Gender
and
Language

G&L (PRINT) ISSN: 1747–6321
G&L (ONLINE) ISSN: 1747–633X

Article

Choosing love, marriage and the traditional role: updating hegemonic femininity in *Heat* magazine

Camila Montiel McCann

Abstract

Stereotypes of white women have historically limited their identities to that of wife and mother. Though restrictive, this type of femininity has been mobilised to create hierarchies of womanhood that legitimate this form and subordinate others. However, social change since the feminist second wave has seen the renegotiation of women's position, and contemporary antiracist and LGBTQIA+ discourse has seen further departure from traditional ideals of femininity. Mass media is a dominant site where controlling images of women are negotiated and in which dominant, or hegemonic, forms emerge. This article applies Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis to examine popular British gossip magazine Heat*'s romance and sex narratives for discourse which (re)produces, negotiates or challenges hegemonic femininity. Through the appropriation of feminist language,* Heat *propagates an updated hegemonic femininity which preserves the racio-patriarchal discourse of gender difference whilst pacifying feminist audiences.*

Estereótipos de mulheres brancas historicamente limitam suas identidades aos papéis de esposas e mães. Embora redutoras, essas categorias têm sido

Affiliation
Camila Montiel McCann
she/her/hers/they/them/their
Department of English, School of the Arts, University of Liverpool
email: milliemontiel@gmail.com

G&L VOL 15.3 2021 324–346 https://doi.org/10.1558/genl.19205

equinox

equinoxonline

mobilizadas com o objetivo de criar hierarquias de feminilidade que as legitimam enquanto subordinam outras formas do feminino. Contudo, desde a segunda onda do feminismo, mudanças sociais relativas à renegociação do lugar da mulher assim como discursos antirracistas e pró-LGBTQIA+ têm possibilitado um distanciamento dos ideais tradicionais de feminilidade. A mídia de massa veicula imagens de mulheres que acabam se tornando dominantes e hegemônicas. Este artigo aplica a Análise Feminista Crítica do Discurso a narrativas de romance e sexo veiculadas na popular revista inglesa Heat *e investiga discursos que (re)produzem, negociam ou desafiam a feminilidade hegemônica. Através da apropriação do discurso feminista, a revista* Heat *propaga uma versão atualizada de feminilidade hegemônica que preserva discursos patriarcais racializados da diferença de gênero ao mesmo tempo em que tenta apaziguar o público feminista.*

KEYWORDS: HEGEMONIC FEMININITY, POSTFEMINISM, HETERONORMATIVITY, WHITE SUPREMACY, NEOLIBERALISM

Introduction

Romance narratives have traditionally held cultural significance to the 'success' of a woman's life and are often representative of gender relations at a wider societal level (Cameron and Kulick 2003). For example, marriage and the nuclear family have historically been key to the maintenance of patriarchy through such concepts as separate public and domestic spheres, and have been glorified through fairy tales, film, fiction and advertising (Ussher 1997; Friedan 2010[1963]). However, since the feminist 'second wave' (1960s–1980s), divorce, single parenthood, birth control and gay marriage have become commonplace and have been accompanied by cultural shifts in our understanding of romance. With such shifts, the perception, and indeed construction, of femininity has also shifted (Goldman 1992; Lazar 2014). Along with the sexual revolution came woman's increased independence; she could now find success through other means as she entered the workplace of the 'elite' professions (McRobbie 2004). In contemporary representations of womanhood, however, romance in some form remains significant (McRobbie 2009). This negotiation of two eras of womanhood – the traditional domestic ('traditional' referring to the pre-second wave ideal addressed in such works as *The Feminine Mystique*) and the late modern feminist – has produced a new representation that has updated our ideals of femininity for a more feminist-inclined audience (McRobbie 2009; Friedan 2010[1963]; Lazar 2014).

Yet linguistic research and theory on femininity has so far been peripheral to the work carried out on the subject of masculinity (Schippers 2007; Genz 2009). Investigations into femininity rarely examine in depth the power

relations at play amongst women-identifying groups that help to shape our cultural ideas about female identity and success (though, see Garza 2021 for a recent exception). Social practices are subject to corrections and sanctions, to 'policing', that reinforce hegemonic structures by undermining practices that do not conform to the status quo (Baxter 2010:73). The concept of 'cultural hegemony' was used by Antonio Gramsci to address the relation between culture and power under capitalism (Gramsci 1971; Lears 1985). Gramsci (1971:12) characterised hegemony as 'spontaneous consent' to the 'general direction' imposed on social life by the dominant group (i.e. the ruling class). Thus, dominance functions not through the rule of force, but rather through the process of manufacturing consent by presenting existing power structures as the 'common sense' organisation for social life. Gramsci's concept recognises that power is maintained in capitalist societies because oppressed groups are encouraged to accept, and even uphold, their own oppression (Lears 1985). This concept can be applied to explain the maintenance of hegemonic femininity. Women who fulfil cultural stereotypes of womanhood are privileged in society because they reinforce the cultural hegemony of patriarchy.

In this article, I examine representations of femininity in the British gossip magazine *Heat*, a popular weekly that focuses on celebrity news (usually, but not exclusively, regarding British celebrities), but also includes fashion and beauty sections and a TV guide. *Heat* was chosen because it has a predominantly female readership and its content revolves around celebrity social practices, particularly celebrity love lives (Statista 2018). Through the deconstruction of the texts in *Heat*, two apparently opposing discourses of 'Gender Difference' and the 'Independent Woman' are exposed as interdependent, working together to provide the illusion of feminist progress in such a way that obscures the maintenance of white supremacist capitalist patriarchy (hooks 2000). By examining the narrative policing of women in media directed at a female audience, we can gain a greater understanding of the construction of hegemonic femininity today and identify the discursive practices at work to maintain patriarchy.

A feminist critical perspective

Adopting Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA), 17 issues of *Heat* were analysed from January to April 2018. FCDA is a critical perspective with an explicit focus on gender as an 'omni-relevant category' (Lazar 2005:5). It mobilises a microanalysis of text and relates this to a macroanalysis of context, identifying patterns in the text that constitute discourses which in turn produce, maintain or undermine gendered power structures (Lazar 2014:208). Dominant discourses were identified in the romance

narratives within *Heat* – that is, those narratives which foregrounded romantic or erotic relationships – and were used to explain the ideological stance of the magazine. Van Leeuwen's (1996) categories for investigating the representation of social actors were applied at a microanalytical level and showed patterns of inclusion and exclusion which made up the gendered discourses that dominate *Heat*. The apparently feminist 'Independent Woman' discourse is as dependent on the exclusion and marginalisation of women of colour and queer women as the 'Gender Difference' discourse, exposing the interests of the magazine as lying in the maintenance of hegemonic femininity.

Kosetzi and Polyzou (2009:145) argue that men's magazines have played a significant role in the adaptation of hegemonic masculinity, from the 'New Man' to the 'New Lad'. Yet the role of magazines aimed at women in reproducing hegemonic femininity has so far been neglected. If hegemonic masculinity negotiates, appropriates or rejects aspects of feminism in order to maintain appeal to a broad audience (Hanke 1992), it is fair to assume that feminism would also have a strong influence in the representation of femininity in magazines designed directly for consumption by women. The 'celeb gossip' focus of *Heat* means that the text is typically presented in narrative form, which research has shown is a crucial site for the policing of gendered identities (Moita-Lopes 2006; Lampropoulou and Archakis 2015). In this study, the positive or negative representation of female social actors in romance narratives was found to indicate social (dis)approval of a particular expression of womanhood, revealing a hierarchy which shapes hegemonic femininity.

Below, I expand on existing concepts by applying intersectional feminist theory to show the hierarchical relationships at work in the production of hegemonic femininity and explain how these hierarchies are reproduced today. The subsequent data analysis is organised according to dominant patterns of gendered discourse found across the issues of *Heat*.

Hegemonic femininity: an intersectional framework

The concept of hegemonic masculinity was introduced by Connell (1987:300) as 'the maintenance of practices that institutionalise men's dominance over women'. Connell's argument put forward that men gain legitimacy (read: power) in society for embodying patriarchal ideals of manhood, such as heterosexual prowess and competitiveness (Connell 1987, 1995; Benwell 2003). However, Connell (1987:302) was widely criticised for arguing that there was no hegemonic *femininity* because 'the concentration of social power in the hands of men leaves women with limited scope to construct institutionalised power relationships with other

women', implying that women are a homogeneous group unaffected by the same conditions that affect men and masculinity (Schippers 2007).

In light of such criticism, Schippers (2007:95) later provided the following definition for hegemonic femininity: 'the characteristics defined as womanly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and *complementary* relationship to hegemonic masculinity, and so *guarantee the dominance of men and the subordination of women*' (emphasis mine). What is crucial to understand from Schippers' definition is that the dominant form of femininity does not challenge the patriarchal dominance of men – in fact, it upholds it. The characteristics defined as 'manly' that make up the social practices of hegemonic masculinity are supported by opposite, yet harmonising, characteristics that make up hegemonic femininity. Thus, the gender binary is framed as innate and mapped onto sex, with corresponding characteristics which dictate (and thereby restrict) the behaviours of each gender. However, there have been few extensive analyses of the 'institutionalised power relationships' that do exist among women and on how their behaviour is policed. I address this gap by outlining a framework for a hierarchically organised femininity subject to the same institutionalised system of power and value that is also upheld by hegemonic masculinity: heteronormative and ethnocentric patriarchy.

Intersectional theory asserts that all processes of social categorisation are dependent on one another to construct meaning (Crenshaw 1989; see also the theme series essays on intersectionality in the 'Thirty-year retrospective on language, gender, and sexuality research', this issue). As hegemonic masculinity is shaped through the institution of heterosexuality (Connell 1995:78), the same can be said for hegemonic femininity. In her seminal essay, 'Compulsory heterosexuality and lesbian existence', Adrienne Rich (1980:632) argued that the 'institution of heterosexuality […] is a beachhead for male dominance'. Rich demonstrated how the normalisation of heterosexuality as the 'common sense' organisation for social life, both in mainstream society and mainstream feminism, has marginalised lesbian women by rendering their existence 'invisible, deviant [and] abhorrent' (Rich 1980:633). The complementarity to hegemonic masculinity that defines hegemonic femininity is embodied by heterosexuality. Men and women are opposites who complement each other, and this fuels the belief that men and women must naturally want to be together romantically. This link between compulsory heterosexuality and hegemonic femininity is shown as occurring at a very early age in Eckert's (1996:184) study on fifth graders in a Northern California elementary school, where the 'heterosexual marketplace' brought boys and girls into 'mutual and conscious engagement with gender differentiation'. Eckert found that the most popular girls in school were those who had had boyfriends. In other words,

girls who were actively engaging in heterosexual norms enjoyed greater social value than girls who were not, rendering lesbian femininity invisible, differentiated and ultimately subordinated to heterosexual femininity.

Furthermore, the hegemony of racism in the West has also led to the subordination of nonwhite identities. Audre Lorde (1996:99) defines racism as the 'belief in the inherent superiority of one race over all others and thereby its right to dominance'. In the case of Western society, this superior race is the white, Anglo-European race (Collins 2002; Harris-Perry 2011). It is well documented that the female experience consistently presented and normalised in Western society is the white experience, and controlling images such as the 'Angry Black Woman' suppress the suffering of women of colour and legitimise their subordination (Collins 2002; Harris-Perry 2011). Even feminism itself emerges as a force that can be manipulated to perpetuate such biases. Pyke and Johnson (2003:41) found that second-generation Asian women in the United States tend to construct two cultural worlds as monolithic opposites, with the 'mainstream' (American) as gender-equal and the 'ethnic' (Asian) as gender-oppressive. Hence, the subordination of other cultures and races is justified by propagating a belief that nonwhite cultures are inherently gender-oppressive. White women's power over nonwhite women is naturalised as an effect of their whiteness, which gives them the authority to police women of colour's gender practices based on white women's experience of supposed gender equality.

Yet Lears (1985:571) argued that Gramsci's conception of power as a cultural process of obtaining consent for subjugation leaves room for the possibility of counterhegemonies. However, dominant groups can 'revitalise' the hegemonic culture by incorporating symbolism from such counterhegemonies. For example, subordinated (i.e. feminine) practices have been found in expressions of hegemonic masculinity, such as the male use of beauty (or 'grooming') products (Barthel 1992:149). Demetriou (2001:345) explains that hegemonic masculinity 'appropriates […] what appears pragmatically useful and constructive for the production of dominance at a particular historical moment'. In other words, the hegemonic model of masculinity legitimates elements of subordinate/marginalised identities, particularly those stereotypically associated with femininity or gay masculinity, such as concern over appearance, in order to appear more appealing to those who may otherwise challenge it.

Such adaptations can be found in representations of femininity. For instance, Goldman (1992) proposed that advertisements incorporate the cultural power of feminism whilst domesticating its radical critique of the media's objectification of women. This merging of feminist themes with traditional (pre-second wave) aspects of femininity undermines the collective and political call to arms of feminism in favour of the superficial

and individualised symbolism that Goldman (1992:131) labels 'consumer feminism'. More recently, in her FCDA of jewellery adverts, Lazar (2014) concluded that advertisers had updated their images of femininity through the construction of a 'hybrid postfeminist I-dentity'. Goldman's and Lazar's interventions are symptomatic of the rise since the 1990s of 'postfeminism', defined by McRobbie (2004:255) as 'the active process by which second-wave feminist gains have become undermined, which draws on feminism in a way that suggests that equality has already been achieved'. In this postfeminist perspective, women are represented as already enjoying an equal footing with men; feminism has achieved its goal and there can consequently be no reason for its continued political presence (Litosseliti, Gill and Garcia Favaro 2019). The notion of the collective, emancipatory struggle is abandoned, and women remain encouraged to cultivate the tropes of femininity whilst being told that this is now their empowered choice rather than their subjugation (for more on the neoliberal order in postfeminism, see Eberhardt 2021).

Gender Difference: the key to female success in *Heat*

At the heart of the 'Gender Difference' discourse is the notion of complementarity. Hence, this is a discourse that is supportive of gender as a binary that dictates both gender identity and practice. For instance, the post-Second World War revitalisation of the separate spheres discourse dictated that men belonged to the public and political sphere, whilst women belonged to the domestic, familial sphere (Beauvoir 1997[1949]; Friedan 2010[1963]). Though the notion of separate spheres is now widely considered outdated, the 'Gender Difference' discourse remains dominant in *Heat,* but it operates in a subtler way than the hyper-feminised image of the housewife that has come to epitomise the return to 'traditional values' of the 1950s. The updating of this discourse in *Heat* reflects late-modern neoliberal ideology, where women are presented as *choosing* their feminine role in the domestic sphere. Thus, their complicity in their own oppression is advertised to them as liberation – being 'free' to fulfil one's natural desires.

Below are some examples of the subdiscourses found within the umbrella discourse of 'Gender Difference'.

(1) The male sexual drive

This subdiscourse draws on 'Gender Difference' through the presupposition of innate characteristics in men that dictate their social practice – in this case, men's actions are at the mercy of their sexual drive (Kosetzi

and Polyzou 2009). Taken for granted in this subdiscourse is that the male sexual drive is a biological characteristic shared by men that evolved to increase their reproductive success by 'spreading their seed' (Jackson and Scott 2004). Features of this subdiscourse include declaratives establishing the male sexual drive as a commonsense aspect of male gender.

A typical problem featured in *Heat* is of men struggling to commit to long-term, monogamous relationships and family-building. Implied through this is that women have to work to 'tie down' a man in order to get what they wish for: a committed relationship leading to marriage and children. Thus, women are active in a relationship, whilst men remain passive (Eckert 1996). This discourse is seen in the following two sentences about popular music star turned fashion designer Victoria Beckham (Example 1) and reality TV star Kim Kardashian (Example 2):

1. 'Vic is hoping to put a little extra spice into her marriage' (Issue 970:6–9)
2. 'She knows her husband loves her, and she trusts him – but, he is a man' (Issue 972:16–17)

Both examples foreground women's role as wives, while their husbands remain absent or passive. The word 'spice' in Example 1 is both a metaphor for sexual raunchiness and a reference to fashion designer Victoria Beckham's former membership in the girlband Spice Girls. In the 1990s, the Spice Girls became a symbol of 'Girl Power' and popular feminism with their emphasis on sexual subjectivity and fashion (Genz 2009). 'Spice' is thus infused with connotations of active sexuality that highlights Victoria as a sexually confident social actor. Similarly, in Example 2, the first clause takes up feminist themes of self-assurance. The verbs 'know' and 'trust' suggest that reality TV star Kim Kardashian is confident of her position as rapper Kanye West's wife. However, the short declarative that follows, 'he is a man', undermines her assertion by presupposing that Kanye's sexuality is actually out of Kim's control – his identification as a 'man' presuming his sexual drive.

Examples 3 and 4 show how *Heat* directs both Victoria and Kim's sexuality towards the male sexual drive:

3. 'David prefers her in tight, sexy outfits' (Issue 970:6–9)
4. 'Come to bed, Kanye' (Issue 972:6–17, Figure 1)

In Example 3, female agency is exercised only in anticipation of the male sexual drive. For all Victoria's sexual subjectivity, it is her husband, ex-footballer David Beckham, who is active in his desire and Victoria who is the passive beneficiary. Victoria's agency lies not in her sexual drive, but

in willingly conceding to the male gaze and, by doing so, accepting her role as existing to feed her husband's sexual appetite.

On the other hand, in the image captioned by Example 4 (see Figure 1), taken from a post on Kim's Instagram, Kim's direct engagement with the camera suggests a *self*-positioning as the sexual subject, actively inviting the viewer/voyeur gaze. She reclines nude in bed and gazes directly at the camera, with her breasts pixelated and her genitals covered by a well-positioned duvet. Kardashian is hugely popular on social media like Instagram, and here she can be seen to be using her sexuality in a way that will gain her publicity. Kim embodies what Rosalind Gill labels the 'midriff' – the postfeminist female subject, whose body is her primary source of capital and identity (Gill 2008:42). Yet the caption 'Come to bed, Kanye' re-presents the image of Kim as an interaction with her husband. Her sexuality is repositioned within the framework of her marriage, rather than in the public space of social media. The narrative does work to remove Kim's agency and assertion of her identity in the public space and recontextualise it as symptomatic of her role as a wife. Kim, like Victoria, is positioned as using her sexuality to (re)gain her husband's attention by proving her desirability, and so saving their marriage.

Figure 1: 'Come to bed, Kanye'.
Adapted by *Heat* (Issue 972:16) from a Kim Kardashian Instagram post.

However, unlike the jovial style of the article about Victoria and David Beckham's sex life, Kardashian is ridiculed for her sexuality and labelled attention-seeking in the article text. The magazine interprets Kim's Instagram post as an attempt to control her husband's sexual drive and keep it directed at her through a 'media mission to remind [her husband] and the world' of her attractiveness. Collins (2002) argues that white women have traditionally been culturally positioned as innocent, docile and passive, and therefore as needing to have their sexuality protected. In contrast to Kim, Victoria is presented as having to practice being sexually confident out of desire to please her husband and fulfil her complementary feminine role. She 'hopes' she can spice up her marriage and fulfil David's desire. The diminutive adverb 'little' before 'spice' mitigates her sexuality, ensuring that she is not overly sexualised. Victoria's activeness in the relationship is only directed towards her husband and his desires, and so her sexuality is positively positioned.

Though Kim has white privilege, her husband is African American. Black men have been subjected to the racist stereotype of having a virulent sexual appetite that poses a threat to white women and must therefore be contained by white men (Collins 2002; Harris-Perry 2011). Thus, the ridicule of Kim's active sexuality by *Heat* has racialised connotations that suggest that a white woman using her sexuality to appeal to her Black husband is condemnable, whereas a white woman using her sexuality to appeal to her white husband is legitimate. Interracial relationships are subordinated because they demonstrate white women's willing sexual availability to non-white, and so nonhegemonic, men. The innocence that compels Victoria to 'practice' her sexuality validates the centricity of the white male gaze. On the other hand, the white privilege that Kim enjoys is contaminated by her willing sexual relationship with a Black man. She is portrayed as having lost her sexual innocence, suggested by the ridicule of her sexuality as a spectacle (available to the world as well as her husband). Though both women do direct their sexuality towards their husbands' sexual drive, Kim is subordinated to Victoria because her sexuality is not restricted to the hegemonic (white) male sexual drive.

(2) Fear of 'the other woman'

Texts foregrounding this subdiscourse mobilise comparisons between the legitimate spouse or partner and 'the other woman' (TOW). Men are backgrounded in such narratives, while the action of (perceived) infidelity between the man and TOW is foregrounded (van Leeuwen 1996). This presupposes that men are absolved of responsibility for their actions through the assumption that they are driven by an inherent biological drive. On the other hand, TOW is positioned as the primary social actor

and is condemned because her actions undermine the social order (i.e. the nuclear family). This can be related back to gender stereotypes which cast the (white) wife as innocent and docile. On the other hand, TOW is positioned as malicious because her sexuality actively destabilises – rather than upholds – the family, as seen in Examples 5 and 6.

5. 'As if I'd let Rita ruin everything' (Issue 970:15)
6. 'made it her mission to keep herself in the news' (Issue 977:15)

Example 5 represents speech from singer Cheryl regarding her suspicions over the working relationship between her partner at the time, singer Liam Payne, and popstar Rita Ora. By naming Rita, Cheryl presents her as an active participant in this story, yet Rita is subjected to judgement without the agency to respond. Meanwhile, Liam's involvement is virtually absent from the whole text. The verb 'ruin' assigns agency to Rita and aligns her specifically with malicious intent – what Rita has done or wishes to do would be harmful to Cheryl. Similarly, in an article regarding footballer Wayne Rooney's infidelity to his wife Coleen (Example 6), the agency is given to TOW through the noun 'mission', suggesting targeted and deliberate action. The article text takes up the perspective of Coleen, and TOW – like Rita – is assessed and condemned, but not given a voice herself.

The quotations in Examples 7–9 are from articles centred on the responses of female celebrities to their husbands cheating or moving on. Example 7 is taken from the same article as Example 6, above, about Coleen and Wayne Rooney's marriage. Example 8 is about the marriage of Christine Martin and TV personality Paddy McGuinness, and Example 9 is about actor Jennifer Aniston's supposed grief in seeing her ex-husband, actor Justin Theroux, move on with another woman.

7. 'Coleen's tears: / "WHY WON'T SHE LEAVE US ALONE?"' (Issue 977:15)
8. 'Christine […] was said to be "distraught" about the pictures' (Issue 975:10–13)
9. 'Jen's / PAIN OVER / JUSTIN'S / BABY' (Issue 979:10–11)

In Example 7, represented speech from Coleen places her in the subject position. By using the verb 'tears' to frame Coleen's voice, she is presented as emotional and deserving of sympathy. In Examples 8 and 9, the focus is also on the distress of betrayed women, positioning them as the victims of TOW's agency. The foregrounding of emotiveness in adjectives like 'distraught' and 'pain' reifies the passivity and vulnerability of the female subjects by emphasising helplessness.

Both Coleen and Christine occupy the mother role in these discussions, as shown in Examples 10 and 11 below. The mother identity, when

it pertains to white women, is tied to the familial sphere and is elevated through associations with morality and selflessness. This is diametrically opposed to the 'party girl' identity of TOW, associated with irresponsible behaviour (drinking, for instance) and decreased inhibitions (such as sexual promiscuity).

10. 'Wayne's party girl' (Issue 977:15)
11. 'Paddy & Nicole's blurry night out' (Issue 975:10–13)

Ultimately, both Christine and Coleen are personalised through the subjectivity created by foregrounding their emotions and speech, whilst TOW is dehumanised by the suppression of her voice and feelings in the text. The heteronormative nuclear family is enshrined as the 'common sense' or hegemonic organisation of social life through the identification of the legitimate spouse as the morally authorised mother, whilst TOW is functionalised – she is defined by her actions rather than any essential identity (van Leeuwen 1996).

(3) Desperately seeking…

This subdiscourse is the counterpart to the 'male sexual drive' because it pertains to women being willing to do anything for a long-term, monogamous and committed relationship – one that would result in the traditional feminine role of wife and mother. Like the 'male sexual drive', this draws on evolutionary gender difference theory, which presupposes that women are biologically tied to childbearing/rearing and so seek long-term relationships that would help them during this time (Jackson and Scott 2004). In this discourse, what makes the woman 'desperate' is her struggle to find a life partner. In McRobbie's (2009:12) problematising of the *Bridget Jones* franchise – the books and film adaptations that follow the titular character as she humorously struggles to fulfil her desire for a 'happily ever after' narrative whilst negotiating her life as a modern working woman in her 30s – she claims that what ultimately endears us to Bridget is that what she longs for (marriage) is 'reassuringly feminine'. In the 'desperately seeking' subdiscourse, however, the female subject is not endearing but pitiful. This is because she focuses all of her agency and energy on seeking the 'feminine' dream and yet fails. She has become what Bridget Jones fears most: the unloved spinster. The desperate woman is presented as too agentive because, in her desire to find her Prince Charming, she destroys the feminine passivity that traditionally characterises women in romance narratives.

This is seen in Examples 12 and 13, drawn from articles concerning reality TV star Kylie Jenner's relationship with her 'baby daddy' (rapper Travis Scott) and reality TV star Charlotte Crosby's relationship with 'her new

man'. Here, the female subjects are presented as struggling to get their partners to commit.

12. 'She's desperate for them to raise Stormi as a couple, but he's not so sure' (Issue 977:30)
13. 'She's already in love with her new man of four months, Joshua Ritchie – despite the fact he hasn't said it back' (Issue 979:21)

The adverb 'already' in Example 13 indicates that Charlotte is moving too quickly, suggesting desperation through her urgent desire to be in a committed relationship. Both examples also indicate, through dependent clauses at the end of the sentence, the unreceptiveness of their partners.

This is a key element of the desperate woman – either the (always) male subject of their desire is uninterested or they are unable to find one at all, as is the case in Examples 14–16, which are about another reality TV star: Lauren Goodger.

14. 'LAUREN: 'I'M HAVING A SPERM DONOR BABY' (Issue 975)
15. 'Luckily, the only thing standing in her way, ahem, comes in a petri dish.' (Issue 975:30)
16. 'Broody Lauren turns / to sperm donor' (Issue 975:30)

The use of the noun phrase 'sperm donor baby' in Example 14 foregrounds artifice and anonymity of paternity, identifying the child as a process rather than a person through nominalisation (van Leeuwen 1996). The child that Lauren wishes to have is dehumanised based on the absence of a man, which is reinforced in the corresponding article. The exclamation 'ahem' in Example 15 creates a break in the flow of the sentence, which flags the topic as taboo. This is further expressed by the hedging of meaning through puns, pauses and euphemisms like 'petri dish', which alludes to artificial insemination by referring to an isolated element of the method. This renders artificial insemination distinct from the presupposed norm, and consequently denaturalises alternative family organisation, such as single mothers or lesbian couples who may use artificial insemination. In sum, Lauren is marginalised because of her inability to attract a man to impregnate her.

Example 16 is the headline of the article. The use of the adjective 'broody' establishes Lauren's identity immediately as dependent on her biology. Her desire for children is framed as inevitable. The verb form 'turns' presupposes that artificial insemination is a last resort action by indicating a change of direction such that the natural or 'normal' course of motherhood is not taken, though it must have been her first choice. This sets up the assumption that 'real' women have children through heterosexual intercourse, authenticating femininity based on biological sex – or

'wombhood'. Lauren is desperate because she is willing to try anything to attain the mother identity – so much so that she will subject herself to the humiliation of needing an anonymous sperm donor to give her a child. She does not fulfil the passivity found in mothers who are positively positioned in the magazine, like Coleen Rooney or Victoria Beckham.

In Example 17, represented speech provides the reader with insight into Lauren's own reasoning. The first sentence in the example casts Lauren as desperate for a child in the 'natural' sense by reporting that she wants to be in a (heterosexual) romantic relationship and, presumably, conceive naturally. However, in the second sentence, Lauren orients towards an 'Independent Woman' identity by displaying self-assurance and agency through her active role (McRobbie 2009).

17. 'She said she'd prefer to be in a relationship. She added, "I'm a strong independent woman who can go it alone".'

Although Lauren identifies her choice to have a child on her own as an empowering act of independence, she is identified by the narrative voice as desperate. As with Kim Kardashian, the narrative repositions the female subject into an identity suited to the 'Gender Difference' discourse. In this case, Lauren's self-identification as an 'Independent Woman' is presented by the authoritative author-voice as hiding her true identity as the 'Desperate Woman'.

The Independent Woman: updating hegemonic femininity

The 'Independent Woman' discourse apparently contradicts and opposes the 'Gender Difference' discourse, as it draws on feminist themes of power, independence and agency. Yet in all such narratives, feminist themes are counterbalanced with more traditional themes of femininity, such as romance, marriage and children. The 'Independent Woman' aligned *Heat* with postfeminist discourse through its presupposition of equality. Typical of this discourse is what van Leeuwen (1996:43) labelled 'activation', where social actors are positioned as active, dynamic forces. Women are presented as empowered through their choices, yet the only choices which are positively presented are those which reinforce hegemonic femininity – i.e. choosing to be a mother and wife (McRobbie 2004). Thus, the hierarchical organisation of femininity is actually reinforced but rebranded as feminist through the assumption that the choices available for white, heterosexual, cisgender and extremely wealthy women without disabilities represent choices available to all women.

(4) She doesn't need a man

This subdiscourse focuses specifically on women's independence from men – their freedom from the oppressive social structures which formerly made it a social imperative for a woman to find a husband in order to enjoy success. However, the female celebrities in such narratives are typically already married or in heterosexual relationships. The notion of not 'needing' a man is basically framed as a contingency plan or face-saving mechanism which women could present to counter ridicule over the stability of these relationships. Declaratives and modal auxiliary verbs convey conviction and emphasise the female celebrity's power, control and confidence. Yet men are still at the centre of these narratives, as in Examples 18–20.

18. 'Now the mum of four [Coleen Rooney] is putting herself first' (Issue 983)
19. 'Kim: "I'll be fine without Kanye"' (Issue 967)
20. 'Posh tells David: / "IT'S TIME TO PUT MYSELF FIRST"' (Issue 974:22)

These declaratives represent a break from the passive wife role, and lexis such as 'now' and 'it's time' suggest an immediacy that implies action. However, in the narrative text, all of these women are depicted as actively striving to save their marriages, and their assertions are actually responses to their husband's disinterestedness in them. Moreover, these assertions are made in the context of the family: in Example 18, Coleen is identified solely as a mother, and in Examples 19 and 20, Kim and Victoria either address their assertions to their husbands or comment on them. Hence, what is presupposed in all articles is that these women usually put others – their children and husbands – before themselves and so are primarily identified according to their wife/mother roles. This forges a cause-and-effect association between relationship struggles and the need for independence, which suggests that 'putting [themselves] first' is merely a reactionary exception to the rule, as in Example 21.

21. 'there's nothing like rumours of husband troubles to reignite Girl Power' (Issue 974:22)

In this example, Victoria Beckham's feminist assertions are linked to her familial role. Once more referring to Victoria's fame in the Spice Girls, the narrative voice explicitly connects Victoria's assertiveness to (post) feminism, which the Spice Girls popularised through the 'Girl Power' slogan (Genz 2009). However, in this example, a relationship is established between romantic failure ('husband troubles') and the need for feminist action ('Girl Power'). Feminist claims to independence are presented

superficially – as face-saving techniques that allow women to avoid being labelled as failures when their relationships fail.

(5) Self-care

'Self-care' is intertextually linked with spiritual practice (i.e. meditation and mindfulness) and shares interdiscursive links with 'self-love' discourse. In Black feminist thought, self-love is a radical and subversive political act that aims to undermine white beauty standards by empowering Black women to love themselves as they are (Lorde 1996; Collins 2002). At the same time, 'self-care' is strongly linked to consumerist narratives, with an emphasis on consumption through pampering (cf. Glapka 2018; Rojas-Sosa 2020). *Heat* frames self-care as a feminist act. Women, who are typically encouraged to look after others before themselves, are encouraged instead to indulge in themselves. However, unlike the politicised, spiritual 'self-love' discourse, 'self-care' tends to focus on what can be done *to* the body, rather than celebrating it as it is and for what is within it. McRobbie (2009:19) argues that the increasing popularity of self-help books, life coaches and gurus is symptomatic of a neoliberal emphasis on self-monitoring that puts responsibility on women to improve themselves and become successful, suppressing the structural and political obstacles that they still face. This reinforces the cultural hegemony of neoliberal capitalist patriarchy and its emphasis on individualism. Freedom and independence are premised in *Heat* through the notion of individual choice, which is to be found in the purchasing of things rather than in collective resistance or advocacy for equal rights (Lazar 2014).

An advert for a magazine app was included in almost every issue of *Heat* in this dataset and encapsulates the lifestyle that *Heat* encourages its female readers to adopt. It depicts a white woman either reclining or sitting on a sofa, reading a magazine. The question shown in Example 22 is imposed over this image in bold black writing.

22. 'LIFE…WHERE'S THE PAUSE BUTTON?'

The use of ellipsis isolates the first lexis, 'life'. Through this use, 'life' is loaded by the implication that there is much involved in the term that cannot be said. The idea of a metaphorical 'pause button' enhances this by suggesting that 'life' is something that is done at full speed, requiring us (the female audience) to be reminded to take a break. The text that appears beneath the question is shown in Example 23:

23. 'With so many demands from work, home and family […] press pause […] curl up with your favourite magazine and put a little oasis of "you" in your day'

The text portrays women (both the model in the advert and 'you', the reader) as powerhouses of energy. However, we are also encouraged to view women's 'life' in a traditional sense through the inclusion of 'home and family', which invoke the domestic sphere traditionally reserved for women. They have entered the world of work but are also expected to maintain the same level of investment in domestic work, creating the defining list of three: 'work, home and family'. Thus, women's 'life' is reduced to fulfilling the demands of other people – work and maintaining the home, presumably for her children and husband. This strain is presented as something which can be resolved through purchasing the correct commodity and isolating oneself back in the domestic setting (curling up on the sofa with a magazine). The postfeminist modern woman who 'has it all' is presented as overworked and overcommitted to encourage women to believe that they have only a limited amount of energy, which is exhausted by their work and home lives and must be replenished through individualist and consumer practices which take women back to the private, domestic sphere.

Returning to Examples 18 and 20, both Coleen Rooney and Victoria Beckham engage in self-care by 'putting themselves first'. However, not only does this position women prioritising themselves as exceptional, it presupposes that women only do so when their first option (marriage) is failing. Implicitly, women putting others before themselves and prioritising their marriage are normalised, and independence ('she doesn't need a man') is viewed as interchangeable with, or equal to, self-care. Self-care is a temporary release, an 'oasis' to visit within one's everyday life, but not to surpass or radically challenge it.

(6) The sexually liberated woman

Genz (2009) attributes the 'sexual subjectivity' of women to postfeminist culture, which embraces and celebrates women's (hetero)sexual desire. This certainly influences *Heat*'s representation of women and marks a shift from the 'soft porn' representations criticised by second wave feminists like Rich (1980). McRobbie (2009) argues that being sexually liberated is a typical characteristic of the young modern woman, who is free to enjoy sex without long-term repercussions and can consequently become an active participant in sexual pleasure. Features typical of this discourse are the objectification of men and explicit language about sex (i.e. pages dedicated to sexual pleasure, both for sex with partners and masturbation). Though the language is celebratory and lighthearted, female desirability is still foregrounded and men remain the central focus.

This 'sexually liberated woman' subdiscourse is also visible in Example 4, in the image posted by Kim Kardashian to Instagram where she reclines nude in bed. In her analysis of lingerie adverts in the 1990s, Amy-Chinn

(2006:160) argued that the female model was displayed as *choosing* to engage in 'heterosexually attractive bodily behaviour', comparable to Kim in this image. Amy-Chinn notes that this shift – though framed as empowering – actually reproduces the notion that women's identity lies in their sexual appeal to men and continues to marginalise lesbian women to hegemonic heteronormativity.

Perhaps most demonstrative of the 'sexually liberated woman' subdiscourse in *Heat*, however, is the '#HUSBAND GOALS' feature, which awards the title of 'torso of the week' to a different male celebrity in each issue. In the feature, a topless picture of the chosen man (who is always white) dominates the page, and a column next to the image contains a brief, bullet-pointed commentary on the choice. Although the legalisation of same-gender marriage in England, Scotland and Wales at the time of analysis means that this hashtag feature could apply to gay men, lesbian women are erased. Due to the predominantly female readership of *Heat*, together with the fact that (throughout the analysis) *Heat* almost exclusively focuses on heterosexual couples, marriage is framed in heteronormative terms.

Examples 24–28 show how features of hegemonic masculinity, such as physical fitness and strength, are exalted. Depicting actors Joe Manganiello (Examples 24–26) and Mark Wahlberg (Examples 27 and 28), the examples refer to the male body in a way that draws on traditional gender stereotypes.

24. 'physical fittings of a Grecian god' (Issue 983:43)
25. 'bulking up those muscles' (Issue 983:43)
26. 'arm muscles that scream "I'll protect you babe, but also hug you tight"' (Issue 983:43)
27. 'rock-hard abs' (Issue 970:41)
28. '"Keep getting after it, and be more and more aggressive, more and more focused every day." Grrr.' (Issue 970:41)

Both men are positively evaluated and seen as desirable because of their strength (Examples 24–27) or aggression and competitiveness (Example 28), drawing on the biological determinism of gender difference in which women's physical weakness makes them desire strong men for protection. It is this desire for protection that attracts the female writer/reader to Wahlberg's determination in Example 28, and leads to an expression of sexuality, conveyed through quasi-animalistic sounds ('Grrr') that place sex in a carnal context typically associated with expressions of the male sexual drive (Kosetzi and Polyzou 2009). Though women's sexuality is foregrounded, in all of these features the man is praised as more desirable if he has a family and has therefore proved his hegemonic masculinity by demonstrating protectiveness over his wife and children. The sexual objectification of men in *Heat* thus conveys a traditional purpose for the female

sexual subject – to find a husband and start a family, as is made clear in the title of the feature itself: '#HUSBAND GOALS'.

Conclusion

The interdiscursivity between the 'Gender Difference' and the 'Independent Woman' discourses shapes *Heat* and establishes the magazine's neoliberal postfeminist identity. Within 'Gender Difference', traditional femininity is re-presented through the authentication of separate spheres as a 'common sense' organisation of social life. Women are positively positioned when they are in a relationship and putting in the relationship work, whilst men are absent from such narratives, giving the impression that romance and domestic life in marriage and parenthood is 'women's work'. The subjects repeatedly referenced are Coleen Rooney and Victoria Beckham. These women are dominant within the magazine's pages because they are archetypal of *Heat*'s values: the narratives in which they are presented focus around their identity as mothers and wives. That these women are married to wealthy white men, in particular to footballers, validates complementarity to hegemonic masculinity, reflected also in the '#HUSBAND GOALS' section of the magazine. Queer women and women of colour are rarely positioned as the subject of any narrative which personalises them. This is indicative of the reproduction of hegemonic femininity that encourages *Heat*'s female readers to idealise the white, heterosexual experience, and so generate 'spontaneous consent' for hegemonic femininity (Gramsci 1971).

On the other hand, the 'Independent Woman' discourse foregrounds independence and sexual liberation for women. Female subjects are often presented as active in placing themselves in the subject position, in apparent contradiction to heteronormative ideals of marriage. Yet there is no conflict between the 'Gender Difference' and the 'Independent Woman' discourses. In fact, traces of the 'Independent Woman' are found in all 'Gender Difference' narratives, and vice versa. This merging indicates what has been stated before by Hanke (1992:197) regarding hegemonic masculinity: counterhegemonic forces, like feminism, are assimilated through the recuperation of patriarchal ideology to be adaptable to contemporary social conditions – i.e. shifts in women's role in the public sphere. *Heat* uses language to give the impression of a feminist orientation, but attributes this supposedly feminist identity to traditional characteristics. The assimilation of feminism exemplified by the 'Independent Woman' is superficial; it is not accompanied by any real shift in the perception of women's role.

Significantly, these findings support those of previous studies on femininity and masculinity, adding to a catalogue of work that shows mass media to be key to maintaining hegemonic gender identities (Benwell

2003; Kosetzi and Polyzou 2009; Saraceno and Tambling 2013; Lazar 2014). However, this study goes further by applying an intersectional perspective to extend Schippers' definition of hegemonic femininity, demonstrating how institutionalised power relationships amongst women are policed in neoliberalist media. By deconstructing representations of femininity through an intersectional feminist critical perspective, these representations are opened up to questioning, which allows for the identification of targets for feminist strategies of resistance, such as calling for more varied media representation that emphasises the collective of sisterhood (Lazar 2005). However, more research into hegemonic femininity is required, in particular how it intersects with other social dimensions, such as ability and class. Furthermore, the spread of a 'postfeminist sensibility' into non-Western cultures, suggested in Litosseliti et al. (2019), is an area of study that could be developed using this framework.

Gramsci's argument that culture maintains the dominance of the ruling classes through spontaneous consent opened up the dialogue surrounding the maintenance of power in society. *Heat* reflects British culture; its emphasis on 'celeb gossip' is representative of our society's fixation with celebrity. The magazine's back sections on fashion and TV additionally reflect global popular culture. But *Heat* also shapes culture. The 'Independent Woman' discourse acts as the vehicle to reproduce white, heterosexual femininity as hegemonic by presenting feminism as positioned within, rather than against, the white supremacist capitalist patriarchy (hooks 2000). In re-presenting feminism as a state of mind achieved through assertion of the self, female readers are led to believe that their position in patriarchy is desirable, encouraging them to 'consent' to their own subordination through the illusion that they have been liberated already. This liberation is supposedly evident in women's ability to participate in choice: as long as a woman chooses to follow her natural desire to be a wife and a mother, she is an 'Independent Woman'. The two are no longer divergent, but rather fulfil one another.

About the author

Camila Montiel McCann is a doctoral candidate in linguistics at the University of Liverpool, where she also received her degree in English and MRes with distinction. Camila's doctoral research analyses the positioning of women and minority genders in British broadsheet news articles and is funded by the NWCDTP.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank *Gender and Language* for the opportunity to publish this research. In particular, I would like to thank the peer reviewers and editors for their feedback and guidance. A special thank you to my supervisors and mentors, Dr Sofia Lampropoulou and Dr Ursula Kania. It has been their faith in my research and ability that has led to the development of my MRes thesis into the present article.

References

Amy-Chinn, Dee (2006) This is just for me(n): how the regulation of post-feminist lingerie advertising perpetuates woman as object. *Journal of Consumer Culture* 6(2): 155–175. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1469540506064742

Barthel, Diane (1992) When men put on appearances: advertising and the social construction of masculinity. In Steve Craig (ed) *Men, Masculinity and the Media* 137–153. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Baxter, Judith (2010) Discourse-analytic approaches to text and talk. In Lia Litosseliti (ed) *Research Methods in Linguistics* 117–137. London: Continuum.

Benwell, Bethan (2003) Ambiguous masculinities: heroism and anti-heroism in the men's lifestyle magazine. *Sociological Review* 51(S1): 151–168. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2003.tb03609.x

Cameron, Deborah and Kulick, Don (2003) *Language and Sexuality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511791178

Collins, Patricia Hill (2002) *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York: Routledge.

Connell, Raewyn W. (1987) *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Connell, Raewyn W. (1995) *Masculinities*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé (1989) Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: a Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1989(1): 193–167.

de Beauvoir, Simone (1997[1949]) *The Second Sex*. New edn. London: Vintage Books.

Demetriou, Demetrakis Z. (2001) Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity: a critique. *Theory and Society* 30(3): 337–361. http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/a:1017596718715

Eberhardt, Maeve (2021) Raucous feminisms in neoliberal times: disruptive potential and the language of unruliness on *Broad City*. *Gender and Language* 15(1): 65–88. https://doi.org/10.1558/genl.18824

Eckert, Penelope (1996) Vowels and nail polish: the emergence of linguistic style in the preadolescent heterosexual marketplace. In Natasha Warner, Jocelyn Ahlers, Leela Bilmes, Monica Oliver, Suzanne Wertheim and Mel Chen (eds) *Gender and Belief Systems: Proceedings of the Fourth Berkeley Women and Language Conference* 183–190. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Women and Language Group.

Friedan, Betty (2010[1963]) *The Feminine Mystique*. London: Penguin.
Garza, Joyhanna Yoo (2021) 'Where all my bad girls at?' cosmopolitan femininity through racialised appropriations in K-pop. *Gender and Language* 15(1): 11–41. https://doi.org/10.1558/genl.18565
Genz, Stephanie (2009) *Postfemininities in Popular Culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230234413
Gill, Rosalind (2008) Empowerment/sexism: figuring female sexual agency in contemporary advertising. *Feminism and Psychology* 18(1): 35–60. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353507084950
Glapka, Ewa (2018) Postfeminism – for whom or by whom? applying discourse analysis in research on the body and beauty (the case of black hair). *Gender and Language* 12(2): 242–268. https://doi.org/10.1558/genl.30898
Goldman, Robert (1992) *Reading Ads Socially*. London: Routledge.
Gramsci, Antonio (1971) *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith eds). London: Lawrence and Wishart.
Hanke, Robert (1992) Redesigning men: hegemonic masculinity in transition. In Steve Craig (ed) *Men, Masculinity and the Media* 185–197. Newbury Park, CA: Sage. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483326023.n13
Harris-Perry, Melissa V. (2011) *Sister Citizen: Shame, Stereotypes and Black Women in America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
hooks, bell (2000) *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*. London: Pluto Press.
Jackson, Stevi and Scott, Sue (2004) Sexual antinomies in late modernity. *Sexualities* 7(2): 233–248. https://doi.org/10.1177/1363460704042166
Kosetzi, Konstantia and Polyzou, Alexandra (2009) 'The perfect man, the proper man': representations of masculinities in *Nitro*, a Greek men's lifestyle magazine – an exploratory study. *Gender and Language* 3(2): 143–180. https://doi.org/10.1558/genl.v3i2.143
Lampropoulou, Sofia and Archakis, Argiris (2015) Constructing hegemonic masculinities: evidence from Greek narrative performances. *Gender and Language* 9(1): 83–103. http://dx.doi.org/10.1558/genl.v9i1.18348
Lazar, Michelle M. (2005) Politicizing gender in discourse: feminist critical discourse analysis as political perspective and praxis. In Michelle M. Lazar (ed) *Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis: Gender, Power and Ideology in Discourse* 1–30. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230599901_1
Lazar, Michelle M. (2014) Recuperating feminism, reclaiming femininity: hybrid postfeminist I-dentity in consumer advertisements. *Gender and Language* 8(2): 205–224. http://dx.doi.org/10.1558/genl.v8i2.205
Lears, T. J. Jackson. (1985) The concept of cultural hegemony: problems and possibilities. *American Historical Review* 90(3): 567–593. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1860957
Litosseliti, Lia, Gill, Rosalind and Garcia Favaro, Laura (2019) Postfeminism as a critical tool for gender and language study. *Gender and Language* 13(1): 1–22. http://dx.doi.org/10.1558/genl.34599
Lorde, Audre (1996) Scratching the surface: some notes on barriers to women and loving. In *The Audre Lorde Compendium: Essays, Speeches and Journals* 99–105. London: Pandora.

McRobbie, Angela (2004) Post-feminism and popular culture. *Feminist Media Studies* 4(3): 255–264. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1468077042000309937

McRobbie, Angela (2009) *The Aftermath of Feminism: Gender, Culture and Social Change*. London: Sage.

Moita-Lopes, Luiz Paulo (2006) On being white, heterosexual and male in a Brazilian school: multiple positionings in oral narratives. In Anna de Fina, Deborah Schiffrin and Michael Bamberg (eds) *Discourse and Identity* 288–313. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511584459.015

Pyke, Karen D. and Johnson, Denise L. (2003) Asian American women and racialized femininities: 'doing' gender across cultural worlds. *Gender and Society* 17(1): 33–53. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243202238977

Rich, Adrienne (1980) Compulsory heterosexuality and lesbian existence. *Signs* 5(4): 631–660. https://doi.org/10.1086/493756

Rojas-Sosa, Deyanira (2020) 'Should Latinas go blond?' media representation and the regulation of Latina bodies and Latinas' social and cultural practices in a beauty magazine. *Gender and Language* 14(1): 49–72. https://doi.org/10.1558/genl.36302

Saraceno, Michael J. and Tambling, Rachel B. (2013) The sexy issue: visual representations of heteronormativity and gender identities in *Cosmopolitan* magazine. *The Qualitative Report* 18(40): 1–18.

Schippers, Mimi (2007) Recovering the feminine other: masculinity, femininity and gender hegemony. *Theory and Society* 36(1): 85–102. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-007-9022-4

Statista (2018) Monthly reach of *Heat* magazine in Great Britain from April 2016 to March 2017, by demographic group (in 1,000s). Retrieved 18 December 2020 from https://www.statista.com/statistics/380770/heat-monthly-reach-by-demographic-uk/

Ussher, Jane M. (1997) *Fantasies of Femininity: Reframing the Boundaries of Sex*. London: Penguin.

van Leeuwen, Theo (1996) The representation of social actors. In Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard and Malcolm Coulthard (eds) *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis* 32–70. London: Routledge.