August 18, 2018 Saturday 12:00 PM Arwa Mahdawi	Men's fixation on young women is another sign of masculinity in cri-sis; A depressing new study about online dating indicates a problem that is reverberating across every aspect of our society	CRISIS OF MASCULINITY
42	August 23, 2018 Thursday 2:10 PM Sarah Johnson in Espírito Santo	'Hitting women isn't normal': tackling male violence in Brazil; A rehabilitation programme for violent men in Espírito Santo is cutting reoffending rates	VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

43*	October 29, 2018 Monday 6:19 PM Suzanne Moore (repeated FEM2)	'Lone-wolf' terrorists and domestic violence: it's time to start joining the dots; Feminist scholars and strategists have analysed violence for years, but their lessons about how power operates through gender and race are being ignored	VIOLENCE and TERRORISM
44	November 26, 2018 Monday 8:00 AM Jake Nevins	Boys on film: what we can learn about masculinity from Hollywood; In a range of new films from First Man to Beautiful Boy, male characters are representing two different types of masculinity: unblemished and toxic	TOXIC / UNBLEMISHED MASCULINITY
45	December 4, 2018 Tuesday 10:00 AM Anna Moore	'It's a man's problem': Patrick Stewart and the men fighting to end domestic violence; Stewart, David Challen and the Hart brothers know the devastation abuse can wreak - and are challenging the idea that it is a women's issue	ABUSE / DOMESTIC VIOLENCE
46	December 10, 2018 Monday 1:10 PM Sean O'Hagan	Humiliation, homoeroticism and animal cruelty: inside the frathouse; Photographer Andrew Moisey uncovered ritual hazing, extreme drunkenness and toxic masculinity on one college campus - from men destined to be America's future leaders	TOXIC BEHAVIOURS

Appendix 3 List of *Guardian* Newspaper Articles extracted for analysis

Chapter 5

Extract 1 Cochrane, Kira. (2013) 'G2: Women: 'I really think we need a men's movement': Anne-Marie Slaughter's article, Why Women Still Can't Have It All, caused a huge furore last year. But, she tells Kira Cochrane, real equality still needs fighting for - for both sexes' *The Guardian*, July 22, 2013

Extract 2 Williams, Lara. (2016), 'Bad moms: why messy motherhood is finally being accepted on screen; Thanks to Better Things and Bridget Jones's Baby, the dated depiction of mothers as apron-wearing goddesses has been replaced by a more realistic portrayal' *The Guardian*, October 2, 2016

Extract 3 Williams, Zoe (2014) 'Why must we savage Kirstie Allsopp for having a view?: One woman's choices are not an indictment of any other woman's. There is no template for being successfully female' *The Guardian*, 4 June 2014

Extract 4 Saner, Emine (2014) G2: Flounce: Bossy: Hysterical: Nag: Feisty: Have you ever heard these words used to describe men? Thought not. *The Guardian*, September 2014

Extract 5 Filipovic, Jill (2013) 'Critics can't decide if feminists hate sex or are having too much of it' by Jill Filipovic, *The Guardian*, September 2013

Extract 6 Williams, Lara (2016) 'Bad moms: why messy motherhood is finally being accepted on screen; Thanks to Better Things and Bridget Jones's Baby, the dated depiction of mothers as apron-wearing goddesses has been replaced by a more realistic portrayal' *The Guardian* October 2, 2016

Extract 7 Nolan, Dan What's more masculine than being a loving father? Having a child is an incredible joy and I thoroughly Millennial dads are a force for good, but even we can't breastfeed; Despite progress on gender equality in parenting, men being unable to lactate is still a Rubicon to cross *The Guardian*. October 5, 2018

Extract 8 Bilmes, Alex (2014) 'Am I dad enough? And do I really care?; Prince William changes nappies, Simon Cowell gushes about his newborn - men are keener than ever to prove they are going the extra mile. But if fatherhood is becoming a competitive sport, Alex Bilmes wants out' *The Guardian*, March 22, 2014

Extract 9 Gottlieb, Lori (2014) 'Family: Does equality kill sex?: There's a reason why opposites attract' *The Guardian* Feb 15, 2014

Extract 10 Bilmes, Alex 'Am I dad enough? And do I really care?; *The Guardian* March 22, 2014

Extract 11 Penny, Laurie (2013) 'Beyond the breadwinner: To solve the crisis in masculinity we need an honest debate about what men and boys can be' *The Guardian*, May 17, 2013

Extract 12 Filipovic, Jill (2013) 'The rise of 'breadwinner moms' is less a win for equality that it looks' *The Guardian*, June 6, 2013

Extract 13 Jack, lab. (2013) 'Yes, Diane Abbott, the men of my father's generation were better at being men' *The Guardian*, May 18, 2013

Extract 14 Rice-Oxley, M. (2017) 'The 'masculine mystique' - why men can't ditch the baggage of being a bloke; Far from embracing the school run, most men are still trapped by rigid cultural

notions of being strong, dominant and successful. Is it leading to an epidemic of unhappiness similar to the one felt by Betty Friedan's 50s housewives? *The Guardian*, Nov 21 2017

Extract 15 Livingston, Eve (2016) 'A sexist culture of low expectations is limiting our ideas our fatherhood; A new study on parenting offers men their pick of a false dichotomy between emotional involvement and practical responsibility' *The Guardian* Nov 24, 2016

Extract 16 Confino, Jo (2014) 'Anne-Marie Slaughter: Gender parity is a human issue, not just a women's issue' *The Guardian* March 7, 2014

Extract 17 Hattenstone, Simon (2014) Interview Grayson Perry: 'Just because you don't have a dress on doesn't stop you being a tranny' *The Guardian* Weekend, 8th October 2014

Extract 18 Perry, John (2018) 'Ditching the nine-to-five: 'Modern men are looking for more purpose'; Men are no longer the sole breadwinners of decades past. Now they're flexi-workers, portfolio parents, paternity-leave takers ... What effect has that had on masculinity?' *The Guardian*, August 29, 2018

Extract 19 Mishra, Pankaj (2018) 'The crisis in modern masculinity; Luridly retro ideas of what it means to be a man have caused a dangerous rush of testosterone around the world - from Modi's Hindu supremacism to Trump's nuclear brinkmanship' *The Guardian*, Pankaj Mishra by March 17, 2018

Extract 20 Marsh, Sarah (2016) "'As boys we are told to be brave": men on masculinity and mental health; New analysis found links between so-called masculine traits and depression and substance use. We asked men about gender stereo-types and mental health' *The Guardian*, by Sarah Marsh and Guardian readers November 24, 2016

Extract 21 Ramaswamy, Chitra (2015) 'Does it matter that my two-year-old son has two mums and no dad?; Our job is the same as any parent's - to help him find his way in the world, not to become a 'man'. And, anyway, his favourite things are sticks, stones, diggers, balls, steering wheels, and Thomas the Tank Engine.' *The Guardian* May 5, 2015

Extract 22 Letters There's more to life than reproduction. Letters November 1, 2016, *The Guardian* Society

Extract 23 Letters There's more to life than reproduction. Letters November 1, 2016, *The Guardian* Society

Chapter 6

Extract 1 Murray, Jenni (2013) 'Margaret Thatcher 1925-2013: 'I DON'T LIKE STRIDENT FEMALES': She was Mummy, Nanny, Governess, Wife, Matron, Flirt or Boudicca, depending on which role was required. But, as Jenni Murray learned first-hand, woe betide anyone who asked Thatcher what it was like being a woman prime minister'. *The Guardian*, April 9, 2013

Extract 2 Orr, Deborah 'Feminism should be about helping every woman feel confident and supported' Saturday GUARDIAN SATURDAY COMMENT PAGES; Pg. 35 *The Guardian*, January 19, 2013

Extract 3 Ren, Yuan 'China's feminist school club: the Beijing students talking equality on their lunch break; Pupils now have the opportunity to watch Thelma and Louise and discuss language based-gender bias during their lunch break as part of the new society, founded by two 17-year-old students' *The Guardian*, February 29, 2016

Extract 4 Birch, Alice (2015): 'Being called an armchair feminist made me furious' *The Guardian*, January 22, 2015

Extract 5 Criado-Perez, Caroline.. 'Yes Naomi Wolf, feminists are attacked. But sucking it up is not the answer' *The Guardian* October 22, 2013

Extract 6 Mensch, Louise (2013) 'How about some reality-based feminism' *The Guardian* May 30 2013

Extract 7 Freeman, Hadley (2014) G2: Waxing, shaving, plucking and threading - do women really need such torture? August 5, 2014 Hadley Freeman

Extract 8 From International Women's Day debates. *The Guardian*. March 8, 2014

Extract 9 *The Guardian*. Louise O'Neill, January 21, 2015.

Extract 10 Dowling, Tim (2014) G2: 'Last night's TV Modern Family's Phil is still a real man - part monster and part role model: AND ANOTHER THING' *The Guardian*. February 18, 2014

Extract 11 Fogg, Ally (2013) Men, too often, mutter into our pints and change the subject. (*The Guardian*, Ally Fogg, Dec 31 2013)

Extract 12 Williams, Sally (2014) Let's have a lads' night.' *The Guardian*, October 11, 2014 []

Extract 13 Marsh, Sarah and Guardian Readers (2016) Your opinions: Are you a feminist? Join us to discuss this and more; A space for our readers to talk about articles of the day in the Opinion section - with input from the writer below the line October 12, 2016

Extract 14 Taylor, Louise (2017) 'Speaking up against sexual harassment is still too risky for most women' *The Guardian* November 30, 2017

Extract 15 Rose, Jacqueline (2014) Review: The greatest challenge: Open any newspaper and cruelty and violence towards women across the world seem to be worsening by the day. We need a bold, 'scandalous' feminism that avoids claiming control over sexuality and is unafraid to confront the darkest impulses of the human heart, argues Jacqueline Rose GUARDIAN REVIEW PAGES; Pg. 2 October 18, 2014 Saturday

Extract 16 Mensch, Louise (2013) 'How about some reality-based feminism' *The Guardian* May 30 2013

Extract 17 Freeman, Hadley (2013) 'Defiant and glorious: They're funny, uncompromising and passionate. One of them can even rock a pastel pantsuit. Hadley Freeman hails her female heroes, whose accomplishments deserve some serious respect' G2: *The Guardian*. April 23, 2013

Extract 18 Hirsch, Afua (2018) 'The rape threats and racism are vile. But women won't be trolled into silence; That the MP Jess Phillips received hundreds of rape threats in one night is a sickening reminder of the overwhelming consequences of having a voice.' *The Guardian*. June 13, 2018

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Chapter 7

Extract 1 Medhor, Shalailah (2015) Domestic violence affects LGBTIQ communities at alarming levels - report;

NSW report finds people in non-heterosexual relationships suffer emotional and verbal abuse specific to their gender identity and sexual preferences, *The Guardian*, November 2, 2015

Extract 2. McVeigh, Karen (2016) Schools tackling sexual violence should focus on boys, MPs told; Experts say initiatives should concentrate on changing boys' behaviour and attitudes rather than helping girls to avoid abuse *The Guardian*, July 5, 2016

Extract 3. Kassam, Ashifa Is North America's opioid epidemic a crisis of masculinity?; Men accounted for 80% of the 935 fatal overdoses in British Columbia last year - and a researcher says it's time to pay more attention to the risks they face *The Guardian*, July 12, 2017

Extracts 4 and 7: Rice-Oxley, Mark (2017) The 'masculine mystique' - why men can't ditch the baggage of being a bloke; Far from embracing the school run, most men are still trapped by rigid cultural notions of being strong, dominant and successful. Is it leading to an epidemic of unhappiness similar to the one felt by Betty Friedan's 50s housewives? *The Guardian*, November 21, 2017

Extract 5 Syal, Rajeev (2013) British men face a 'crisis of masculinity', says MP, *The Guardian*, May 15, 2013

Extract 6 Mishra, Pankaj (2018) The crisis in modern masculinity; Luridly retro ideas of what it means to be a man have caused a dangerous rush of testosterone around the world - from Modi's Hindu supremacism to Trump's nuclear brinkmanship *The Guardian*, March 17, 2018

Extract 7 (see 4)

Extract 8 Smith, Joan (2017) The seeds of terrorism are often sown in the home - with domestic violence; A strain of toxic masculinity learned in childhood is at the heart of Islamic State's offer to angry young men in London, Manchester, Paris and Brussels · Joan Smith is a human rights activist *The Guardian*, July 10, 2017

Extract 9 Moore, Suzanne (2018) Of course girls feel miserable. They can't move freely in the world; Yet another survey tells us fewer girls are happy or confident. Let's be honest - in the end, this is down to male violence *The Guardian* September 19, 2018 Wednesday

Extract 10 van Eijk, Maggy (2018) At 14, I self-harmed to erase my body. But my body was not the enemy; Faced with bullying and sexual harassment, I turned my anger on myself. New and shocking figures on self-harm show teenagers are still in trouble *The Guardian* August 29, 2018