

Gender in Commercial Radio in New Zealand: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the “Secret Life of Girls”

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Attestation of Authorship

"I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning."

Signature _____
Stephanie Mearns

Date _____

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Abstract

Radio can be a highly gendered environment, but to date this has not been explored in New Zealand (Hendy, 2000; Karpf, 1980; Lacey, 2004). For scholars of New Zealand radio the deregulated, highly commercial environment is significant, and my own background in radio leads me to question the influence of commercial imperatives upon content. Feminist scholarship pays particular attention to advertising and commercial media, and in this respect the local radio industry proves to be a fruitful environment in which to explore issues of gender. It is in this context that this study sets out to investigate the construction of female gender in New Zealand commercial radio.

This study is grounded in the political economy of communication tradition, and is also influenced by feminist theory. Gender is viewed as a social construct which, for radio, is formed largely through speech. Fairclough's (1992) critical discourse analysis has been chosen as an appropriate method for a study of radio talk. The data selected consists of samples of the weekly feature *Secret Life of Girls* (SLOG) from station ZM.

Critical discourse analysis provides useful insights regarding gender within SLOG and the industry more widely. SLOG is a discursive environment of synthetic friendship, intimacy and pleasure. Female broadcasters produced and encouraged "girly" behaviour including hypersexualisation and a focus on appearance. Goods and services and the language of advertising featured prominently, positively emphasising consumption. The mix of advertising and neoliberal discourses amongst friendly discourse and assertive "girl power" talk highlights the postfeminist nature of SLOG. Postfeminism describes a contemporary representation of womanhood that combines feminist and anti-feminist ideals (Gill, 2003, 2007b). SLOG also displays what Talbot (1995) labels "synthetic sisterhood", which sees friendly, relatable discourse used to promote stereotypical feminising practices.

Fairclough's approach considers social power and introduces the critical concerns that form the conclusions of this study. Ideologies of postfeminism, patriarchy, and neoliberalism are identified, and the positive tone of the feature suggests that these exist hegemonically. The sustained presence of postfeminism throughout this feature shows that, while the message may have altered, the media continue to focus on women's appearances and consumer practices in a manner that stereotypes, distracts and depoliticises the female audience.

Such inequalities can be traced to the commercial imperatives of the radio environment. Even editorial content must placate advertisers and the wider capitalist system in which ZM exists (McChesney, 2008; Pietrykowski, 2009). This system relies on constant consumption and the products and services that exist to "feminise" women are important within this. The conclusions of this study reinforce the concerns of Mollgaard (2005, 2012; Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010) and Watts (2010), who argue that the New Zealand commercial radio industry prioritises profit above any civic responsibility.

Chapter One: Introduction

Purpose

This study takes place at the nexus of radio, gender, and discourse studies. It sets out to investigate the construction of female gender identity within the New Zealand radio broadcasting environment and to analyse this from a critical perspective. Chapter one provides the context for such a study by situating the research and me in the New Zealand radio industry. The New Zealand radio environment is unique due to the highly commercial nature of both its organisation and its on-air content. I have worked in advertising in this industry and observed the extent to which advertising dollars were prioritised above production creativity and audience esteem. As a critical researcher in the field of radio I am interested in the tensions between the commercial and creative imperatives of the industry, and it was with this in mind that I began thinking about if and how this effected how gender was enacted and discussed on air. This chapter goes on to provide an overview of the thesis to follow and the central themes of this project.

Context: The New Zealand Radio Environment

Deregulation and Rogernomics

The last twenty-five years of New Zealand radio are a global example of media deregulation. This environment has been shaped by the policy changes to the broadcasting sector in the late 1980s and early 1990s and so any discussion of the contemporary industry ought to begin here (Mollgaard, 2005; Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010; Shanahan & Duignan, 2005). These economic changes occurred under the Fourth Labour Government with Prime Minister David Lange, and came to be known as “Rogernomics” for the Minister of Finance, Roger Douglas (Kelsey, 1995). In less than a decade New Zealand industry shifted from heavy regulation for both public and private enterprise to a deregulated neoliberal system (Goldfinch, 1998; Kelsey, 1995). Under these neoliberal policies the government is said to treat individuals as economic

consumers rather than political citizens, and this shift is one that is important throughout this thesis as it is in contemporary capitalist society (Fairclough, 1992; Kelsey, 1995; Pietrykowski, 2009). Because of the speed and consistency of these changes New Zealand is seen as a model of neoliberal policy worldwide, as is the local radio industry for those particularly interested in deregulated broadcasting (Kelsey, 1995; Shanahan & Duignan, 2005).

Deregulating the Radio Industry

Along with many other state assets, state radio stations were sold to private interests during this period of deregulation (Cocker, 1992; Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010). From 1990 the state stations were sold off and New Zealand saw a proliferation of new stations, but, within five years, competition and the 1987 economic downturn saw a consolidation of brands as larger stations and non-radio corporations bought out those that were struggling (Mollgaard, 2005). These conglomerates benefitted from economies of scale in relation to advertising and broadcasting resources and the consolidation of stations continued until the industry became a duopoly (Mollgaard, 2005). The promise of deregulation was more choice within radio, and, although New Zealand is said to have more radio stations per capita than any other nation, networking and formatting limits the genuine choice available (Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010; Shanahan & Duignan, 2005).

The Radio Industry Today

The contemporary radio industry has two principal companies, *The Radio Network* and *MediaWorks Radio*. New Zealand continues to have two main state-funded national networks as well as a small number of private and community stations, but *The Radio Network* and *MediaWorks Radio* dominate the industry with their numerous brands. In 2010 Mollgaard and Rosenberg wrote that approximately 85% of New Zealand's radio audience listen to stations owned by either *The Radio Network* or *MediaWorks Radio*. These two companies give the impression of being intense adversaries on-air, but do work together to advance the commercial industry (Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010). *The Radio Network* and *MediaWorks Radio* are the main actors in *The Radio*

Broadcasters Association, which is involved in political lobbying and self-regulatory industry standards, and the two companies co-own *The Radio Bureau*, a radio advertising agency that represents radio on a national scale (Broadcasting Standards Authority, 2012; Radio Broadcasters Association, 2009; The Radio Bureau, 2013d). The current, centre-right New Zealand government gives little attention to broadcasting and their policy consists of a simple, two-page document that suggests maintenance of the status quo (Coleman, 2011). Mollgaard (2005; Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010) suggests that the lack of any clear government regulation allows the commercial operators to steer the industry to their own advantage. This is the sort of environment that saw the Prime Minister of New Zealand host his own radio show during the 2011 election campaign on the *MediaWorks* station *Radio Live*, despite the station being warned against the broadcast by the Electoral Commission (2012). The commission later found *Radio Live* to have breached election rules but no charges were laid by the Police (“No Charges Over PM” 2012).

The business practices of *The Radio Network* and *MediaWorks Radio* are widely criticised by local media scholars. Stations are seen to be tightly configured to generic radio formats and lacking any innovation for fear of losing the target demographic audience (Mollgaard, 2005; Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010; Watts, 2010). *The Radio Network* and *MediaWorks Radio* are said to be highly profit-orientated, with Watts (2010) finding that across four youth stations 67 percent of non-music content was commercial messaging and the rest, according to Watts, was inane chat. Radio is traditionally a local medium but today most content is broadcast out of Auckland with only local advertising and weather (Hendy, 2000; Norris & Comrie, 2005). This has resulted in job losses and fewer training opportunities for young broadcasters, a lack of local news coverage, and less attention to community content including local music (Cocker, 1992; Hope, 2004; Mollgaard, 2005; Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010; Norris & Comrie, 2005). Overall, there is concern amongst New Zealand media academics including Cocker (1992), Comrie (1999; Norris & Comrie, 2005), Hope (2004; Myllylahti & Hope, 2011), and Mollgaard (2005, 2012; Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010) that in the

pursuit of advertising dollars the radio industry has forgotten that its employees and audiences are stakeholders alongside shareholders and advertisers.

Although the local radio industry may be regarded as hyper-commercial, formulaic and duopolistic, it can also be considered very successful. The criticisms are true, but so too is the fact that the stations make dynamic and engaging radio in a highly competitive media environment. In a time of media convergence and constantly evolving digital media offerings New Zealand radio stations have managed to maintain audience numbers and appear to be financially stable (Mollgaard, 2012; The Radio Bureau, 2013c). Broadcasters engage with audiences successfully in the personable manner that radio is known for, and all stations have well-developed websites and social media pages. Anecdotally, the New Zealand industry is as advanced as similar English-speaking nations, albeit with a commercial slant.

Women in New Zealand Radio

Little academic or industry attention has been given to the subject of women within New Zealand radio, but here too generic attitudes appear to prevail. While there are more women making radio than ever before, anecdotal evidence suggests that there are still twice as many men than women on-air in New Zealand. The most obvious time gender is given attention in radio is in the target listener demographics, as most skew either male or female, particularly the rock and easy listening stations respectively (The Radio Bureau, 2013b). In New Zealand the business of private radio is to sell audiences to advertisers, and women are seen as an important demographic (Meehan, 2002; Stiernstedt, 2008). Blatant sexism is common on male-dominated rock stations *The Rock* and *Hauraki*. For example, *The Rock* has weekly features including “Hot Batch” (a pun on “bitch”) and the “Wind up Your Wife” comedy skit (MediaWorks Radio, 2013). Beyond this obtuse sexism, however, there is also much in the talk of easy listening and pop music station that reinforces stereotypical gender roles and plays on the tensions of “the opposite sex”. It is this less obvious gendering, particularly the sort presented as entertainment for female audiences, that caught my initial attention. Arguably, male representations are similarly stereotyped in this

environment, but as a female, and due to the established body of research on women in media, I chose to concentrate on female representations of gender. In other media, particularly the highly gendered and equally commercial magazine industry, studies have investigated representations of female gender from a critical feminist perspective (J. Coupland, 2007; Gill, 2009; Kuldip, Nalini, & Norimah Mohamad, 2013; Radner, 2004; Talbot, 1995; Thornborrow & Machin, 2003). Commercial radio appears to be a similar environment in which audiences are targeted by gender and meaningful connections are sought through personalised content and discourse, but the value of such messaging is questionable. Content has often been found to stereotype women and promote behaviour which advances patriarchal and commercial needs rather than those of the female audience.

My Experience of the New Zealand Radio Industry

My experiences of the New Zealand radio industry have shaped my critical approach to the study of commercial broadcasting. I spent three years working in commercial radio, two of those at the radio advertising company *The Radio Bureau*. As mentioned above, *The Radio Bureau* is co-owned by *The Radio Network* and *MediaWorks Radio* and works closely with all of their brands. The company exists to sell radio advertising and promotions to major nation-wide clients, but at times it seemed to me that there was more to the relationship with advertisers than selling advertising space and content. During my time at *The Radio Bureau* it was the advertising centre of a highly commercial industry, in a competitive media environment, during a global recession, and it was very clear that money was the priority. An obvious hierarchy existed in the industry that followed the flow of money; from clients, to their advertising agency, to *The Radio Bureau*, to the stations. The lack of any external or internal regulation addressing advertising meant that almost all content was available for sale and client requests were rarely rejected. While I never observed a client directly influencing non-commercial content, their interest was obvious and there were unwritten rules that ensured broadcasting content was friendly to the marketplace. The radio feature that forms the data for this study, *Secret Life of Girls* (SLOG) on ZM, was one radio product

that, despite client requests, was not available for sponsorship, and for this reason it is of particular interest as an editorial feature.

Studying Gender in New Zealand Radio

New Zealand radio has been anecdotally called “the canary in the cage” for the deregulation of media worldwide. When compared with the radio industries in English-speaking nations such as Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, it lacks regulation and is particularly commercial. Certain profit-orientated practices that have become the norm in New Zealand, for example nationwide networking and newsroom sponsorship, are gaining commercial and academic consideration in other nations (Francis, 2006; Griffen-Foley, 2004; Josephi, Phillips, & Businoska, 2005; Mollgaard, 2012; Norris & Comrie, 2005; Potter, 2006). It appears that when women are given attention in the local radio industry it is largely as a demographic to sell to advertisers. Hendy (2000) notes a tension in private radio between commercial imperatives and the creativity and conviviality necessary to successfully engage with audiences, and given the highly commercial nature of New Zealand radio it is likely that this tension exists for female audiences. The investigation of the construction of gender in New Zealand radio is the investigation of gender in a highly commercial, competitive, and also successful media environment. Given the academic attention given to gender in women’s magazines, I thought that New Zealand radio might provide equally interesting. The treatment of men in this industry also has the potential for investigation, but in considering the body of feminist research committed to women and the media this is where I chose to begin my study.

Overview of This Thesis

This study brings together a number of theories and themes to construct a critical investigation of radio products. This chapter has established the context of the commercial radio environment of New Zealand. This is important as it is the environment in which the data under investigation exists within and it is also the

environment that has done much to shape my critical perspective of New Zealand media.

Because gender in radio is an underdeveloped subject matter, particularly when situated in the commercial environment of New Zealand, a number of different theoretical concerns are explored and synthesised in chapter two's literature review. This project is grounded in the political economy of communication tradition, along with feminist theory. Gender theory is given particular attention to situate this study adequately within the diversity of approaches to identity, media, and language in this field. Commerce is central to New Zealand broadcasting and also intersects with female identity, and so this is discussed before the literature on radio is investigated in more detail. The breadth of the literature review highlights the unique approach this study takes, and introduces an opportunity to discuss the limitations of such an undertaking.

This research project uses a critical discourse analysis (CDA) methodology based on Norman Fairclough's 1992 text *Discourse and Social Change*. Chapter three argues that this provides a robust method well suited to both the talk of radio and the critical standpoints of political economy and feminism. The three levels of Fairclough's analysis provide the structure to the data analysis of chapter four, which is split into four sub-chapters. The first sub-chapter explains how the data samples of the radio feature SLOG on station ZM were selected, before the CDA begins. The three levels, and subsequent sub-chapters, are discourse as text, discourse as discursive practice, and discourse as social practice.

CDA has proven to be a valuable method that produces results which overlap and intensify at each level to establish the conclusions of the discussion chapter, chapter five. The discourse as text level establishes the discursive environment of SLOG as one that is friendly, intimate and engaging, but also substantially controlled by Polly, the principal broadcaster. The feature is found to be full of specific commercial messaging predicated upon the belief that "girly" female behaviour, including overt sexuality, grooming, and consumption, are normal and pleasurable activities for women.

The discourse as discursive practice sub-chapter invites a comparison of the discourses present and as such further evidence of advertising content is identified, as is the fact that such highly commercial messaging in an advertising-free “editorial” feature is unorthodox. This sub-chapter is also where postfeminism is introduced, as the strong presence of postfeminism throughout SLOG is a key finding of this study.

Postfeminism, as identified by Gill (2007a, 2007b), describes a female sensibility that entangles feminist and anti-feminist ideals. In one example amongst many in the data, SLOG sees the men “kicked out” in a display of female power, only for the privacy to be used to discuss high heels and reproduce the male gaze.

Hegemonic patriarchal ideology is found at each of the three levels of discourse analysis and postfeminism plays a central role within this. Neoliberal capitalist ideology is also identified throughout the feature and discussed in the discourse as social practice section of Chapter Four. It is of particular concern that such ideologies are found within an “independent”, female-centric environment that appears to utilise synthetic sisterhood and postfeminist empowerment to connect with the audience. For feminist scholars including Gill (2007b; 2011), Talbot (1995, 2005a, 2010) and Lazar (2005), the subtle, hegemonic nature of this sexism is particularly concerning. While the attitude has changed, the media continues to construct femininity in a manner that stereotypes, distracts and depoliticises the female audience.

At both the discourse as social practice level and also in the discussion chapter these findings are discussed in relation to the highly commercial New Zealand radio industry. The values of neoliberal capitalist ideology, and the postfeminist and patriarchal ideologies exploited to sell to women, are seen to create an environment favourable to advertisers that ultimately benefits radio station owners. This shows an imbalance of power in the structures of the radio station that prioritises shareholders and advertisers over listeners and employees, reinforcing the critical concerns of New Zealand radio scholars.

The data analysis and discussion chapters are followed by a concluding chapter, chapter six. Chapter six provides an overview of the thesis and also discusses the

limitations of the study. A number of opportunities for further research are also suggested, some of which could expand the study of gender and postfeminism in commercial media and others which could investigate other identities within the same environment. After the formal conclusion of the thesis an appendix includes the transcriptions of the ZM audio analysed, and a CD of audio is also provided with this document.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

This study takes place at the intersection of gender and media studies. It is informed by both the feminist and political economy of media traditions, which provide a strong critical foundation from which to interrogate communication that is both highly commercial and highly gendered. This chapter will begin by discussing the critical paradigm, including political economy of media and feminism, and will present an argument for the “friendly alliance” of the two approaches (Meehan & Riordan, 2002a). The historical and theoretical context of feminism and gender studies will then be outlined in relation to linguistics and media studies. Particular attention is paid to the role of language because of its prominence in both radio broadcasting and discourse analysis and also because of the influence popular texts such as Deborah Tannen’s (1990) *You Just Don’t Understand* have had on popular representations of gendered language (Holmes & Marra, 2010; Lacey, 2004; Talbot, 2010). This study takes a constructionist approach to gender and therefore definitions of sex and gender are explored before this stance is justified. In contemporary feminist media scholarship it is acknowledged that a critical approach need not ignore the pleasures gained from media, and so this is discussed as well. The subject of this study is editorial radio broadcasting content rather than advertising, but the commercial nature of New Zealand radio and the correlation between women, advertising, and popular feminine identity means that the role of advertising and consumption must be discussed (M. R. Andrews & Talbot, 2000; McRobbie, 1997, 2004). International radio scholarship brings this review back to linguistics because research on radio talk and the unique aural environment of radio are significant to any study of radio broadcasting outputs (Tolson, 1991, 2006). New Zealand radio scholarship suggests that any study in this field should take into account the history of deregulation and the highly commercial nature of the current industry (Mollgaard, 2012; Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010). No existing research on gender in New Zealand radio has been identified, but there is a small but well-established body of international scholarship that suggests that radio

can be “feminine”, but also that it continues to be an industry dominated by men (M. Andrews, 2012; Karpf, 1980; Lacey, 2004). This literature review aims to bring together this international and local research to establish the context in which this study of gender and commercial radio can be undertaken. This chapter concludes with a brief acknowledgement of the limitations of the project.

Critical Studies and Political Economy

This research is grounded in the critical tradition with a strong influence from the political economy of media school. The theory and research of political economy is concerned with the structures and power relationships of organisations and their influence upon ideology (Golding & Murdock, 1997; McChesney, 2008).

Communication is central to critical theory, and media and mass communication are of particular interest given the media’s role in shaping, disseminating and challenging ideologies (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008). In political economy of media the mainstream mass media is viewed as a system which is directly or indirectly controlled by political and economic forces (Golding & Murdock, 1997; Herman & Chomsky, 2002; McChesney, 2008). This view of systemic power and influence is one shared by feminist scholars. In a discussion of gender and media studies Mendes and Carter (2012) state “interpretation is not infinitely open, as mass media messages are structured by the ideological frameworks of media institutions which, for the most part, conform to the dominant power structures in society” (p. 1705). All critical researchers, including political economists and feminists, are committed to identifying and uncovering unequal power relationships (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008; Mosco, 2009). Moral philosophy, praxis, history and social change are all important within the critical approach, and as such practitioners often display moral concern for the systems in place (Golding & Murdock, 1997; Mosco, 2009; Wasko, 2005). Such a critical approach allows for an investigation of gender construction and power in the commercial media environment.

Political economy enables a critical and exploratory view of the media not often provided by neo-classical mainstream economic texts (McChesney, 2008; Wasko,

2005). Commercial radio stations, alongside television networks, newspapers and magazines (and now many online content providers), derive the majority of their revenue from advertisers rather than from audience members. The “commodity audience” is what is sold, but to gain this audience radio stations produce cultural content alongside economic outputs (Meehan, 2002, p. 216). This combination of commercial and cultural content invites research into the power relationships present. Collingwood (1999) has used political economy theory to consider Australian commercial radio after neoliberal deregulation, and in New Zealand Hope (1996, 2004; Myllylahti & Hope, 2011), Mollgaard (2005; Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010), and Watts (2010) have applied political economy theory to investigate media ownership and express concern for the influence of advertising and ownership upon commercial radio content. The predominantly unregulated and highly commercial nature of the broadcasting system makes political economy of media theory a relevant and significant approach to research in New Zealand (Mollgaard, 2005).

Political Economy and Feminism

Feminism and political economy are not traditional partners because, while both are critical, feminism is normally considered to be a part of cultural studies rather than the political economy school (Grossberg, 1995; Littlejohn & Foss, 2008; Meehan & Riordan, 2002a). Both are concerned with power, but the theories differ when considering whether it is gender or economic status that underpins social hierarchy (McChesney, 2008; Meehan & Riordan, 2002a). While patriarchy and capitalism share historical parallels in many parts of the world, Steeves and Wasko (2002) note that more work needs to be done before the two can be precisely linked. Ideologies of gender are becoming increasingly prominent in critical communication studies, however, and scholars are beginning to utilise these approaches simultaneously (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008; Montiel, 2012; Steeves, 2007). The small group of scholars in the field of feminist political economy see the potential in such a “friendly alliance” where each approach can contribute to analysis for comprehensive scrutiny (Meehan & Riordan, 2002a; Record, 2002; Riordan, 2002; Steeves & Wasko, 2002).

Critics of the political economy of media often come from the cultural studies school and consider political economy to be overtly structuralist, deterministic and production-focused (Wasko, 2005). This focus on top-down power is said to ignore individual autonomy and the role that the audience plays in the consumption of media texts (Beaugrande, 2007; Poole, 2010; Wasko, 2005). These criticisms are worth considering for this study in light of the feminist axiom “the personal is political” (Grossberg, 1995; Meehan & Riordan, 2002a). The macro view attributed to political economy is also at odds with the contemporary academic view of gender as complex, changeable, and performative (to be discussed further below) (Gill, 2007b; Kroløkke & Sørensen, 2006). Despite these criticisms, scholars such as Riordan (2002) see the influence of political economy as an opportunity for feminist studies to give attention to the socio-historical context of the female world beyond the moment or the private sphere. For example, many feminist studies of radio including M. E. Thompson, Gómez and Toro (2005), Carter (2004), C. Mitchell (2004), D’Arcy (2000) and Jallof (1996) have examined low-power, alternative, and marginal feminist radio stations, but this study considers the mainstream national broadcaster *ZM*. In addition, a feminist influence can ensure that gender is not overlooked when political economy focuses on class (Record, 2002). Consumption is one important consideration in this study of commercial radio, and combining political economy and feminism allows for a consideration of this practice as both structural and individual (Riordan, 2002). This thesis will apply both political economy and feminist theory because, as Steeves and Wasko (2002) have recognised, “the political imperative is more compelling than theoretical gaps and contradictions” (p. 27). Both gender and class are important in contemporary society, where it is said that “sex plus money equals power” (Meehan & Riordan, 2002a, p. x).

Gender Studies and Feminism

At this point it is appropriate to discuss the evolution of feminism and gender studies, with a focus on relevant aspects of media and language studies. In contemporary academia gender is a topic that spans many research disciplines, including

anthropology, business and commerce, communication, education, linguistics, literature, psychology, and politics alongside feminist studies and women's studies (Beetles & Harris, 2005; Gill, 2007b; Mendes & Carter, 2008; Tannen, 1996). It is important to acknowledge the historical context of this study both in academia and the "real world" (Holmes, 2000b). As this study concerns English-speaking commercial radio in New Zealand it will largely focus on literature which relates to English-speaking developed nations. Feminism has many facets but the core philosophy of the movement does allow a definition of sorts. Amongst more than two full pages dedicated to defining "feminism", the first definition offered by the feminist dictionary is "a conscious stand in opposition to male defamation and mistreatment of women" (Kramarae & Treichler, 1992, p. 158). Mendes and Carter (2008) write that gender studies and feminist studies both overlap and differ, with feminist studies identified as being politically motivated toward social justice and structural social change, like political economy. Sunderland and Litosseliti (2008) conclude that most gender and language study is broadly feminist due to a questioning of androcentrism and a commitment to progressive gender relations.

The Waves

The First Wave

Feminism is described in three chronological waves, although today this is acknowledged to be particular to Western developed nations. Each wave has advocated for social change for women in light of misogyny and patriarchy. Patriarchy literally means "the rule of fathers", but the term is used to describe the abstract structures and ideology that ensure male power and female oppression (Kramarae & Treichler, 1992). First-wave feminism took place in the late 19th and early 20th century in the context of socialism, the liberal women's rights movement, and the temperance movement (Kroløkke & Sørensen, 2006; Waring, 1993). Famously, New Zealand was the first country to grant women full, national suffrage (Waring, 1993). Activism and public persuasion were important to the movement globally but, as Waring (1993) points out, in New Zealand the movement was sedate with newspaper columns (often

published under male pseudonyms) and local town hall meetings forming the bulk of the communication.

The Second Wave

The second wave feminism of the 1960s and 1970s is associated with the development of academic gender studies, including those concerned with language and the media. The social upheaval of the time reconceptualised women's roles in society and in the public sphere, including broadcasting (Halper, 2001; Kroløkke & Sørensen, 2006). This was the first wave of feminism to face "a world dominated by media" (Gill, 2007a, p. 9) and much attention was given to the oppressive commercial beauty culture that the media contributed to (Creedon & Cramer, 2007a; Kroløkke & Sørensen, 2006; Mendes & Carter, 2008). Most scholarship at this time was quantitative and also essentialist, focusing on biological sex, difference, and male dominance (Holmes, 1997). Robin Lakoff (1973) developed the concept of "women's language" to describe those so-called powerless linguistic characteristics associated with female speech, including rising intonation, tag questions, and weak expletives. Sunderland and Litosseliti (2008) note that Lakoff's work is now considered "valiant and productive, if flawed" (p. 2). For example, Janet Holmes's (1986, 1993) work on pragmatic particles illustrates that Lakoff's conclusions about hedging are simplistic in theory and flawed in regard to assumptions of gendered behaviour. Early media and gender studies also focused on difference, with research often concerning stereotypical depictions of men and woman (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008). Reception studies, and later, negotiated meaning studies, focused on how audiences received and understood media portrayals of gender at the micro level often associated with feminist academe (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008; Steeves & Wasko, 2002).

Popularising Gender and Language

In the 1980s and 1990s popular texts on gender and language perpetuated gender difference, often showing favour for a relational style of communication generally associated with femininity (Holmes, 1993; Lazar, 2005; Talbot, 2005b). Deborah Tannen's (1990, 1996, 1998) publications focused on difference and viewed male and

female communication as a cultural misunderstanding. These ideas became widespread due to the popular text *You Just Don't Understand* (Tannen, 1990), alongside other “self-help” books including John Grey’s (1993) bestselling *Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus* (Stubbe, Holmes, Vine, & Marra, 2000). For critical academics such as Talbot (2005b, 2007, 2010), Mendes and Carter (2008) and Stubbe, Holmes, Vine and Marra (2000) such texts are more likely to reinforce stereotypes due to their simplicity, subjectivity, and ignorance of the complexities of social and political inequalities present in society. Pseudo-academic theories of “the opposite sex” also reinforce heteronormativity. Heteronormativity describes the view of “appropriate” gender roles as biological and accepts heterosexuality as an unquestioned norm within this (Swann, 2004). This essentialist concept is important because it has become established within popular culture and popular belief, and scholars including Sunderland (Sunderland, 2004) and Kosetzi (2008) discuss how this “gender difference” continues to have a presence in popular media and contemporary thought.

The Third Wave

The third feminist wave emerged from the 1990s, but its values, goals and beliefs are scattered and debated in academe. Names like neoliberal feminism, lipstick feminism, and postfeminism have all been used, and reflect the ambiguity and complexity of the situation (Donaghue, Kurz, & Whitehead, 2011; Genz, 2009; Gill, 2007b; Kroløkke & Sørensen, 2006). Such ambiguity is also present in contemporary women’s use of rhetorical strategies such as performance, mimicry and subversion, particularly when reclaiming and reframing words such as “girl”, “bitch” and “slut” (Chideya, 1992; Kroløkke & Sørensen, 2006). In media studies, the 1990s onwards saw a more complex approach to research develop in reaction to this more complex, playful and fragmented female identity (Gill, 2007b; Mendes & Carter, 2008). Most scholars, including Talbot (2010) Lazar (2005), Lacey (2004), and Halper (2001), agree that the role of context has become increasingly salient. Contemporary gender study also acknowledges bipolar gender categories and how women’s experiences intersect with other social categories such as ethnicity, culture, class and sexuality (Kroløkke & Sørensen, 2006; Littlejohn & Foss, 2008; Talbot, 2005b). In language studies there has

been a general shift in focus from how men and women speak to the ways in which language is used to speak about sex and gender. Despite social improvements inequality is still an issue. For example, multiple studies of university communities have found that women are described in regard to their sexuality and appearance, while men are described in regard to behaviour, intellect and attitude (Remlinger, 2005, p. 120). The importance of context has shed light on some of the generalisations of second wave feminist linguistics, as Holmes (1984) noted early in the third wave, “one person’s feeble hedging is another’s perspicuous qualification” (p. 169, as cited in Talbot, 2005, p. 474). This complexity brings new challenges, however, because past theoretical notions such as “objectification” can be difficult to apply when the woman in question is an active subject (Genz, 2009; Gill, 2007a).

Postfeminism

Postfeminism is an important concept in third wave feminist scholarship, although like contemporary feminism this sensibility is ambiguous and ill-defined (Gill, 2007b, 2009). Postfeminism is generally agreed to be a belief that in Western developed nations structural and systematic disadvantages towards women no longer exist and feminism is not necessary, and therefore any difference between men and women is a result of individual choice (Kroløkke & Sørensen, 2006; Stuart & Donaghue, 2012). For a small number of feminists scholars this is a belief they hold, for the majority of others it describes an observed sensibility which undermines the gains of the first and second waves of feminism (Gill, 2007b, 2009; Jackson, 2006; McRobbie, 2004; Radner, 2004). In a study of news coverage of feminism from 1968 to 2008 Mendes (2012) found a distinct shift towards postfeminist discourse which worked to depoliticise the movement and display limited representations of womanhood. Postfeminism is seen to have close ties to neoliberalism and as such incorporates ideas of choice and independence for women, but such ideas are found in a “double entanglement” (McRobbie, 2004, p. 255) of feminist and anti-feminist ideas (Gill, 2007b). McRobbie (2004, 2008) suggests that there may be a tendency in scholarship to view such media representations of gender positively because they compare favourably to those of

previous decades, but she encourages ongoing vigilance in the study of the exploitation of feminism and the relations of power which underpin this activity.

The female empowerment found in postfeminist media messages predominantly takes the form of individual freedoms and hypersexual heteronormativity (Gill, 2007b, 2009; Stuart & Donaghue, 2012). Liberation and autonomy are embraced as long as they do not impinge upon conventional social and commercial standards of femininity (Stuart & Donaghue, 2012). Feminist scholarship argues that such a sensibility maintains the status quo and distracts from issues in a way that does not genuinely advocate for women (Gill, 2007b; Stuart & Donaghue, 2012). For example, in her 2009 study of women's magazine *Glamour* Gill found the female agency and empowerment present striking, yet this agency was concentrated on finding a male partner, and Donaghue, Kurz and Whitehead's (2011) research on websites promoting recreational pole dancing found that the female-led raunchiness did not empower women as claimed. In contemporary popular culture this sensibility is best represented by the 1990s mantra "Girl Power", when womanhood was associated with empowerment through sexuality, femininity and humour in a rejection of "staid" second-wave feminism (Donaghue et al., 2011; Genz, 2009; Gill, 2007b; Levy, 2005). Postfeminism can be related to the theory of commodity feminism (Gill, 2010; Goldman, 1992), which is concerned with how advertising has appropriated the feminist message to sell to women.

Postfeminism can present a difficult subject matter for research due to the complexity and ambiguity of the messages involved, but for this reason they are also of interest. Gill (2007a) describes a postmodern age where "critiques are routinely reflexively incorporated into media products in which much sexism comes in an ironic guise which rebuffs easy protest" (p. 3). Similarly, Talbot (2000, 2005b, 2007) has undertaken research that considers situations where feminist discourse has been appropriated in advertising in a manner which undermines feminism.

“Sex” and “Gender” Today

Defining Sex and Gender

The majority of contemporary gender studies reject the simplistic concept of gender as the biological difference between men and women (known as biological essentialism) in favour of a pluralistic view of genders, masculinities and femininities (Hall & Bucholtz, 1995; Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2005; Weatherall, 2000). The biological difference is generally referred to as sex, but within this field there are different views of how to address the relationship between sex and gender. Holmes & Meyerhoff (2005) note that many physical anthropologists and biologists see gender as a combination of the biological and social. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) state that “gender builds on biological sex, it exaggerates biological difference and, indeed, it carries biological difference into domains in which it is completely irrelevant” (p . 10). The contemporary post-structuralist feminist approach further considers the social construction of “sex” and how definitions of sex and gender are shaped and reflected as well as how they have come to influence and serve within the individual, social and political world (Genz, 2009). Masculinities and femininities are relational and are best understood in the context of each other and wider gender relations and “men” and “women” are no longer considered internally homogeneous categories (Cameron, 1998; Coates, 2000; Genz, 2009).

Gender Construction and Performativity

An influential idea in contemporary feminism is that of gender as a construction or performance that individuals constantly and powerfully construct rather than reproduce (Genz, 2009; Gill, 2007b; Kendall, 2004; Kroløkke & Sørensen, 2006). Social constructionist perspectives have been influenced by Judith Butler’s (1990) post-structuralist notion of gender performativity, which states that gender is an unstable narrative that is created and sustained outwardly. Gender is displayed through ongoing and negotiated performances which are recognised as norms and associated with acting like a male or acting like a female, in contrast to the view of identity as a fixed nature (Butler, 1990; Holmes & Marra, 2010; Talbot, 2005b; Tannen, 1996; Weatherall, 2000). Such an approach can “emphasise the diverse, flexible and counter-

responsive ways in which people 'do gender' (among other identities)" (Holmes & Marra, 2010, p. 1). This approach reinforces the importance of context and specifically situated activities in such research (Weatherall, 2000). Identity is performed in part through particular linguistic acts and gender can be considered an effect of discourse (Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2008; Talbot, 1995). Research has suggested that popular understanding of "women's language" has contributed to gender performance, with drag queens and phone sex workers being some of the most obvious gender performers (Hall & Bucholtz, 1995; McRobbie, 2008; Talbot, 2005b). In this context femininity is ambiguous and largely context dependant; it may be stereotypical demureness and dress, aggressive "girl power", or it may draw on other normative female behaviours (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Holmes & Schnurr, 2006).

Using "Gender" in this Study

Representations of gender can be ill-defined and contradictory, and there are ongoing debates within feminism of the merits and minutiae of the established definitions of sex and gender (Gill, 2007a). For many academics in the field of gender and language it is acknowledged that the established male and female genders are common in society, and that language trends associated with these genders exist (Coates, 2000; Holmes, 2000a; Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2005). McElhinney (2007) draws on a definition of gender by Scott (1986) to reinforce the importance of gender in its role as a social identifier and organisational tool that is embodied in social, political, and scientific doctrines. Holmes and Meyerhoff (2005) articulate this when they say "'gender' retains significance for people living their lives, not just people analysing how people live their lives" (p. 30). With this in mind, this study appropriates a social constructionist perspective of gender which acknowledges the importance of communication and context to the gender being 'done', while also referring to "men" and "women" as they are generally understood within contemporary society.

Gender and Language Research in New Zealand

Because of the attention given to context in contemporary gender and language studies, there has been a call for research from beyond that of the English-speaking

United Kingdom and United States. Recent publications have included work from continental Europe, Latin America and parts of Asia, including work into languages considered particularly gendered, such as Japanese, French, and Hindi (Barke, 2000; Cameron, 1998; Hall & Bucholtz, 1995; Okamoto, 2011; Okamoto & Shibamoto Smith, 2007). In New Zealand, Janet Holmes from the *Language in the Workplace Project* based at Victoria University of Wellington has published widely on language and gender (Holmes, 1993, 1997, 2000b; Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2005). Holmes (2007) approaches sex in its role as a sociolinguistic category where norms express femininity and masculinity in particular social contexts. Holmes and Sigley (2002) have utilised corpora of over a million written words to determine that the use of sexist language in New Zealand has declined from the 1960s. Bayard is another New Zealand linguist whose work considers gender, his work with Krishnayya (2001) studied the use of expletives in male and female Otago University students. While a limited study, their findings that New Zealand women use expletives in ways that are considered traditionally masculine could be interpreted as evidence of postfeminist discourse in this country.

Gender and the Media

The Historic Context of Gender and Media Studies

Like the studies of language and gender, feminist academic inquiry into gender in media grew from the second wave of feminism. Research was and continues to be predominantly concerned with how the mass media construct and represent gender and how this influences and is influenced by power and inequality in society (Gill, 2007a). Much early research focused on the visual portrayal of women, and this continues to be an important area of research today (Artz, Munger, & Purdy, 1999; Lloyd, 2004; Mulvey, 2003). Many studies relied on content analysis and concentrated on female stereotypes in advertising in a time of what Gill (2007) describes as “angry retribution” (p. 11). Like language, the media branch of early feminist studies is now considered to be simplistic in its approach to much of its research. This approach gave way to a more complex approach in the 1980s, which was seen as necessary to keep

up with a growing and morphing news and entertainment media (Gill, 2007a; Mendes & Carter, 2008). Context has become increasingly important, and masculinities and queer theory are investigated alongside representations of femininity, and scholars are also aware of perspectives from outside of the English-speaking world (J. Coupland, 2007; Gill, 2007b; Mendes & Carter, 2008). In addition to representations of women, the role of women in media production is also a popular area of research (Baehr & Gray, 1996; Byerly, 2011; Creedon & Cramer, 2007b; Gill, 2000; Hosley & Yamada, 1987). Other studies have considered the role of the audience, because like any area of media studies it is important to avoid drawing assumptions about media effects (Hurtz & Durkin, 1997; Tiina, Sue, & Rosalind, 2011). Scholarship continues to evolve, as Gill (2007a) writes, “there is no stable, unchanging feminist perspective from which to make a cool appraisal of contemporary gender in the media” (p. 2).

Gender Representation in the Media Today

The portrayal of women in media, including news, advertising, and entertainment texts, has been investigated in numerous and varied ways (Butler, 1990; Creedon & Cramer, 2007b; Furnham & Thomson, 1999; Gunter, 1995; Mendes & Carter, 2008; Newsom, 1988). While it is difficult to summarise decades of research on many different subjects, overarching themes are present and many of these reinforce the dominant images of women found in society. Women continue to receive less mainstream media attention than men, and when portrayed they are seen as domestic, as victims and passive agents, as sexual objects, and are discussed in terms of marital status and appearance more than men (Gill, 2007a; Mendes & Carter, 2008). Women making media are more likely to report on soft news and continue to face the “glass ceiling” (Mendes & Carter, 2008). More recently, research concerned with the internet and new media and gender has been found that these tools both enabled women and reproduce misogyny, which is unsurprising given the breadth of the internet and the complexity of the postfeminist age (Mendes & Carter, 2008).

These gender stereotypes and patriarchal ideologies are reproduced for commercial gain in both advertising and entertainment texts (M. R. Andrews & Talbot, 2000;

McRobbie, 1997, 2004; Mendes & Carter, 2008). In a review of women in media Gill (2007a) suggests that advertising's ideal female has developed over the past 50 years from a wife, mother and housewife to a confident and sexually assertive woman who expresses freedom through consumption. The few women first involved in broadcasting prior to the second wave of feminism were restricted to reporting on issues related to the domestic realm, which Cramer (2002) says "was matched by radio and television content that presented marriage and motherhood as women's primary roles" (p.163). Little research has been conducted on this in New Zealand but the record of female broadcasters such as Maud Basham who broadcast on radio for decades as Aunt Daisy suggest that similar practices took place here (Downes, 2012; Fry, 1957). A recent branch of study is that of the media coverage and appropriation of feminism itself. Mendes (2012) has undertaken this in *Feminism rules! Now, where's my swimsuit?* Re-evaluating feminist discourse in print media 1968–2008 and Talbot has written about feminist discourse in advertisements for telecommunications (2000) and guns (2005a).

Media Pleasures

A more optimistic approach to gender and media studies has been recently explored in relation to the pleasures derived from media interaction (Gough-Yates, 2002; C. Mitchell, 2004). This may involve individuals and groups working within the media or, more typically, it refers to audience pleasures (Gill, 2007a; Hobson, 1980; Mendes & Carter, 2008). Research by Thornborrow and Machin (2003) on women's magazines found appeal in the sense of fun, power, and energy communicated by the texts and concluded that much of the content that had been criticised as unrealistic was in fact "playful fantasies". A similar point of view can be applied to beauty practices and other modes of "feminising" the self. These practices can be enjoyed, however they also deserve to be scrutinised for the amount of work involved and the social consequences involved in compliance or resistance (Gill, 2007b; Stuart & Donaghue, 2012). Research should consider all of these factors, as "acknowledging the pleasures that may be obtained does not preclude critical analysis of these practices" (Stuart & Donaghue, 2012, p. 100). Further to this, it appears logical to suggest that pleasure and ideology

be seen as intimately related (Ballaster, Beetham, Frazer, & Hebron, 1991; Gill, 2009). “That any cultural form is pleasurable and ideological is, then, neither surprising nor worrying – what else could pleasure be? And how else could ideology work?” (Ballaster et al., 1991, p. 164). This connection between pleasure and ideology can be seen as integral to the hegemony of postfeminist discourse and behaviour as postfeminism empowers and engages with women.

Radio, alongside magazines, movies, and soap operas, is a medium considered to be particularly pleasurable to women. Historically, radio is associated with keeping housewives company and it has been suggested that it is well suited to women and women’s issues as it lends itself to entering the private sphere, incorporating participation, building relationships and dealing with sensitive issues (Lacey, 2004). From a more critical perspective C. Mitchell (2000) suggests that contemporary radio research could benefit from considering how women derive pleasure from radio as they use the platform to “subvert, manipulate and play” (p. 6) with space and identity. Radio has further importance for women because of its place as a key medium in the communications of the developing world. Radio is a relatively cheap medium to produce and also access, and is particularly advantageous for those who are isolated or illiterate, many of whom are women (Lacey, 2004).

Consumption, Media, and Gender

Consumer Capitalism

The commercial media system exists within and alongside the consumer capitalist marketplace and together they are seen to play an important part in this study of commercial radio. In the capitalist democratic societies of the developed world the incessant consumption of goods and services has become central. The capitalist economic system relies on ongoing profit, which in turn relies on the ongoing consumption of goods and services beyond the basic needs of humanity, leading to what is referred to as the consumer economy or consumer capitalism (Pietrykowski, 2009; Sandlin & Maudlin, 2012). Critical researchers often take a more social view of

the practice of consumption, a perspective which differs from mainstream economic theory (Nelson, 1970; Pietrykowski, 2009). Consumption is viewed as a part of social, cultural, material and political interactions, and the power relationships of these interactions can be interrogated as part of political economy and feminist academe (Arnould & Thompson, 2005; Pietrykowski, 2009; Sandlin & Maudlin, 2012).

Marx's theory of commodity fetishism explains how goods and services are given abstract value within the capitalist system, and that people purchase these connotations rather than the commodity itself (Harvey & Marx, 2010). Much research has been done on how this abstract value shapes identity through consumption and how consumers accept, reinterpret and reject the symbolic meaning of commodities (Arnould & Thompson, 2005; Pietrykowski, 2009). The growth of the consumer economy is seen to have developed mutually and simultaneously alongside advertising and marketing communication. Faraone (2011) writes that this communication is "the pivotal linking mechanism that simultaneously engineers consumption to match production and reproduces the ideological system that supports the prevailing status quo" (p. 189). Theories of promotional culture have been developed to explain how this communication has evolved beyond traditional advertising channels to not only non-traditional advertising but also many aspects of the private realm (McAllister & West, 2013). In his study of the commercial messages on New Zealand youth radio Watts (2010) found a variety of promotional messages ranging from traditional "spot" commercials and internal radio station branding to content that amalgamated entertainment and advertising, for example interviews with celebrities promoting an event.

Consumption, Advertising, and Gender

The contemporary socio-economic system displays a strong correlation between advertising, consumption and popular constructions of femininity. Shopping is seen to be a female activity and is constantly connected with images and behaviours related to the female body (J. Coupland, 2007; Gill, 2003; Goldman, Heath, & Smith, 1991). Feminist scholarship has mapped the role modern advertising has played in

constructing stereotypical images of women as housewives and mothers, sexual objects, and more recently “girl power” postfeminists who are empowered through consumption (Goldman, 1992; Mendes, 2012; Meyers, 2008; Otnes & Tuncay-Zayer, 2012; Sandlin & Maudlin, 2012). These consumer subjectivities encourage and normalise female behaviour which focuses on appearance, the home, and sexuality, all usually facilitated by consumption, and success as a woman is dependent on these factors (J. Coupland, 2007; Pietrykowski, 2009; Radner, 2004; Sandlin & Maudlin, 2012). In uniting femininity with consumption women become further stereotyped as irrational, narcissistic shoppers who passively consume advertising messages (M. R. Andrews & Talbot, 2000; Sandlin & Maudlin, 2012). Feminist scholarship acknowledges that women are able to reject and contest these popular constructions of femininity, but the degree to which these stereotypes continue to pervade both the media and everyday life means that it continues to deserve critical attention (Gill, 2011; Mendes, 2012). Studies of entertainment media, including the fictional television shows aimed at women (Kraeplin, 2012; Meyers, 2008), reality makeover shows (Deery, 2004; Klein, Raisborough, & Frith, 2010), and editorial magazine content (Ballaster et al., 1991; del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006; Gill, 2009; Goldman et al., 1991; Talbot, 1995; Thornborrow & Machin, 2003), show that femininity and consumption are united in “editorial” aspects of media as well as advertising. Conradie (2011) and Talbot (M. R. Andrews & Talbot, 2000; 1995) discuss how commercial media such as magazines must attract readers while simultaneously providing a consumer-friendly environment which advertisers will find favourable.

Consumption, Appearance, and Gender: Critical Concerns

For feminists, these mediated stereotypes are considered distracting and harmful in an age when women continue to be objectified, stereotyped and treated unequally in society (Gill & Scharff, 2011; Rossouw & Dye, 2012; Wolf, 1991). The degree to which the mass media constantly reinforce the importance of female appearance, and the harm this is seen to do, has been explored extensively in feminist scholarship (J. Coupland, 2007; Radner, 2004; Wolf, 1991). Critical scholars argue that representations of stereotypical femininity and consumption work to discourage

women from political activity and reinforce the capitalist ideology of the sexual division of labour (Butler, 1990; Pietrykowski, 2009; Sandlin & Maudlin, 2012). Continuous consumption is presented as an exercise in choice, and individual choice is a capitalist value used, according to critics, to mask structural inequalities such as sexism (Gill, 2007b; Meehan, 2002). This is particularly prevalent in contemporary, postfeminist media, whereby women are seen to be empowered by the choices they make in regards to appearance, consumption, and sexual activity (Gill, 2010, 2011; Talbot, 2005a). Consumer theory has investigated the pleasures and benefits of female consumption, particularly in regard to the historical freedoms gained from shopping outside of the home, but this does not prevent critical research (M. R. Andrews & Talbot, 2000; Sandlin & Maudlin, 2012). As M. R. Andrews and Talbot (2000) maintain, “consumption should be seen as contradictory and problematic when applied to women” (p. 5). Critical gender scholarship also acknowledges that masculine identity is increasingly being exploited in advertising as capitalists seek new consumer opportunities (N. Coupland, 2007).

Gender and the Media in New Zealand Academe

In New Zealand there is a small amount of scholarship concerned with gender representation in mainstream media and overall it suggests that sexism towards women continues to exist. Scholars have noted the country’s reputation for social progression and in recent history the high proportion of women who have held positions of political power (Comrie, 2008; Devere & Graham, 2006; Furnham & Farragher, 2000). Despite New Zealand’s international reputation, a recent report by Rossouw and Dye (2012) shows that women continue to face inequality and trail other developing nations in wage equality, mental health, and crime and violence (as both perpetrators and victims). A number of the local studies of media representation of women have considered women in the news, particularly the news coverage of former Prime Minister Helen Clark when she was in office (Comrie, 2008; Devere & Graham, 2006; McGregor, 1996). These studies found that the media would occasionally employ gender stereotyping and frame political stories as gender stories. An ongoing

focus on Clark's lack of femininity was identified and led Devere and Graham (2006) to the conclusion that "strength and determination in a woman are seen to equate with aggression and dogmatism" (p. 77).

A small number of recent studies have looked at the representation of women in New Zealand entertainment media and advertising. In a study of over 2,000 locally-screened television advertisements Michelle (2012) found that female characters featured predominantly as homemakers and were over-represented in roles promoting household products, personal products (including grooming), and medical products. In a comparison of gender in New Zealand and British television commercials Furnham and Farragher (2000) were surprised to find that "progressive" New Zealand had the more stereotyped advertisements. Gonick (2010) found a positive portrayal of girlhood and "active, powerful and agentic femininity" (p. 315) in New Zealand film *Whale Rider* but Jackson's (2006) study of a teenage female character in the New Zealand soap opera *Shortland Street* found that this postmodern girl's sexual freedom positioned her as promiscuous as well as independent. Like many of the postfeminist scholars I have discussed above, Gonick and Jackson take a nuanced approach in their research to match the complex constructions of gender in contemporary media.

Radio

Contemporary Radio Research

Most authors on radio broadcasting agree that it is an under-researched field and one that is also often overlooked by studies that consider media more widely (Hendy, 2000; Moss, 1988). At times texts discuss radio in a historical context and then move on to television (for example M. Andrews (2012) and Tolson (2006)), or radio is ignored while television, print media and the internet are discussed (Coupland, 2001). While radio has been central to social and political history during the colonial era, the Second World War, and events like the 1994 Rwandan Genocide, it also continues to play a role in geopolitics, particularly because of its ability to transcend social boundaries and to be received fairly cheaply and easily (Hendy, 2000; Pinkerton & Dodds, 2009; Power,

2000). Media texts regarding gender, advertising and consumption were limited in their discussions of radio and so this study has also drawn on research conducted on television and magazines (Conradie, 2011; del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006; Gill, 2009; Jackson, 2005; Michelle, 2012; Sandlin & Maudlin, 2012; Talbot, 1995; Thornborrow & Machin, 2003).

In considering the literature which is available on radio, the American scholarship about multinational radio company Clear Channel Communications provides the most insight for this study as it has many parallels with the situation of *The Radio Network* and *MediaWorks* in New Zealand (Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010). Clear Channel Communications are also joint venture owners of *The Radio Network* alongside Sydney-based *APN News and Media* (Clear Channel Communications, 2013). The United States, and to an extent Australia, share with New Zealand a deregulated radio environment which is dominated by multinational corporations who face little competition from public broadcasters (Shanahan & Duignan, 2005). Traditionally radio has been a local medium, but in New Zealand as in many other nations (including the United States and Australia) stations have been consolidated and content increasingly networked out of main centres to reap the benefits of economies of scale (Griffen-Foley, 2004; Hendy, 2000; Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010). The effects of networking at the expense of local content, local music, and local on-air talent has been investigated in New Zealand (Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010; Norris & Comrie, 2005; Shanahan & Duignan, 2005) and internationally (Boehlert, 2001; Hendy, 2000; Starkey, 2011). In the United States Foege (2008) and Boehlert (2001, 2004) have criticised Clear Channel Communications for these practices alongside job losses, bland formatting, hyper-commercial content and right-wing political bias. These investigations into Clear Channel Communications display a tension between capitalism and (popular) culture, a tension which Mollgaard (2005) and Watts (2010) have alluded to in their work on present-day New Zealand radio. Radio scholars often refer to the intimate nature of the medium and the connection which exists between listeners and their audience, and again there is an inconsistency between this almost “innate” quality of the

medium and the highly formulaic, highly commercial nature of most of the content on air in New Zealand and the United States (Hendy, 2000; Stiernstedt, 2008).

Radio Talk

The field of media talk is one area in which radio has received academic attention and radio scholarship has contributed to the understanding of media discourse more generally. Scholars Montgomery (1986), Scannell (1991, 2007; 1991; 1992) and Tolson (1991, 2006) have contributed much to current understandings of radio talk. Most radio talk throughout the world would fit within the personalised, friendly, interactive and live conventions of radio talk which these men identified. The conversational style, direct mode of address and simulated intimacy of radio can be classified by various terms from various media discourse scholars (including Fairclough's (1992) synthetic personalisation), but regardless of terminology most agree that it contributes to the often-discussed bond between radio broadcasters and listeners (M. Andrews, 2012; Hendy, 2000; Scannell, 1991; Tolson, 1991, 2006). In New Zealand commercial radio the "relationship" between listeners and announcers is acknowledged in commercial terms, for example an endorsement by an announcer is a premium product sold at a premium price (The Radio Bureau, 2006b). Scholarship has identified how language is exploited by announcers to manage this relationship with their listeners, with Tolson suggesting that two prevalent roles constructed on the part of the broadcasters are those of the expert adviser or intimate friend (Hendy, 2000; Montgomery, 1986). Tolson has also written on the modern "shock-jock" and "zoo radio" broadcast styles, which are associated with testing boundaries in regards to both taste and production techniques.

Talkback (also known as talk radio) is another area of radio which has seen sizeable scholarship, with research taking place in regards to the role of power (Hutchby, 1996, 2006; Karpf, 1980) and performing authenticity (Ames, 2012; Atkinson & Moores, 2003; Thornborrow, 2001). Talkback is often held up as an example of a modern public forum, but Hutchby (1996) concludes that due to a variety of technological and linguistic factors the talk radio interaction favours the host in a "fundamentally

unequal distribution of resources” (p. 483). Despite elements of interactivity in radio, well-established radio scholar David Hendy (2000) writes that the power of the radio announcer (in all formats) is established by both linguistic conventions and the predominantly one-way aspect of radio technology.

Radio Research in New Zealand

Because of the scale and speed of the deregulation of the New Zealand radio industry it has been referred to anecdotally as the “canary in the cage” for global media. The radio industry encompasses most of the concerns aimed at New Zealand media generally, with highly commercial content, consolidated international ownership, and little external regulation being the norm (Comrie, 1999, 2002; Hope, 1996, 2004; Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010). Comrie wrote in 2002 that, despite this situation, the country has a poor record of media criticism and debate, but I would argue that those writing about radio are making small but solid gains. The body of scholarship on New Zealand radio is limited, but in-depth critical attention has been given to the deregulated environment and the effects this has on broadcast content (Mollgaard, 2005; Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010; Norris & Comrie, 2005; Shanahan & Duignan, 2005; Watts, 2010). As discussed in the Introduction above, a duopoly of two multinational companies, *The Radio Network* and *MediaWorks Radio*, dominate the local radio market (Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010). Mollgaard and Rosenberg (2010) draw a number of parallels between the adverse practices of Clear Channel Communications in the United States and similar incidents at *The Radio Network* (the company it holds shares in) in New Zealand, including a number of offensive on-air broadcasts and the demolishing of a unique music studio. While most of these similarities appear coincidental, the overall impression given is one of companies that prioritise attention-grabbing practices and profits at the expense of community responsibility. The New Zealand radio stunts documented also had few negative consequences for the stations involved, showing support for the idea that radio often avoids the criticism aimed at other media organisations (Boehlert, 2001, 2004; Collingwood, 1999; Karpf, 1980; Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010).

Recent research by Watts (2010) and Mollgaard (2005, 2012; Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010) establishes that the New Zealand radio industry is dominated by commercial overseas interests that create formulaic, advertising-centric content, and for these critical scholars this is concerning due to the important role media plays in society. In a qualitative analysis titled *How Commercial is Commercial Media?* Watts investigated the talk of four youth-orientated radio stations in New Zealand, including ZM, the station at the centre of this study. Watts found that commercial messaging made up 67 percent of non-music content on air, with the rest being inane chat which lacked any form of civic content. Watts suggests that the industry offers a bland mix of repetitive formats, commercial messaging and trivialities designed to maintain audiences and placates advertisers. Mollgaard and Rosenberg conclude their discussion of radio ownership with the remark that “the dominance of foreign capital and ownership threatens our ability to use our media to represent ourselves, to get reliable information and to hold power, in all its forms, to account.” (p. 106). The work of Mollgaard and Watts advocates that any critical study of contemporary, mainstream New Zealand radio should be informed by the context of deregulation, the multinational corporate ownership structures, and the highly commercial nature of the content produced.

Gender and Radio

Issues of radio and gender have been given some attention in academe, but, like other radio studies, much of this takes a historical perspective and little attention has been given to contemporary commercial broadcasting (Mendes & Carter, 2008). Theorists agree that radio is an environment where gender is often “done”, and in 2000 Karpf wrote that “radio is still a highly gendered culture” (p. xvii). The variety of stations on offer leads to specific formatting and the targeting of gendered demographics, and so identity shaped by age, gender, and music taste is often an important part of the broadcast content (Hendy, 2000). Historically, and specifically in the post-war period, radio developed a reputation in the English-speaking West as a medium that kept housewives entertained during the day (Lacey, 2004; C. Mitchell, 2000). Lacey (2004) suggests that there has been a renewed interest in female broadcasting pioneers and

women's programming as radio is seen to have played a positive role in reaching and acknowledging women isolated in the home. Alongside these studies attention has been given to the intimate, possibly feminine nature of radio broadcasting. Karpf (1980) has gone so far as to suggest that this is an "innate" intimacy, while other texts suggest that this comes about through a combination of synthetically intimate speech, the regular presence of announcers with whom listeners can bond, and the warmth and personality which can be conveyed through voice (Hendy, 2000; Scannell, 1991; Tolson, 1991). In her research on alternative female radio stations C. Mitchell (2004) suggests that this intimacy reinforces the feminine nature of radio, and she also stated that radio may be "fairer" to modern women because it liberates them from being judged by their appearance (Lacey, 2004; Posetti, 2008).

Many of the themes and concerns of women and media discussed above can be applied to radio, particularly in regard to the representations of women on air and the role of women in radio production (Gill, 2000). Radio continues to be identified as a medium that is dominated by men both on-air and in production and business, despite the prominence given to female audiences (Gill, 2000; Karpf, 1980; Lacey, 2004; Lloyd, 2004). The first roles for female broadcasters were in separately scheduled airtime concerned with domestic advice, as famously epitomised by Maude Basham, who broadcast as Aunt Daisy, in New Zealand (Fry, 1957; Hobson, 1980). Last century there was a well-established belief that women's voices were not pleasant to listeners (Gill, 2000; Hosley & Yamada, 1987), and, while this appears to have changed, Byerly's (2011; 2006) recent research in the United States suggests that women are excluded from the radio environment due to political policy, economics and sexual politics. Lacey (2004) described post-war radio as a public, expert, and active masculine medium directed at the passive feminine sphere, and for some scholars this environment has changed little (M. Andrews, 2012; Furnham & Thomson, 1999; Karpf, 2000).

The small body of research undertaken in regards to gender in commercial radio in the English-speaking world suggests that women continue to be constrained by traditional gender roles in both employment and representation (M. Andrews, 2012; Karpf, 2000).

An informal review of contemporary New Zealand radio announcers shows that women are outnumbered by men, and, while some female broadcasters headline their respective shows, many female broadcasters continue to feature in secondary roles such as traffic and weather reporters and evening love song hosts (Lacey, 2004). In Ames's (2003) study of representations of difference in Australian radio she found inconsistencies in the gender stereotypes present, but did note that stations reinforced heteronormativity and attempted to create conflict between male and female views of life. Between 1986 and 2007 a number of quantitative studies were undertaken to investigate gender role stereotyping in radio advertisements (Furnham & Scholfield, 1986; Furnham & Thomson, 1999; Hurtz & Durkin, 1997; Monk-Turner, Kouts, Parris, & Webb, 2007). The results of these studies reinforced many stereotypes found across mainstream advertising, and the more recent studies do not suggest any significant decline in stereotyping (Furnham & Thomson, 1999; Monk-Turner et al., 2007). Male characters were more prominent, more authoritative, and less dependent than female characters, and female characters were more likely to feature in products for body, home, and food products and were also more likely to suggest self-enhancement as a product reward (Furnham & Thomson, 1999; Hurtz & Durkin, 1997; Monk-Turner et al., 2007).

Gender and New Zealand Commercial Radio

Radio is an environment where gender is often highlighted, but given the equally small bodies of research on gender and media and then radio broadcasting in New Zealand it is unsurprising that gender in radio has yet to be investigated. Issues of sexism have been identified in the Australian and the United States radio markets and it is likely that New Zealand is similar given that local critical scholars suggest that the industry shows little civic responsibility (Ames, 2003; Hurtz & Durkin, 1997; Mollgaard, 2005; Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010; Monk-Turner et al., 2007; Watts, 2010). Mollgaard (2005; Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010) has investigated the ownership systems of New Zealand radio within a political economy of media framework, and Watts has illustrated the dominance commercial messaging has in the industry. There is a clear imbalance in the number of women on air in New Zealand commercial radio and

gender stereotypes have been identified in other local media (Comrie, 2008; Jackson, 2006; Michelle, 2012), which suggests possibilities of gender inequality in the industry and its broadcast outputs. Scholarship on gender in the media has found that stereotypical and postfeminist constructions of gender are prominent in contemporary advertising and commercial media (Artz et al., 1999; Gill, 2007a; Sandlin & Maudlin, 2012; Talbot, 1995). These representations of femininity are often exploited in advertising to sell products and services to women, and are also present in entertainment texts (Ames, 2003; Byerly & Ross, 2006; Camille, 2012; Comrie, 2008; Cox & Proffitt, 2012). This study will examine how women are represented within this highly commercial but also friendly and intimate environment. Given that New Zealand radio is “the” textbook case of commercial media, and it is also a gendered environment, it appears to be a valuable place to investigate the intersection of gender, the media, and the capital marketplace.

Delimitations of Study

The study of gender construction in New Zealand commercial radio has not been undertaken previously. A number of theoretical disciplines have been brought together to adequately explore the literature related to this focus. Scholars including Meehan and Riordan (2002b) have argued for the union of political economy and feminist studies, and studies of media and gender have also been well established, but this literature review has also incorporated theories of consumption, media pleasures, radio broadcasting, and the New Zealand radio environment. All of this scholarship is important to the subject matter of this thesis, but it does introduce the risk that the study may lack depth as it attempts to investigate each of these facets. To maintain a clear theoretical standpoint this investigation is grounded in feminist political economy and any other theories will be considered supplementary. While a broad scope of literature has been consulted, it is still possible that this literature review has failed to include scholarship which may benefit the outcomes of this research. One such pertinent aspect is that of Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) and Te Reo Māori (the language). Current scholarship from both feminism and New Zealand broadcasting

acknowledges the importance of indigenous culture and criticises the lack of attention it receives in research (Beatson, 1996; Palmer & Masters, 2010). A second area given little attention in this study is that of masculinity and constructions of male gender. Within gender studies there is emerging interest in how masculinity is exploited by the mass media and the highly commercial environment of New Zealand radio may be a valuable place to investigate this (Douglas & McNeill, 2011; Gill & Scharff, 2011). Despite these limitations, it may be that this study provides a starting point for further studies of gender or other issues of identity within New Zealand radio.

Literature Review Concluding Remarks

Gender continues to be an important part of human identity both on air and in everyday life. Critical literature suggests that the construction of gender in mainstream media can be stereotypical and informed by the preferred femininity of the advertising industry and the commercial players who benefit from such an environment. Radio is one industry among many that illustrates an ongoing tension between creative, entertaining outputs and commercial imperatives. This tension has been explored with gender in mind in other media, particularly magazines and television, but to date little attention has been given to radio. The New Zealand radio industry is considered highly developed but also highly commercial, and the small but well-developed body of literature on the local industry illustrates a number of concerns about trivial and advertising-centric content. As a medium known for its intimacy, and with stations that target female demographics, the New Zealand radio environment presents a body of data likely to give attention to gender. How this gender is presented in the broadcasting outputs of a highly commercial radio station is particularly interesting to this critical scholar.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Introduction

At the outset any methodological framework for this study must be appropriate for a critical study of media outputs. The data for this investigation will be radio broadcasts and, as discussed in the literature review, linguistics and discourse have proven to be valuable to studies of radio talk (Ames, 2003, 2012; Hutchby, 2006; Tolson, 2006). Here the theory and method of Norman Fairclough will be applied using critical discourse analysis (CDA) from his 1992 text *Discourse and Social Change*. A secondary influence comes from the author's 1995 book *Media Discourse* and also the work of Talbot (1995, 2000, 2005b, 2007, 2010). These texts are specifically concerned with media, and are similar to this study due to the particular attention given to the intersection of critical research, language, and media, and in the case of Talbot also gender studies. Faircloughian CDA uses discourse analysis as a method for the study of social phenomenon, in this case the construction of gender. To establish this choice of CDA the methodological arguments around critical research, qualitative research, and discourse analysis in relation to media and gender are explored. It is not ideal that this study focuses on media outputs to the exclusion of audience interpretation, and so this is acknowledged and discussed as well. The three levels of Fairclough's "Social Theory of Discourse" are outlined and through this the practical steps involved in this method are also explained. Fairclough's CDA has been prominently criticised from both within CDA and by those who disapprove of CDA more generally, and, while this is discussed, it is ultimately found to be a solid approach and one that will work alongside theories of feminism and radio as well.

Choosing Critical Discourse Analysis

Fairclough's (1992) CDA is an appropriate methodology for this study of gender in commercial radio in New Zealand. In CDA discourse is viewed as a social phenomenon, combining language studies with social and political thought (Blommaert & Bulcaen,

2000; Fairclough, 1992). According to Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000), Fairclough's 1988 publication *Language and Power* became the landmark CDA text as it established "the synthesis of linguistic method, objects of analysis, and political commitment that has become the trademark of CDA" (p. 454). It is this synthesis of factors that distinguishes CDA from other approaches, and the strong political stance which considers socio-political context is also relatively unique. The context of commercial radio in New Zealand is an important factor in this research, and this was one of the key reasons for choosing CDA over other forms of discourse analysis.

CDA can be considered a well-established methodological approach which is used by students and scholars in the field of media and communications studies as well as in many others areas of study (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Kahu & Morgan, 2007; Talbot, 2007). CDA has a dedicated publication in the journal *Discourse and Society* which is edited by CDA scholar Teun van Dijk. In general CDA practitioners draw on many techniques in linguistic and discourse analysis, and Fairclough encourages a multiplicity of approaches (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; van Dijk, 1993, 1999). Those incorporated into his 1992 text are particularly valid for this research project and include systemic-functional linguistics, text analysis and conversation analysis.

The Critical Paradigm

CDA is aligned with critical social theory and political economy of media theory. The critical paradigm is concerned with power and inequality, and for Fairclough (1992) this involves "showing connections and causes which are hidden; it also implies intervention" (p. 9). In CDA, research is carried out so as to focus on how power is enacted, legitimised or challenged within texts and correspondingly in society (Fairclough, 1992). CDA scholars (Fairclough, 1992, 1995; Talbot, 1995; van Dijk, 1994) agree that analysts should take an explicit moral and socio-political stand and that knowledge gained from research should be relevant and useful to society. Such social concern places this study within the critical paradigm rather than the epistemological paradigm within which qualitative work has been traditionally found (Fairclough, 1992; Merrigan & Huston, 2009; Wodak, 2011). In addition, this study is informed by feminist

academe, which is generally associated with the critical realm (Butler, 1990; Cameron, 1998; Du Plessis & Alice, 1998).

A critical stance is important to this research as it is concerned with how women are portrayed in media and how this relates to power within the radio industry.

Fairclough's 1995 text claims that media have the power to influence people's knowledge, beliefs, relationships and identities. The extent of this influence, however, is beyond the scope of this study, which must remain focused on text outputs. A critical stance can be viewed as antagonistic, but those who take this approach believe it is better to acknowledge such a position rather than claim impartiality, because bias is impossible to avoid in academe (Fairclough, 1992; Fuchs, 2011; Littlejohn & Foss, 2008; van Dijk, 1999). CDA allows for a methodical and balanced approach, which will be elaborated upon below, and it acknowledges that social power is not only and always "top-down" (Fairclough, 1992). For example, Bucholtz (2005) notes that CDA most often positions women as the consumers and subjects of discourse, and so I will bear this in mind and consider the many roles played by women in my texts, including as producers.

Qualitative Research

This study approaches radio content from a qualitative perspective. A major influence on this choice was the complex discourse present in the data set. During initial listening to ZM's breakfast show and the feature *Secret Life of Girls* (SLOG) it became obvious that some of the ambiguous and subversive rhetorical strategies associated with contemporary feminism and post-feminisms were present (Genz, 2009; Gill, 2007b; Kroløkke & Sørensen, 2006). Examples of these included humour, irony, teasing and contradictory statements. Such discourses can be difficult to categorise without detailed analysis, and therefore any quantitative study such as content analysis would likely involve a significant amount of qualitative analysis (Furnham & Thomson, 1999). It is acknowledged that content analysis has been used successfully to study radio broadcasting. Recently Watts (2010) applied content analysis in a study of advertising

messages on youth radio in New Zealand, including the station ZM. In this case, however, the value of qualitative research contributed to the decision to use CDA.

Discourse Analysis, Media and Gender

Discourse analysis, including CDA, is a well-used approach in both media studies and gender studies and is appropriate for the qualitative study of radio broadcasting for many reasons. Discourse analysis is the study of language texts in combination with discourse practices and socio-cultural practices (Fairclough, 1992, 1995). Unlike other popular form of linguistic analysis, CDA considers the role of context, including factors such as setting and social norms alongside linguistic features such as genre and intertextuality (Fairclough, 1992; Weatherall, Stubbe, Sunderland, & Baxter, 2010). For scholars in this field the power of *discourse* [emphasis added] lies in its ability to construct ourselves, our social categories and our social realities (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Fairclough, 1992). The power of *discourse analysis* [emphasis added] lies in its ability to analyse and deconstruct our everyday communication to shed light on these realities (Fairclough, 1992). In *Media Discourse* (1995) Fairclough suggests that media texts display social change as they both reflect and stimulate society, and thus are valuable sources for analysis. This study aims to shed light on the social realities of gender, particularly in the context of commercial radio. Three key theorists in broadcast talk, Hutchby (2006), Tolson (2006), and Scannell (1991), all advocate for discourse analysis of radio talk. Talbot (2007) discusses how contemporary popular media embraces parody, mixes genres and makes many cultural references, and such discourse requires both social and textual analysis. In considering the concept of gender as a social construct produced in part by discourse, the role of discourse analysis in feminist studies can be seen to be significant. Discourse analysis can give insight into the symmetries and asymmetries of communication, and these power relations can be applied to this study with regard to both gender and the political economy of media (Fairclough, 1995; Wareing, 1999).

Discourse Analysis, Media Effects and Audiences

A key criticism of discourse analysis in media is that it ignores media effects and the autonomous role of the audience (Molina, 2009). It is acknowledged by many scholars including Fairclough (1992, 1995) that audience understanding, response and any resulting effects can never be accurately determined in a textual analysis, and therefore any inferences made are hypothetical (Sunderland, 2004; Talbot, 2007). Any text can be negotiated, contested and rejected as the listener (in the case of radio) uses appropriate reflectivity in their interpretation. However, in media it is difficult to avoid discussions of audience and Talbot (1995) builds a solid argument that justifies this within CDA. Talbot writes that media producers have total control over their outputs, and this, in combination with professional resources such as market research, puts them in a powerful position. The range of possible interpretations can be controlled and inhibited by the text, and so the content is shaped with the audience's interpretations and understandings in mind (Fairclough, 1995; Talbot, 1995). In media such as the teen magazines of Talbot's research, content is often presented in a familiar manner which assumes shared attitudes and experiences. With this in mind Talbot argues that audience members are often unaware they are being acted upon, and in turn are more compliant and less critical, and "as a result, actual addressees, in the target audience, are likely to take up the position inscribed, with its commonsense attitudes" (Talbot, 1995, p. 146).

This study makes some assumptions about how audiences may interpret the radio broadcasts of *ZM*. I see a number of similarities between the political-economic situation, content, and language of radio stations aimed at young people in New Zealand and the teen and women's magazines studied by Talbot (1995) and others (J. Coupland, 2007; del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006; Gill, 2009; Gough-Yates, 2002; Jackson, 2005; Thornborrow & Machin, 2003). Like magazines, commercial radio stations undertake research and specifically target demographic groups to ensure maximum "connection" with their audiences (The Radio Bureau, 2013a; The Radio Network, 2013b). *The Radio Bureau* is a company which sells radio advertising and in their summary of the New Zealand radio market they boast of the specific market

segmentation and the powerful emotional connections available for advertising partners (The Radio Bureau, 2006a). The interpretations of and effects upon individual audience members can never be thoroughly revealed through discourse analysis, but it is also appropriate to draw balanced conclusions about media outputs and their potential for audience influence. The analysis will aim to be reflective and to make assumptions explicit, including being clear in regard to “what is text and what is context” (Weatherall et al., 2010, p. 236). I have acknowledged how my experience at *The Radio Bureau* has influenced my view of commercial radio in the introductory chapter and so my agreement with Talbot on this contentious issue is an area to which I bring my own interpretations of radio and the context of the commercial radio environment.

Choosing Fairclough’s Social Theory of Discourse

In his 1992 text *Discourse and Social Change* Fairclough presents his Social Theory of Discourse, a comprehensive three-level view of discourse which subscribes to the fundamental tenants of CDA. The three levels of discourse are text, discursive practice, and social practice, and these will be explored in more detail below. Fairclough (1992) views discourse as social practice and links it to wider social and cultural processes, particularly for the goal of identifying social change. In his 1992 text Fairclough argues that many aspects of late modernity include highly linguistic-discursive characteristics and language forms are increasingly commodified. For example, Fairclough cites examples from educational and medical institutions where school-student and doctor-patient discourse has shifted from traditionally formal interactions to those which are more casual, less hierarchical, and more like the discourse between a salesperson and a client (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). While such shifts may have a positive effect on communication processes, in CDA there is the critical social concern that language can be used to benefit certain social groups over others. It “blurs the boundaries between information and persuasion, and it obscures “objective” power relationships... in asymmetrical institutional interactions” (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000, p. 543).

An important aspect of Fairclough's (1992) CDA is that discourse is viewed as dialectical, meaning that it is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped. While wary of overstating the constructivist role of discourse, Fairclough identifies three key ways in which discourse reproduces and transforms society. These three ways are the construction of social identity, the construction of social relationships, and the construction of systems of knowledge and belief (Fairclough, 1992). All three of these routes can be seen to pertain to the construction of gender in popular culture. A final key aspect of Fairclough's three dimensional Social Theory of Discourse is that it is firmly grounded in the critical paradigm. It is worth noting that this piece of research will be limited in its investigation of social change, but the strength of the methodology and the clear guidance offered in *Discourse and Social Change* provide reasons enough for its use in the investigation of social practice.

Fairclough's 1992 text provides a methodology which corresponds to his Social Theory of Discourse and includes a solid framework to guide textual analysis of multidimensional discursive events. Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) call a Social Theory of Discourse "the most elaborate and ambitious attempt toward theorizing the CDA program... (which) provides a methodological blueprint" (p. 448). For Fairclough (1992) the strength of this approach over earlier CDA methods lies in the successful synthesis of the linguistic and social dimensions of discourse. Fairclough's 1995 publication *Media Discourse* applies his three-level framework specifically to media texts, reinforcing the importance of this area of research and providing many practical examples. Fairclough's CDA facilitates an in-depth analysis of the radio text using a relatively small corpus of data as is appropriate to the practicalities of this study.

Key Terms in a Social Theory of Discourse

This section will explore some key terms used by Fairclough (1992, 1995), because the terms "text" and "discourse" have a number of interpretations both within discourse studies and in everyday language. CDA utilises Halliday's (2002) fairly broad definition of text, whereby it refers to "the observable product of the interaction" (Talbot, 2007, p. 9) and can include any product either written, spoken, or in other symbolic form

such as a still or moving image (Fairclough, 1992). In this case the texts are radio broadcasts, these have been digitally recorded and transcribed for ease of study but the audio remains the core text under analysis. The term “discourse” (without an article) refers to an instance of language use as a three-dimensional (discursive) event, a form of social practice which is distinct from a simple incident of language use by an individual (Fairclough, 1992). This discourse is not in itself visible, but can be recognised through characteristic linguistic traces (Fairclough, 1992). When the term discourse is used alongside an article (for example “a discourse”, “discourses” or “the feminist discourse”) this refers to a “particular class of discourse types or conventions” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 5) which are drawn upon when engaging in discourse.

Such conventionally-bound discourses are particularly relevant because of the role of orders of discourse in this study. The Foucaultian phrase “orders of discourse” refers to the relationships and configurations of different types of discourses, discourse practices or genres (the elements of orders of discourse), within a community (Fairclough, 1992). Fairclough (1992) also distinguishes between “discourse practices” which refers to the discourses of particular groups, and “discursive practice” as a single dimension of discourse that can be analysed. “Genre” is another term to describe types of discourse. Fairclough (1995) identifies genre by the normative organisational properties and social practices of the discourse, giving examples such as interview genre and advertising genre.

Fairclough’s Social Theory of Discourse: Three Levels

Text

The discussion of Fairclough’s (1992) three levels of discourse analysis will begin with the most micro level, discourse as text for close linguistic analysis. This level follows linguistic conventions and Fairclough borrows from other disciplines, particularly conversation analysis and systemic-functional linguistics. The text analysis involves form and meaning analysis through seven key areas identified by Fairclough, these being vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, text structure, force, coherence and

intertextuality. Fairclough sums up much of the importance of lexis when he says that words “are socially variable and socially contested, and facets of wider social and cultural processes” (p. 185). Text analysis is more concrete and descriptive than the other two layers, but any discourse identification is always interpretive (Sunderland, 2004). As Holmes (1987) reminds us, “one person’s feeble hedging is another’s perspicuous qualification” (p. 474, as cited in Talbot, 2005).

Discursive Practice

Discourse as an instance of discursive practice is concerned with the production, distribution and consumption of the text or texts (Fairclough, 1992, 1995). This can look at material processes, such as the activity involved in the broadcast of the *ZM* breakfast show and the *SLOG* feature, and also what Fairclough (1992) terms the “sociocognitive” processes involved which work to reduce the ambivalence of texts. Erjavec (2004) writes that “the analyst is searching for ‘traces’ of the process of production, trying to find some indications of how the text could be interpreted” (p. 574). The most salient sociocognitive factor for this study is that of intertextuality, which will be discussed in greater detail below. Fairclough notes that all three levels can and do overlap, as seen in the repeated discussion of intertextuality, and it is in part for clarity that the three levels are presented separately.

Intertextuality

Fairclough (1992) introduces intertextuality as “basically the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in” (p. 84). Here Fairclough draws on the work of Bakhtin, Kristeva, and Foucault, recalling Foucault’s (1972) words “there can be no statement that in one way or another does not reactualize others” (p. 98, as cited in Fairclough, 1992). This leads Fairclough to state that texts are inherently intertextual. These snatches of texts may be assimilated, but they may also be contradicted or echoed in alternative ways, and so intertextuality allows the researcher to investigate the parody, pastiche, irony and sarcasm present in post-feminist discourse and contemporary popular media.

Manifest intertextuality is concerned with specific texts which are overtly drawn upon in a text, for example when a media release is quoted on the radio, or when a song is parodied by the announcers. Manifest intertextuality is most often discussed at the discursive practice level of Fairclough's Social Theory of Discourse. It is at this level that intertextuality can reveal how chains of texts produce new texts, how texts are distributed through networks, and how previously encountered texts contribute to the coherence and interpretation and of any new texts (Fairclough, 1992, p. 85).

Constitutive intertextuality, also known as interdiscursivity, deals with the more macro relationships between texts. Fairclough (1992) gives the example of the mixed genres involved in chat shows, and the radio broadcasts used in this study will likely combine numerous genres from both public and private worlds. Within Fairclough's Social Theory of Discourse the focus of constitutive intertextuality is upon the constitution of texts through orders of discourse. In both forms of intertextuality the reappropriation of texts is a historical process and relative to social change. Fairclough argues that the rapid intertextual discursive change he has observed, such as the shifts in the institutional discourses of medicine and education, is a contemporary phenomenon related to the rapid social changes of the modern age. Fairclough (1992, 1995) and Talbot have both noted that in contemporary society there has been a shift towards traditionally non-commercial discourses including elements of marketisation, commercialisation, or advertising, reflecting the neoliberal political environment. This shift has relevance for this research project as advertising and commercial discourse is found to have a presence in the discourse of *ZM*.

Orders of Discourse

Orders of discourse are of particular importance within this study as they are in the text *Discourse and Social Change* (Fairclough, 1992). An order of discourse is an interdependent configuration of discursive formations, which Fairclough (1992) argues is the "structural identity which underlies discursive events" (p. 68). Orders of discourse are generally viewed as larger than constitutive intertextuality, but in Fairclough's Social Theory of Discourse the overall concern is these configurations at any level, from societal and institutional orders of discourse down to discourse types

and elements of discourse. In orders of discourse the focus is on the sum of all parts and the relationships between these parts rather than the elements involved. Such relationships are considered unstable because boundaries are drawn and redrawn in hegemonic struggle (Fairclough, 1992, 1995). Orders of discourse are important because they can reveal tensions or acceptance between discourses, which in turn can reveal change within social and institutional environments when compared over time or between different environments (Fairclough, 1992).

Social Practice

Discourse as an instance of social practice is concerned with power, ideology and hegemony as it is present in the social situation of the text, social organisations, and society as a whole (Fairclough, 1992; van Dijk, 1999). Social power (rather than individual power), and social power is established through privileged access to valuable resources such as money, status, or knowledge, and also through access to communication (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1993). For Fairclough, language plays the primary role in the production and reproduction of ideology, as well as in instances where ideology is challenged or reappropriated. Such inequalities of power are often hidden and so it is important to Fairclough as a critical academic that his methodology be used to investigate this.

Ideology and Hegemony

In CDA, and particularly Fairclough's (1992) Social Theory of Discourse, it is important to consider the ideological and hegemonic potential of discourse. Fairclough's understanding of ideology follows that of J. B. Thompson (1984, 1990) and can be defined as "meaning in the service of power" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 14). Ideologies often become socially embedded as inevitable or "common sense" and Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony builds on this. Hegemony is concerned with overarching social power which has been established through consent rather than through force (Fairclough, 1992; Gramsci, 1971). In contemporary society the focus is upon the cognitive exercise of power, largely manifesting as the use of ideology to establish hegemony (Fairclough, 1992; Gramsci, 1971). This ideology plays out through

discourse, as van Dijk (1993) wrote, “managing the mind of others is essentially a function of text and talk” (p. 254). Discourse shapes perceptions of reality, and therefore CDA sets out to investigate the “linguistic realisation of ideologies” (Conradie, 2011, p. 403) rather than actual power.

Power often presents itself in texts through the choices made by those that communicate. Any utterance within a text has many interpretive options for the linguistic content and discursive practice processes involved, but these are inhibited and constrained by various factors, resulting in the final discourse (Fairclough, 1992; Talbot, 1995, 2007). For Fairclough (1992, 1995) ideology can usually be identified by asking where such decisions have come from, who is impacted upon and in what ways, and what the motivations may be. In this research, potential factors may be as varied as the power that comes from the business owners, or the power behind the conventions of who can speak on-air. The correlation between discourse and power continues in regards to intertextuality, as Fairclough (1992) explains:

One can also conceptualize intertextual processes and processes of contesting and restructuring orders of discourse as processes of hegemonic struggle in the sphere of discourse, which have effects upon, as well as being affected by, hegemonic struggle in the wider sense. (p. 103)

As with orders of discourse, ideologies are constantly being articulated, rearticulated and disarticulated, and thus hegemony can only ever be partial and temporary (Fairclough, 1992).

Ideology, Power, and Gender

In her CDA of gender in television drama Kosetzi (2008) makes the statement that media is ideological in principal because of the constant inclusion and exclusion of content, and Fairclough (1995) shows the significance of the sociocultural role of media in his book *Media Discourse*. In undertaking this study I recognise the potential for inequality and relations of dominance in the discourse, particularly at institutional and social levels (Fairclough, 1995). Feminist and gender issues are pertinent here because relations of power continue to facilitate the stereotyping and marginalisation of women in the mass media (Kosetzi, 2008; Talbot, 1995, 2005b, 2007, 2010). Talbot's

(2005a, 2005b, 2010) work in particular has involved the application of CDA to investigate how relations of dominance can shape stereotypical and consumerist representations of women, and in turn how such language and representations can operate as a hegemonic construct of preferred female behaviour, reinforcing the status quo. It is important to note that women do participate in this “collusion” when they reinforce and rearticulate discourses of stereotypical femininity, for example when they buy, use and discuss “beauty” products in their everyday lives (or judge others for not doing so) (Gill, 2007b; Talbot, 2010). Talbot found that when such behaviour is present in the media, whether the collusion is intentional or not, it can be broadcast as a shared female experience which reproduces intimacy .

Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

In the first book to be published on feminist CDA, Lazar (2005) describes the content as “at the nexus of CDA and feminist scholarship” (p. 1). Lazar goes on to write about the importance of bringing together and making explicit the work that shares this distinct perspective. Such a perspective includes a critical feminist view motivated to change existing gender inequality and a focus on the omni-relevance of gender, and proves that CDA is not just carried out by “straight white men” (Cameron, 1998, p. 969; Lazar, 2005; Molina, 2009). Critical reflectivity and the acknowledgement of difference in feminist CDA ensures that attention is given to the dominance of heteronormativity and heterosexuality in discourse, because “ideas about being woman and men transfer in theory to assumptions about the body and the physical practice of sex” (Remlinger, 2005). Materially, feminist CDA is concerned with any text that includes gendered strategies of talk and representations of gendered social practices, as well as issues of access to texts and discourse (Lazar, 2005). In feminist CDA gender is seen to be the most pervasive social influence as opposed to Fairclough’s (1992) focus on class, particularly due to the nature of day to day interactions between men and women and the ongoing construction of gender (Butler, 1990; Kosetzi, 2008). Despite these differences, the critical nature of CDA, and in turn the focus upon social issues presented through discourse, makes it an appropriate choice within text analysis for

studies concerned with gender. The contributors discussed here, including Lazar (2005), C. M. Magalhães (2005; 2006) Talbot (2000, 2005a, 2005b), and Wodak (2001, 2008), show no conflict towards 'traditional' CDA and appear to publish under both feminist CDA and CDA umbrellas when gender is a focus. Gender relations have gone through extensive changes in the past century and continue to be negotiated and renegotiated, and Fairclough's Social Theory of Discourse is one approach which can map such changes through critical discursive analysis.

Feminist CDA brings attention to the ideology and hegemony related to sexism and patriarchy. In contemporary feminism gender is generally agreed to be an ideological structure that divides people by sexual difference, in which men dominate and women are subordinate, and this structure has largely been stable over time and place (Lazar, 2005). In contemporary society patriarchy is seen to interact with corporate, consumer, and political ideologies, and also post-feminist ideology (Gill, 2007a, 2007b; Lazar, 2005). Lazar (2005) argues that hegemonic "subtle sexism" is pervasive and insidious in contemporary Western societies, and postfeminist discourse can often see women contribute to the consensus that reinforces their subordination.

Of the feminist CDA studies conducted in the past decade or so, those concerned with media institutions have contributed to the course for this undertaking. These include I. Magalhães's (2005) study of how heterogeneous gender identities in advertising are used to position individuals as consumers in Brazil, McDowell and Schaffner's (2011) research into gender and insult in an American reality television show and Kosetzi's (2008) study of hegemonic and oppositional masculinity in "the Greek Sex and the City". Talbot's (2000, 2005a, 2007) more recent work has investigated the commodification of feminism and feminist discourse in advertising, including advertisements for *British Telecom* and the *National Rifle Association* in the United States. Kahu and Morgan's (2007) CDA of a government document on New Zealand women explored how discourse constructed paid work and motherhood, and concluded that dominant constructions worked to privilege the former over the latter. These findings reinforce the belief that patriarchal gender ideology "is enacted and

renewed in a society's institutions and social practices" (Lazar, 2005, p. 8) and also that CDA is successful in investigating this.

Critical Discourse Analysis and Conversation Analysis

Conversation analysis (CA) is a popular methodological course for both media and gender studies, and one which is often compared with CDA. For these reasons this approach will be discussed briefly. CA is seen to be systematic, detailed, and rigorous, three areas CDA is often criticised for lacking (Hutchby, 1996, 2006; Stubbe et al., 2003; van Dijk, 1999; Weatherall et al., 2010). Despite these qualities CA was not considered for this study as it lacks a distinctly critical point of view and does not take context into account, two aspects considered important to this study (Stubbe et al., 2003; van Dijk, 1999). Media broadcasts in particular can be seen to pose a problem for CA due to the influence of production processes and the institutional environment in comparison to everyday talk (Fairclough, 1995). Critical discourse analysts such as Fairclough (1992) and Talbot (2007, 2010) believe in looking at the wider socio-political situation even if it is not specified in the text. This is also important to feminist scholarship because for many feminists gender is always important, and in post-feminist society sexism can be subtle, hidden or ambiguous (Talbot, 2010; Weatherall et al., 2010).

In CDA it is appropriate to draw on multiple methods for discourse analysis, and such an interdisciplinary approach is encouraged by Fairclough (Bucholtz, 2005; 1992; Stubbe et al., 2003). Scholarship in discourse analysis more widely, including linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis, critical linguistics, politeness theory, social semiotics and conversation analysis (CA), has informed Fairclough's (1992) approach to CDA. For van Dijk (1999) the debate between CA and CDA is "itself a discursive act often riddled with bias" (p. 459) and in this study there is no reason the two cannot be used in tandem. Media talk scholar Hutchby (2006) argues that CA can investigate power in the media environment when it appears in the text and advocates for CA to be applied to broadcast talk. A key criticism of CDA is that it often lacks detailed, systematic analysis,

but this can be rectified by drawing on the other methodological resources referred to by Fairclough, including CA (van Dijk, 1999).

Critiques of Critical Discourse Analysis and Fairclough

CDA has faced and continues to face criticism, and, as Beaugrande (2007) notes with a ten pin bowling metaphor, it is Fairclough “who is knocked down and reset the oftenest” (para. 11). Widdowson (2000, 2004) is a lead detractor in the polemic debate against CDA, while others from within CDA (Blommaert, 2007; Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Molina, 2009) critique the more established approaches of Fairclough (1992, 1995), Wodak (2001, 2011) and van Dijk (1993, 1994, 1999). One of the criticisms often cited is that CDA lacks rigour and is not consistent and replicable as a method, resulting in non-scientific interpretations rather than analysis (Molina, 2009; Poole, 2010; Widdowson, 2000, 2004). These interpretations are in turn said to be influenced by the politics of the researchers themselves (often in the guise of “context”), who, due to the flexibility of CDA, choose to study texts and apply linguistic theory that suit these beliefs (Baxter, 2008; Widdowson, 2000, 2004). CDA is also said to produce generalisations (Molina, 2009), but Fairclough’s (1992) methodology has been chosen as it is a systematic and rigorous approach for this study. CDA emphasises that practitioners must be appropriately reflective throughout their analysis to guard against generalisations and overt political bias (Fairclough, 1992; van Dijk, 1994). Poole (2010) has criticised Fairclough for putting socialism before linguistics, and Widdowson (2000, 2004) advocates for textual analysis which is value-free, but, as discussed above, CDA rejects such a positivist notion (Fairclough, 1992; Lazar, 2005). Within critical theory an approach such as Fairclough’s is appropriate when scholars reflectively acknowledge the values that undoubtedly exist (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1992).

Fairclough (1992; 1992, 1993, 1995, 2001) has been criticised for being vague and for blurring concepts, particularly in regard to “discourse” and the many related terms (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Widdowson, 2000, 2004). In this study I have found the differences between discourse, discourses, discourse practices and so on tedious and

confusing at times, but I have managed this by defining these key terms as per Fairclough's 1992 text and using them appropriately (see the paragraph Key Terms in a Social Theory of Discourse above). A second area of confusion is Fairclough's treatment of text in regard to how much weight textual analysis should be given and how this becomes linked to macro conclusions about socio-political matters. For some critics (Widdowson, 2000, 2004) CDA does not focus on text or linguistic analysis enough, for others (Blommaert, 2007; Molina, 2009; Wodak, 2006) it relies too much on text to the expense of what is unsaid or found beyond the text. Fairclough (1992, 1995) acknowledges that there is no simple answer in regard to how to validate findings in CDA, and so his approach argues for a reflective and cohesive analysis that illustrates robustness by not leaving features unexplained. Fairclough (1995) writes that "self-conscious linguistic choice is a relatively marginal aspect of the social processes of text production and interpretation" (p. 18), and so calls for a focus on all the elements which come together to create a discursive event .

The final key criticism of CDA to be discussed is that it focuses on "top-down" power and ignores the agency of lower-level individuals in the production process and also in the audience (Poole, 2010; Stubbe et al., 2003). Fairclough (1992) and his contemporaries (van Dijk, 1993, 1999; Wodak, 2011) have acknowledged that top-down power can be emphasised in CDA, and in turn have argued that resistance and also shared production are part of the ongoing power struggle that exists in discourse. Within this study the top-down power of the radio industry is seen to deserve attention, but equal attention will be given to any bottom-up agency. The role of the audience has been discussed above in relation to discourse analysis and therefore it should be sufficient here to acknowledge the importance of reception studies (see the paragraph on Discourse Analysis, Media Effects and Audiences above). Fairclough (1992) acknowledges that his approach "could be used as one method amongst others for investigating social changes" (p. 8), and he emphasises the benefits of triangulating findings, particularly when considering matters of coherence (p. 233). A multi-modal investigation of gender in New Zealand radio would be desirable however this would lack practicality in a small scale study such as this.

Critical Discourse Analysis and New Zealand Radio

In his 1995 text *Media Discourse* Fairclough applies his three-level theory of discourse specifically to the media environment. In addition to the theory first presented in his 1992 text, Fairclough (1995) considers the role of technology and the unique production, distribution and consumption of media discourses. While this study cannot draw concrete conclusions about audiences and effects, mass media broadcasting does have a role in public discourse and this cannot be ignored (Fairclough, 1995; Talbot, 2007). For Fairclough, the role of discourse in shaping and being shaped by society is particularly clear in media communication and “media texts constitute a sensitive barometer of sociocultural change” (p. 52).

Discourse analysis is particularly suited to this study because of the relationship between radio and talk, as Atkinson and Moores (2003) note “if talk is central to the operations of radio, then academic studies of radio must include detailed investigations into the dynamics of broadcast discourse” (p. 145). Voice is an important part of speech, particularly in radio, and Schlichter (2011) has expanded upon the work of Butler (1990) to note the importance of voice within gender performativity. Fairclough’s (1992, 1995) critical approach is well-equipped to investigate the discourse of intensely commercial media institutions such as those found in New Zealand radio. The commercial radio stations in New Zealand are cultural commodities that exist to turn a profit and, according to Fairclough (1995) and in keeping with political economy of media theory, such marketisation will shape the organisations’ communicatory processes and outputs (Golding & Murdock, 1997; McChesney, 2008; Mosco, 2009).

A concern of this study is the role of consumption and promotional messaging within the public and private realms. Fairclough (1992) sees this cycle of promotion and consumption as being constantly endorsed and re-endorsed throughout commercial media. This is attributed in part to the fact that those already with power (be it economic, political or cultural) have favourable access to media, and partly because the quest for audience and advertising dollars diverts attention and resources from political and social issues (Fairclough, 1995; Talbot, 2007). All of these assumptions

that Fairclough (1995) makes about media organisations can be seen to apply to the commercial radio stations in New Zealand, and this is investigated in the analysis which follows.

“Doing Discourse Analysis”

Fairclough’s multi-dimensional approach to discourse analysis will be applied in the data analysis chapter to follow. As mentioned above, Fairclough’s 1992 text *Discourse and Social Change* supplies a clear methodology and method that is further mapped out in the final chapter, titled “Doing Discourse Analysis”. As outlined in this chapter, the first step in CDA involves identifying and selecting the corpus from within the domain of interest, and then analysis of the data as text is undertaken. This is followed by discourse analysis of the data as discursive practice, including material production and also the more abstract concept of constitutive intertextuality which includes orders of discourse. The final step in the analysis involves viewing the discourse as social practice and examining ideology and hegemony within the discourse. Findings overlap across the three levels, and Fairclough (1992) notes that the line between text and discursive practice in particular is not sharp.

Chapter Four: Data Analysis

Introduction

Discourse analysis often involves intensive data analysis and this is reflected in the prominence of this chapter. The chapter itself is divided into four sub-chapters which comprise firstly data selection and then the analysis of the data using each of the three levels of Fairclough's (1992) approach. Once Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been decided upon samples must be isolated for close analysis, which in CDA is considered part of the data analysis process. From here the analysis follows Fairclough's three-dimensional Social Theory of Discourse. It begins with a thorough text analysis of the data using audio recordings and transcriptions. The text chapter is important for highlighting the intimate, friendly, and humorous, but also highly contrived, nature of this radio product. Further to this is language which finds SLOG to be youthful, feminine, and advertising-centric, which together presents a stereotypical view of womanhood. The discourse as text chapter also introduces the "SmartBalls" sample. "SmartBalls" works as a crux to illustrate what happens when the conventional subjects of SLOG are interrupted. This is followed by an analysis of the data as discursive practice, which follows not only the physical production processes but also the journeys and associations of the linguistic elements used and the themes present. Data as discursive practice is important as it highlights intertextuality and orders of discourse, which can be utilised to identify discursive change and therefore social change. Discourse as social practice includes a discussion of ideology and hegemony and allows for a more critical perspective of the power relationships present in the data. The critical concerns determined in the social practice sub-chapter are substantiated by earlier findings and together the significant themes of postfeminism, patriarchy, and neoliberal capitalism are discussed in the following chapters.

Isolating the Data

This sub-chapter explains how audio from the weekly radio feature *Secret Life of Girls* (SLOG) on radio station ZM was chosen to form the data sample for this study. The first step in CDA is identifying and selecting the corpus of discourse samples, which in this case began with the selection of an appropriate radio station and then a section of that station's broadcasting to form an archive of audio (Fairclough, 1992). The radio station network selected was ZM, a formulaic contemporary music station with an audience that skews female. With ZM is a particular feature called "*Secret Life of Girls*", which in name and content is clearly identifiable as a radio event where gender is highlighted. SLOG was chosen because it is produced as an editorial feature within the breakfast show, and as such it is separate from external content like advertising or music. This allows for a focus on the outputs of the radio station itself. An archive of SLOG audio was gathered and from this samples were chosen for close data analysis through a selection process guided by Fairclough's (1992) CDA.

ZM

As this study was being developed the initial goal was to investigate the construction of gender in commercial radio in New Zealand. To do this the data should consist of audio that is most representative of station broadcasting, which means the editorial output of a commercial brand rather than music or advertising. It was decided that a major commercial station with a show networked nationwide would be appropriate as this is how the majority of stations in New Zealand operate, and I also wanted a station which talked to women about women. The ZM network is one station that fits these parameters. On *The Radio Bureau's* station demographic matrix of all New Zealand commercial stations ZM sits firmly in the younger and female quadrant and, according to the first radio listenership survey of 2013, 58% of ZM listeners were female (The Radio Bureau, 2013a, 2013b). ZM rates highly with listeners aged 18-54, with more females aged 25-49 tuning in every week than any other station, and it also rates well in the key consumer demographic of household shoppers with kids (The Radio Bureau, 2013a; The Radio Network, 2013b).

ZM's format is that of a contemporary hit radio (CHR) station, targeting young adults and playing what is generally known as pop music (Hendy, 2000; The Radio Network, 2013b). *ZM* is one of seven networked radio brands from *The Radio Network*, with each station targeting a different demographic audience (The Radio Bureau, 2013b). *The Radio Network's* (2013b) website describes *ZM* as "interactive, entertaining, spontaneous and now" (para. 1), and the station's announcers are called "personalities" (para. 1). *ZM* broadcasts news, weather and traffic updates at regular intervals, but these are brief and given little emphasis. The audience of "young professionals, singles & young families" (The Radio Network, 2013b, para. 2) is described as "brand-conscious... early adopters" (para. 2) and a "savvy consumer group" (para. 1). *ZM's* slogan is "Today's Hit Music", and alongside the music there is an emphasis on the lifestyle being modern and contemporary as well. In recalling a number of incidents for which *ZM* faced criticism, including giving away on-air prizes of cosmetic surgery in 2004, Mollgaard and Rosenberg (2010) give the impression that *ZM*, like most New Zealand radio stations, shows few principles when seeking attention, listeners, and advertising dollars. It is advantageous to this study that I am a demographic fit with the "typical *ZM* listener" (described as a socially active young professional female) and as a regular listener of *ZM* I have some familiarity with the values and interests shared by the announcers (The Radio Network, 2013b). In many ways *ZM* is "speaking to me" and this, along with appropriate reflectivity, substantiates my findings as "an analyst and a citizen" (Weatherall et al., 2010, p. 222).

ZM has a strong brand and well-known on-air personalities with whom listeners interact on air, on the *ZM* website (www.ZMonline.co.nz), and through social media. Conventionally the breakfast show (on air from approximately 6am to 10am) is the flagship show of any radio station, as it is for *ZM* (Hendy, 2000). The long-running and high rating breakfast radio show *Polly & Grant* is hosted by Polly Gillespie and her husband Grant Kereama, and they are joined by their producer Marc Peard (known on the show as "New Hot Guy"). Polly is named first in the show line up, and online she has her own space on the website in addition to the *Polly & Grant* page, which suggests that Polly is the face and key personality of the show. In the first quarter of

2013 *ZM* claimed the longest session duration of all New Zealand entertainment websites (The Radio Network, 2013b) and had approximately 111,670 “likes” on the *ZM* facebook page. Polly has over 58,500 “likes” on her public facebook page (Grant has 6,140), with hundreds of people interacting with her via facebook on a daily basis (2013b), and she also has an advice column in *Woman’s Day* magazine (Gillespie, 2013a). Polly in particular is a well-established media personality who appears to engage with her audience in a very personal way.

The Secret Life of Girls

ZM hosts the weekly segment *Secret Life of Girls* (SLOG), which is marked by name, content, and participants as being about the female experience. Discourses do not have to overtly acknowledge gender to be studied as such (Swann, 2002; Weatherall, 2000), but in this case it is obviously marked by the broadcasters themselves. Because of the suitability of *ZM* and the clearly female orientation of SLOG it was decided after some initial listening that SLOG would be recorded to form the archive of data for this study. The same three women contribute each week; Polly from *Polly & Grant*, Kate and Anna. Occasionally they have been joined by a special guest, usually a local female actor. Kate and Anna are not regular announcers on *ZM* but it is clear that they are friendly with Polly and familiar with the station. SLOG is broadcast at approximately 7.30am each Thursday within the weekday breakfast show *Polly & Grant*, and lasts between two and a half minutes to six minutes according to the audio in the archive. The data were gathered either by live recording or from a daily *Polly & Grant* podcast, and this allowed for a consistent and regular body of discourse that was collected from July to November of 2012. From this archive of audio a small body of discourse was chosen to form the corpus for analysis. It is a delimitation of this study that only a fraction of the archive is analysed, but this is in keeping with CDA’s focus on in-depth analysis (Fairclough, 1992).

Secret Life of Girls as Editorial Content

SLOG includes plenty of discussion and recommendations of goods and services, but in New Zealand radio terms it is still considered editorial content because it does not

accept payment for promoting products. The naming rights of SLOG are not available for sponsorship, if they were this would be heard in the introduction as “Secret Life of Girls thanks to...”, and there are no prize giveaways, which in my experience are central to radio station promotions in New Zealand. In my preliminary research in 2012 I heard an explicit disclaimer on air during SLOG that one particularly enthusiastic product endorsement was not paid for. In addition to this on-air content, the ZM programme director Christian Boston (personal communication, July 15, 2013) stated explicitly that the feature has independent editorial control and is not for sale. SLOG is also included in ZM’s “Best of the Crew” podcast, which includes the most entertaining content from the announcers and does not include music or advertising. SLOG fulfils this study’s objective to investigate content created by the radio station itself rather than by any commercial or music partners.

In SLOG the women do discuss products that have been sent as public relations activity and this introduces the question of whether or not this constitutes “independent” content. Public relations activity is obvious when Polly is sent products for free. In the archive, as in the *SmartBalls* sample, Polly appears to acknowledge when things have been sent to her, with the implication being that it was not paid for but also that it was unsolicited. In comparison, there are other times when the women of SLOG mention how they came across products via the shops or through friends. Christian Boston (personal communication, July 15, 2013) agrees that the women of SLOG can receive free products, but any on-air mentions are “at the total discretion of the person it’s been sent to”. Christian Boston goes on to say that it may be featured on air “if they think it’s good enough”, and, despite the moral ambiguity of the situation, it does appear that the women of SLOG only discuss things they genuinely support. There have been a small number of negative product reviews on SLOG but none of these have been included in the sample as representational, however the ambiguous *SmartBalls* sample is included. In my time working in radio advertising (prior to February 2011) there were times when clients specifically asked to be included in SLOG and were turned away. The extent to which the audience understands this

independence is difficult to determine, but in regard to media outputs it is valuable to note that SLOG is considered by the producers to be commercial-free.

Each week SLOG follows a consistent structure and the topics of discussion are generally similar. SLOG begins with the males, Grant and Marc, saying goodbye and claiming to leave the studio (but their occasional interruptions suggest that they don't actually move). The SLOG pre-recorded imaging audio (saying "secret life of girls") is then played, Polly leads the women in introducing themselves, and then Polly invites each woman to speak. I have labelled these turns at speaking "contributions". In SLOG each woman (including Polly) takes a turn to talk about something they have identified as pertaining to women, and more often than not it is a good such as a beauty product or food item. Alternative subject matters present in the archive include services such as facials and psychic readings, television shows, and party theme ideas. Less commercial topics such as health and charity activity did arise but were always discussed in relation to aligned commercial products or brands. Between and during these contributions Polly, Kate and Anna chat and laugh, often with teasing banter. Once each woman has taken a turn at speaking the segment always concludes with Polly saying "and that was the secret life of girls with me Polly..." and then the other contributors give their names. Sporadically Grant will interject during SLOG, but more often he will begin speaking again once the segment has concluded. Often products and services mentioned in SLOG are then shared on ZMonline.co.nz, illustrating the trend in radio to engage with listeners via new media as well as traditional broadcasting (Hendy, 2000).

Isolating the Sample

In keeping with Fairclough's (1992) method of corpus formation some data have been chosen because they are representative and some because they fulfilled Fairclough's directive to look for unusual discourse. To begin with, one entire SLOG that appeared consistent in structure and content with most of the archive was selected; this is the data from December 2nd, 2013. This is a normative sample and also one that shows the "chatty" discourse that takes place between and during the contributions. From this

start point supplementary audio has been chosen to represent the phases of SLOG and also the different types of talk initially identified. Some of these moments particularly highlight gender, including when Grant interrupts in “Locker Room” and when Kate talks about a one night stand in “Tongue”. The “Hair” sample has been selected because it appears to be a typical product-based contribution. Audio from the same dates as these three samples provides further examples of the beginning, in-between, and end talk. In radio terms these are described as “intros”, “segues”, and “outros”.

In addition to these samples, “SmartBalls”, from the same SLOG as “Tongue”, is included because it appears to be a crux. Cruces are “moments in the discourse where there is evidence that things are going wrong” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 230), and include misunderstandings, exceptional disfluencies or sudden changes in style. For Fairclough cruces make visible aspects of discourse that otherwise appear naturalised; they are the chinks in the armour that may reveal insights. Cruces are also important for showing change as they illustrate how people resolve problematic situations (Fairclough, 1992). Polly’s contribution about “SmartBalls” is a crux because her speech appears hesitant and awkward and very different from her usual fluid broadcast manner, as will be discussed in detail below. In all, data from four dates is utilised, totalling approximately six minutes and fifty seconds of radio talk.

Discourse as Text

This sub-chapter provides an in-depth analysis of the data as a language-based text. It follows Fairclough's (1992) text closely for a thorough analysis that incorporates theories of linguistics, politeness, and conversational analysis. This text analysis takes its shape from the arrangement of SLOG itself, and so it begins with the boys being "kicked out" and the women creating an intimate and girly space. Polly's control of the flow and content is then analysed, before the contributions are discussed. The contributions are discussed in detail because they form the bulk of SLOG and also because the topics, in the form of "girly" goods and services, and the talk used to discuss the topics, are important. The linguistic features identified within the contributions further highlight the friendly and female nature of the feature, along with discourse that reproduces advice and advertising discourse. This permutation of discourse that combines (synthetic yet fairly genuine) intimacy and friendship with commercial messaging is an important finding and one that is explored from various critical viewpoints later in the thesis. The final contribution, "SmartBalls", is discussed in isolation because it is a crux, or moment of discursive crisis (Fairclough, 1992). Here Polly breaks from the usual SLOG conventions to discuss female sexual health, and the resulting discursive turmoil reinforces the small and conservative scope of SLOG and the womanly world it creates. The final section of SLOG discussed within Discourse as Text is humour, banter, and teasing, which happen throughout the feature. Such discourse plays a significant part in the friendly and entertainment qualities of contemporary broadcast chat and is also seen by Gill (2007b, 2011) to indicate postfeminist discourse.

Setting the Scene

Polly Kicks Out the Boys

Throughout the corpus SLOG always begins with the "boys", Grant and Marc, leaving the studio, and this results in a metaphorical "girls" space. The samples collected for kicking out the boys are three standard SLOG beginnings, and one incident (sample

“Locker Room”) where Grant speaks during SLOG and is told to leave. Throughout the set-up of SLOG Polly illustrates her power through her interactional control and her varying levels of politeness (Fairclough, 1992). In the samples collected it is usually Polly that indicates that the boys should leave, she speaks the most when setting up SLOG in this manner, and she “guards” the “girls” space. Polly’s language is often abrupt and on occasion rude towards Grant, her language and falling pitch when she tells him “get out” and “would you get out of the studio” makes it clear that this is an order rather than a request (samples “Get Out” and “Locker Room” respectively). Applying P. Brown and Levinson’s (1987) seminal Face-Threatening Acts theory, Polly acts baldly and without regressive action when she speaks to Grant like this. When Grant speaks first to indicate the start of SLOG in samples “Wrestler” and “Get Out” by saying goodbye Polly reinforces her dominance of the situation and her ownership of SLOG by following up with the imperative statements “boys out” and “get out of the studio it’s time for us”.

In the “Locker Room” sample Grant contributes a comment within SLOG and he and Polly collaborate in teasing Anna, but after a few utterances Polly unexpectedly orders him out. Here Polly’s abrupt change switches Grant’s subject position from participant to intruder, and, like the “Wrestler” sample, Grant ignores the rudeness and accepts Polly’s instruction (Fairclough, 1992). In “Get Out” Grant responds with “seeya” in a moderate tone of voice (he is again ignored), and in “Locker Room” he defends himself but also supports the narrative of the female space, and is soon ignored as Polly moves the conversation on. In the samples such interactions only take place between Polly and Grant, and Grant is addressed during SLOG only if he “interrupts”. Once SLOG has concluded in the “Succinct” sample Polly again accepts Grant’s contributions and he shows his position as a host alongside Polly by farewelling the “girls”. It could be suggested that Polly breaks social convention and is rude to Grant in response to him breaking the rules by interrupting SLOG, but there are occasions when she is rude without provocation. Such frank conversation is usually associated with private life rather than professional broadcasting, so this contributes to Polly & Grant being an informal radio show where the announcers are honest and “real”.

A Women's Space

SLOG is treated as if it takes place in an exclusive women's space and the physical environment is often referred to for the benefit of the listening audience. Firstly, the audience are told that the men leave the studio, and this is reinforced by Grant saying goodbye and then Grant and Marc going silent once the feature begins. Utterances such as "boys out" ("Wrestler") and "it's time for us" ("Get Out"), suggest heteronormativity from the start and clear gender segregation, whereby males are excluded and females are included. Once the men have left Polly formally introduces the segment and the women introduce themselves, and only then do they begin their contributions. Text analysis suggests that this women's space is metaphorical and created using sound manipulation. In most cases when Grant interrupts during SLOG he is not heard clearly, rather he sounds like he is calling out and from further away, which reinforces the notion that he has left the space (as seen in samples "Locker Room" and "Neon"). With the regularity of Grant's contributions, his quick disappearances and re-appearances, and in particular his use of the adverb "here" in sample "Locker Room" ("I'm not in here"), it sounds like Grant does stay in the studio but turns off his microphone, which would contribute to him sounding further away. If Grant is always present then the women's space must be seen as metaphorical.

The Locker Room

The idea of a physical space is reinforced when Polly uses the metaphor of the locker room. The "Girls Locker Room" was a former name of the SLOG segment and Polly still occasionally uses it, such as in the "Locker Room" sample. A locker room is a space that is always segregated by gender, and therefore it suggests a private female space. Locker room is an American term, New Zealanders use the term "changing rooms", and in my experience the Hollywood pop culture notion of a women's locker room is of a space where attractive young women undress and chat. The Google image results from "girls locker room" clearly show this, along with the male gaze at work (Mulvey, 2003). This notion is reinforced by Polly's utterance to Grant, "Grant would you get out of the locker room we're naked" ("Locker Room"), which presupposes that Grant came in to the room, and then that he must leave because the women are naked and he

should not see them. Polly uses this as a metaphor for Grant entering their private space, but the addition of the information that they are naked contributes a risqué quality to the situation and reinforces the association with a sexualised locker room (Kramarae & Treichler, 1992). The pre-recorded trailer imaging features a woman with a low voice, which is often considered sexy (although not necessarily youthful) and it is slightly modulated, which in my experience of audio production has connotations of technology and the future.

The Title “Secret Life of Girls”

The name “*Secret Life of Girls*” and its placement at the start of the feature contribute to the idea that this is a space where women can talk in confidence. The word “secret” suggests mystery, privacy, confidentiality, honesty and exclusivity, and being included in such secrets is likely to be desirable. “Life” is an equally positive word, suggesting vitality and activity. Being secretive is a womanly trait (Kramarae & Treichler, 1992), and “life” suggests something that is all-encompassing, therefore in this case the “secret life” of “girls” reinforces the traditional notion that the female world is the personal and private world (Remlinger, 2005). Further, “secrets” and “girls” suggests that secrets are shared, reinforcing the social aspect of SLOG and “girls”. The words in the title are also vague enough not to define the content that is discussed. “Secret” as either an adjective or a noun can refer to any subject matter at all, and “life” is such an encompassing term that arguably few topics fall outside of it. “Girls” is the most concrete word in the title, and so it establishes that the segment pertains to females (“girls” is discussed in more detail in the following paragraph). For any listener of SLOG it quickly becomes clear that there are no true secrets, and therefore the name SLOG can be considered in itself a metaphor for a safe time to talk about subjects pertaining to females.

Girls and Youthfulness

The choice of the term “girls” in the title and used throughout the segments invites much to discuss given its highly gendered and subjective nature. The plural “girls” is inclusive, as Lazar (2005) notes, it can mask age and sexuality and it is also numerically

ambiguous, and therefore it can include not only the women in the studio but any listening as well. The term “girl” does have many negative connotations when used to address or describe an adult woman, but it is also widely used to refer to young women, and as a familiar term for women of all ages (Kramarae & Treichler, 1992). In the samples collected the males are referred to as “boys” (samples “Wrestler” and “Tongue”), and this symmetry suggests the use of “girls” is not intrinsically sexist (Holmes & Sigley, 2002). In this case the use of “boys” and “girls” suggests a focus on youth and a playful use of language, which is also seen in Polly’s colloquial language like “some random” used as a noun for an unfamiliar person and “one nighters” for one night stand (both in “Tongue”). Kate’s use of “yucky” and “poos” in the “Blackcurrant” sample is particularly infantile. While the term “girls” may not be intended to be disrespectful, I do think “The Secret Life of Women” would have a different tone. “Girl” is an informal word and many of the topics discussed are “girly” in that they concern frivolous topics with a strong emphasis on appearance. Youth and immaturity are also found in what is excluded from SLOG. When relationships are discussed the focus is on dating and there is very little mention of motherhood or children across the archive of data. It may be that both the “girls” and the “boys” are being framed as immature and frivolous, but to determine this more attention would need to be paid to masculinity within SLOG. When Kate refers to “the boy” in “Tongue” she is using language which presents the man in question (a sexual partner) as an object rather than a companion. Regardless of how masculinity is framed, “girls” still has connotations of frivolousness and youth which go some way to setting the agenda for the content of the segment.

Directing the Feature

Polly in Control: As Host

Once the “girls” are rid of the “boys” Polly takes charge in a manner which invokes both the professional host and also the friendly hostess to guide the other women through SLOG. As Polly is the experienced broadcaster of the group and it is her radio show it is unsurprising that she acts as host, but both Anna and Kate have been

contributing to SLOG on a weekly basis for at least two years and realistically need little guidance given SLOG's consistent structure. Each week the women follow Polly in introducing themselves informally as "Me, Kate" and "Me, Anna" (seen in the "Get Out", "Saucy" and "Wrestler" intros), and then Polly selects someone to speak. Usually Polly will select Anna or Kate to start, as seen in "Wrestler", "Okay Kate the Guinean wrestler what have you got for us today?". Here Polly's invitation to speak is humorous (continuing a joke Kate made about herself previously) and inclusive ("us") while at the same time she directs the segment. This humorous control also occurs in the segue "Miss SmartBall 2012" ("Miss SmartBall").

After Polly finishes her contribution on December 2nd she invites Anna to speak with only "Anna!" ("Shoes"), but Anna knows that this is her turn to contribute even though there is no obvious invitation. The other "girls" in SLOG wait for Polly to invite them to speak despite knowing the weekly routine, and in this they appear to defer to her control. This can be seen to follow the institutional pattern of turn-taking Fairclough (1992) identifies, whereby a powerful participant can select participants, self-select, or extend their turn, but a non-powerful participant would be unlikely to do any of these things. This turn-taking control displays not only Polly's powerful position but also the reality of SLOG as a controlled segment in a highly orchestrated commercial media programme. SLOG must conform to broadcasting standards, it can't be too short or too long, it must stay true to ZM's brand values and it must entertain the audience. As the host broadcaster Polly manages these standards while also maintaining her own position as "one of the girls", and her guests in turn follow her lead.

Polly's interactional control is also visible through topic control and policing agendas (Fairclough, 1992). Within the unspoken conventions of SLOG each participant chooses and introduces any topic she likes within the "girly" agenda when it is her turn, but beyond this only Polly changes topics. Polly changes the topic in the "Blackcurrant" sample when she interrupts Kate to comment on how to pronounce "acai", and Anna and Kate accept the topic change and join her in pondering the pronunciation (even though Kate was correct originally). In samples "Locker Room" and again in "Blackcurrant", when the participants are chatting off-agenda it is Polly that closes this

topic to switch back to the established SLOG format. On one occasion this is obvious with the segue “on the subject of getting naked” (“Locker Room”) and on the second occasion Polly makes the ambiguous statement “Yeah woteva” (“Blackcurrent”) which Kate recognises as a signal to move on. Within the corpus Polly has also reinforced the agenda of “girly” goods and services by asking specific questions about where the things talked about can be purchased (not in samples).

Polly’s Politeness: As Hostess

In addition to her more formal role as a broadcasting host, Polly also displays traditional feminine “hostess” skills and conventional politeness during SLOG. Polly displays conventional politeness when she offers minimum response tokens as feedback when the other women speak, and Polly does this the most often and with high modality, for example “yes” (“Blackcurrent”), and “wow” (“Blackcurrent” and “Shoes”) (Fairclough, 1992). Modality refers to the degree of affinity the speaker has with a proposition, so high modality reflects high support or agreement (Fairclough, 1992; Hodge & Kress, 1988). Polly also acts as hostess as she always thanks her guests for joining her after every SLOG. Polly is the only person who introduces and concludes SLOG and she takes centre stage in the “Saucy” introduction when she warns the audience that this edition is “saucy”. Through these acts Polly can be seen to act as a good host towards both the women in the studio and her audience. Polly acknowledges her place as the host and the politeness strategies involved in this in the “Saucy” sample when she apologises for discourteously self-selecting to go first, and further provides a reason for her behaviour.

In her interactions with the women of SLOG Polly is not as rude as she is with Grant, but she still behaves in unconventional ways that could offend others. In the sample “Therapy” Polly passes judgement on special guest Keisha Castle-Hughes when Polly comments that her own topic is normal, thereby raising the possibility that Keisha’s may not be. Shortly after (in “Therapy Outro”) Polly digresses from the standard thanks and goodbye exchange structure when she says to Keisha “you are welcome back you crazy group therapy girl anytime”. Passing judgement on others and calling

names is a display of power and could be considered offensive (Fairclough, 1992), but here it appears to be offered in a light-hearted manner and received with laughter. Polly's jokes are not those of a traditional hostess but they still allow her to engage with her guests. At times Polly's jokes and judgements appear to be a way for her to maintain the cohesion of SLOG without displaying overt control. The jokes work as an opportunity for her to enter the conversation as the speaker is concluding their part, allowing Polly to seamlessly continue guiding the segment. This can be seen when Polly says "cheaper than courgettes" ("Courgettes") as Kate finishes her contribution and "that's freakin' brilliant" ("Shoes") as Anna concludes her contribution.

Contributions

Girl Talk and Chat

The body of SLOG is made up of each guest talking in turn about a topic of their choosing, I use the term "contribution" to refer to the talk each participant does in relation to their topic. As determined above, the title of SLOG suggests that what they speak about pertains to women in some way. In both the corpus and the samples selected the majority of topics were around the key themes of beauty and grooming, clothing, health and fitness, entertaining, and food. In most cases the contribution was about a specific product or service that could be purchased, but examples outside of this include party ideas, how to braid hair, and TV shows. These topics can all be seen as conventional and stereotypically female with a large proportion of topics focusing on appearance. While the topics provide structure and content for SLOG, they are presented in a casual and conversational chat style. In Fairclough's three-dimensional approach to CDA "chat" can be discussed in regard to discursive practice, but because it is an appropriate way to describe the text it is discussed here as well. Fairclough (1992) has recognised that such overlaps occur and are acceptable within CDA.

Fairclough (1995) defines media chat as "an articulation of elements of conversation with elements of entertainment" (p. 66 - 67). Tolson (1991), like Fairclough, draws on G. Brown and Yule (1983) in his work on chat. In his seminal work on the chat genre

Tolson determined that chat was made up of personal topics, wit and humour, and the potential to transgress norms of discourse. Ames (2012) has identified chat as present in breakfast radio more broadly and Tolson's three factors are present in SLOG. Here chat is also identifiable through loose verbal cohesion, where the unstructured sentences used replicate real life talk more than they replicate formal and concise broadcasting talk (Hutchby, 2006; Tolson, 1991). For example, at one point Polly says "and you can get it, you can get Khie's in I know in Christchurch, Wellington and Auckland" ("Hair"). The participants' conversations change topics and go off on tangents just like normal chat, although SLOG displays its more formal structure when Polly signals that they need to move on. The contributions also include informal language, a few examples from Kate's contributions including her use of the colloquial terms "hippy things" and informal and immature terms "yucky" and "I dunno", and in the same exchange Polly responds with "yeah wot-eva" ("Blackcurrant"). The participants also interrupt and speak over each other, as seen in the exchange about how to pronounce acai berry in "Blackcurrant". Fairclough (1992) notes that such so-called interruptions are not always a display of power, rather they can display collaboration and intimacy. The participants also constantly offer each other back-channel support, including "yes", "wow", "hmmm", and other affirmative words and sounds that signal engagement as well as laughter in response to jokes made (Fairclough, 1992).

The work of Talbot (1995, 2007), who uses CDA alongside other practices in her scholarship on media discourse, is helpful in analysing the conversational chat of SLOG. Talbot notes that the well-established practice of broadcast chat is both a spectacle and an interpersonal engagement, and linguistic strategies such as this can work to minimise the distance between text producers and the broadcast audience. Such chat replicates friendly and informal conversation, but at the same time the talk is "hearably personal while being, at the same time, specifically impersonal" (Hutchby, 2006, p. 12). The lexical elements of chat present in SLOG are ordinary and familiar for the listener, particularly for the target audience of young women, and are likely utilised for this reason (Talbot, 2007). Colloquial terms such as "random" (used in

“Tongue”), currently used by young people as a noun, create an informal environment and also work to include those who speak it, excluding those who do not (Fairclough, 1992). These utterances that display the qualities of chat work with the youthful language and playfulness of SLOG to create an environment designed as familiar and engaging to audience members. At some points the more formal underlying structure of the segment is obvious, as when Polly directly invites her guests to speak, and at other times it is only recognisable through in-depth text analysis, for example when Polly begins an exchange with a joke so that she “has the floor”. The manner in which each “girl” introduces herself, for example “me, Anna”, mixes interpersonal language with broadcast spectacle. The “me” is intimate, like a good friend saying “it’s me” over the phone, as it has an expectation that the hearer knows who the “me” is. The “me” suggests familiarity, but is followed by the woman’s name, which is necessary because the audience is unlikely to recognise and distinguish the voices of Anna, Kate, and Polly. A regular listener will likely come to expect Anna and Kate to be in SLOG alongside Polly, but their voices are still difficult to distinguish and it is conventional in radio broadcasting to name those present, particularly because they cannot be recognised by sight.

“You”

One notable feature of the text is the extensive use of the second-person pronoun “you” in SLOG, particularly when discussing the goods and services of the contributions. This “you” is often used in place of the universal pronoun “one”, which in contemporary speech would be far too formal for use on CHR radio. At times this “you” is the speaker herself, for example in “Neon” breakfast radio host Polly is clearly telling a story from her own life whereby she is the “you” getting coffee at four AM. On other occasions the “you” is clearly not the speaker nor the other women of SLOG. This is seen in the “Tongue” sample when Kate suggests single people use the product after a one night stand because “they’ll probably marry you” and it will “help you get some action”. Kate had previously emphasised that she was not single (this is not in the sample), and the utterance is made while speaking to Polly, who the audience is likely to know is married to her co-host Grant, and therefore the “you” is the potentially-

single listener. In “Neon” Polly is also addressing the audience with the directive “if anyone knows where you can buy neon singlets... let me know” and this is recognised by those in the studio as they do not respond to the request. In many cases the “you” is ambivalent, which Atkinson and Moores (2003) points out is beneficial for the broadcaster. They write “In English, the pronoun ‘you’ may be both plural and singular – enabling the host to speak to ‘an indefinite range of potential recipients’” (Atkinson & Moores, 2003, p. 23). The “you” also works to be both inclusive and exclusive, I would suggest that most female listeners familiar with the feature would identify with the “you”. The contributors of SLOG are able to either make their comments sound personal to the single listener, or embrace the plural “you” of the imagined group of female listeners taking part in SLOG, and either way present a personal and friendly manner. This will be addressed further below in regard to synthetic personalisation, and also in the second level of CDA analysis, discursive practice, in relation to Fairclough’s theory of addressees, hearers, and overhearers.

Synthetic Personalisation

In SLOG many assumptions are made about the lives and values of the women who listen to the segment, and these are presented in a way that speaks directly to them as individuals. Fairclough (1992, 2001) established the term “synthetic personalisation” to describe the practice of addressing a mass audience as an individual person and other simulations of interpersonal meaning in the mass media. Talbot (2007) describes synthetic personalisation as dealing with “the minimalisation of the distance between addresser and addressee by informalisation” (p. 95). Radio scholars including Montgomery (1986), Scannell (1991) and Tolson (1991) have written that such direct speech and intimate address is central to conventional radio announcer talk. The constant use of the pronoun “you” makes a direct link between the topics discussed and the listeners, so that blackcurrant powder is “really good for you” (in sample “Blackcurrant”) and “you get height, a perky bum” (sample “Shoes”) from shoes, among many other instances of the use of “you”.

The language of synthetic personalisation is used in tandem with linguistic elements like presuppositions to make assumptions about listeners (Fairclough, 1992). For example, in the “Tongue” sample a reference to “those one nighters” presupposes that such one night stands take place. Kate follows on by saying “when you wake up in the morning and you don’t want to talk to the boy” this presupposes that in this one night stand situation the female spends the night with a sexual partner, falls asleep, and wakes up in their company, and it also presupposes that the partner is male. As well as assuming listeners take part in one night stands, Kate goes on to suggest that females must appear attractive to men by displaying excellent personal hygiene, and in sample “Shoes” Anna assumes all women want a perky bum and long legs without showing effort. The language used to discuss these products offered in samples “Tongue” and “Shoes” present female appearance for the benefit of men as a “given” for the listeners. For Fairclough (1992, 1995) and Talbot (1995, 2007) such presuppositions may be harmful because they are set up in such a way as to be made by the listener unconsciously (rather than told by the producer) and thus are not critically processed by the listener. Of all the presuppositions in the SLOG samples the most common is that females are heterosexual, which works to normalise heterosexuality and exclude other options.

Advice

SLOG is not introduced as an advice segment, rather it is presented as chat between friends, but the contributions do include many features of advice. Advice is usually given in regard to action, and DeCapua and Dunham (1993) note that advice comes from “people who perceive themselves as knowledgeable” (p.519). Polly also has a column in weekly magazine *Woman’s Day* (Gillespie, 2013a) where she responds to readers’ letters with advice. *Woman’s Day* targets a different demographic group and is a different medium, but Polly can be seen to be established among females as an expert advice-giver, particularly in the realm of “womanly” things. The advice in SLOG is unsolicited and generally indirect, but one exception to this in the data is the statement “I say every woman needs SmartBalls” in the “SmartBalls” sample. More implicitly, expertise is seen when products are prudently compared and weighed up,

such as when Polly says many other hair products are “crap” and *KhieI’s* is worth it (“it” being the cost) in “Hair”. Here Polly is showing her knowledge and expert status, she gives the impression that she has done the research for the audience and they can trust her advice on “the best hair product I have used in years” (“Hair”). Such advice is presented in an altruistic manner that focuses on the needs of the listener first (Conradie, 2011). In all samples included in SLOG the participants discuss the benefits of the products used, and all talk about how it can benefit the inclusive “you”, because advice is usually for and about other people rather than the speaker.

The inclusion of specific consumer information in SLOG further illustrates the presence of advice within the contributions because the speaker is anticipating that listeners may take action based on what they have heard. Providing precise information which can be acted on is an important part of advertising (Jefkins & Yadin, 2000). The SLOG samples include such specific information as the brand names of stores, the cost per day of blackcurrant powder, when to apply *KhieI’s* to your hair, and the spelling of the brand *KhieI’s* (in samples “Neon”, “Shoes”, “Blackcurrant” and “Hair”). Polly in particular repeats key terms such as “neon” and “*KhieI’s*”, reflecting a key practice of advertising to repeat brand and product names (Jefkins & Yadin, 2000). This detail assumes that some audience members will want to purchase the goods and services discussed, and Polly and her guests are assisting this. In this environment such assistance is viewed as altruistic and helpful, reinforcing the friendly nature of SLOG. All of this consumer information is incongruent with genuine talk between friends, which would be unlikely to constantly include and reinforce such specific information. Here SLOG can be seen to blur the line between friendly advice and advertising discourse, because despite the commercial information the segment does not contain paid endorsements (C. Boston, personal communication, 15 July 2013).

At one point in SLOG, within the “Neon” sample, Polly also asks for advice from the audience. This both reinforces and brings in to question the friendly nature of SLOG. As mentioned above, this request is specifically made to the audience and, further, it ignores the fact that Polly is a professional broadcaster having a one-way conversation with the audience. The request also fails to provide any information for how the

audience can reply to Polly, which assumes that they know her and the station well enough to figure that out for themselves. This is another example of how SLOG reproduces the discourse and atmosphere of genuine friendship between the announcers and the audience. Polly's request comes at the end of a fairly long (for SLOG) and passionate story about looking for neon singlets at the mall. Although Polly says that she found neon singlets at a store called *Cotton On*, she follows this up with "if anyone knows where you can buy neon singlets other than *Cotton On* let me know". Here Polly's story seems to miss some detail, but the implication is that she did not buy a neon singlet from *Cotton On*, despite wanting one, because she was dissatisfied with the singlets for some reason. Here is an example of where SLOG differs from a genuine conversation between friends, because I would expect the key information of why Polly was dissatisfied by *Cotton On* to be included as part of the story. It is my suggestion that Polly has left out this information because it is likely to include negative information about *Cotton On*. In general SLOG conveys an attitude of positivity and light-heartedness, particularly towards the products discussed, and I will return to this subject matter in regard to Discourse as Social Practice.

Hedging

One noticeable aspect of the cohesion of this text is that on a number of occasions different speakers hedged their contribution in a self deprecating manner before they begin. Hedging is related to modality and shows a lack of commitment to the proposition being offered (Fairclough, 1992). In sample "Hair" Polly says she is the "probably the last person on earth to discover Khie's". This is presented as negative for a modern woman because one must be fashionable and knowledgeable, particularly as *ZM* is focused on early adopters and being contemporary. We also see hedging present in Kate's reference to "hippy things" and Anna's ironic joke that she is presenting "the best invention ever" (in samples "Blackcurrant" and "Shoes" respectively). In both cases the women are making a joke at their own expense and also at the expense of the product they are presenting, which works to create entertaining broadcasting but also devalues their contribution.

Drawing on Hodge and Kress (1988), Fairclough (1992, p. 142) says that the affinity a producer shows for their proposition is inseparable from the affinity between the producer and the other participants in the discourse. In this case the low modality identified in the hedging above could be in regard to the products discussed or the relationships present, or both. Because the products are further discussed with high modality (this is expanded upon below), this suggests that it is the relationship that is most relevant in the hedging. One reason for this hedging may be a disinclination to appear pushy or arrogant in the unique environment of SLOG, where most of those that listen (the audience) are in the very powerless position of being unable to respond. The participants are therefore able to play down the expert status that being on the radio has given them. Hedging in this manner works to be self-deprecating and modest, and it also acknowledges possible dissenting views, which contribute to maintaining the friendly environment of the segment. The low modality of “you know” as used in the samples “Blackcurrant” by Kate and “Neon” by Polly also works to show solidarity as it presupposes an answer and in doing so appeals to shared beliefs. As Talbot (2007) notes, hedging can also be face work and in this situation it is likely that the contributors are showing deference to their listeners by not exploiting their powerful position (P. Brown & Levinson, 1987).

High Modality

Most of the modality present in the samples is different to the hedging discussed in the section above. In particular, high objective modality is common in the discussions of the benefits of products and services. In objective modality (as opposed to subjective modality) the subjective basis is absent and it is not clear whose perspective is represented (Fairclough, 1992). High objective modality is found throughout the contributions from all three regular participants, for example “which is the most fantastic product... it’s worth it... their products are fantastic... it makes your hair really silky it makes it smooth and it protects it and makes it really super gloss” (sample “Hair”) and “everything was neon... you couldn’t buy anything that wasn’t neon” (sample NEON), “it’s really good for you... it’s amazing in antioxidants and it tastes really good... amazing for your health” (sample “Blackcurrant”), and “you get height,

perky bum, long legs, but you look casual cool" (sample "Shoes"). High subjective modality is seen in "this would be the best hair product I have used in years" (sample "Hair"). These examples also show the regular use of positive superlatives to describe the products and services being discussed.

The language of the data samples lack obvious modal auxiliary verbs such as "must", but, as Fairclough (1992) notes, the simple, present tense treatment of the language, including the verb "is", can illustrate high modality. "It's" and other present indicatives are found throughout SLOG, particularly in relation to the goods discussed, and indicate a state that is used and recognised as presenting a truth (see samples "Blackcurrant", "Tongue" and "Hair"). Fairclough notes that in objective modality it is not clear whose perspective is being shared, and because of this it can appear universal and assumed to be correct. In SLOG this information is rarely presented as thought or opinion, rather it is presented as objective fact or universal truth. Such objective and present tense language is common in the media (Fairclough, 1992, 1995) and the language of these samples appears to repeat the high modality common in advertising (Jefkins & Yadin, 2000). The hedging present at the start of the contribution as discussed above suggests humility on the part of the text producer, but when this humility is coupled with very high modality to describe the products it is as if these values and benefits are innate to the products. For example, in the "Shoes" sample Anna is being entertaining and displaying modesty when she presents "her" products ironically as "the best invention ever", but there is no doubt at all expressed when she states that they make a woman's lower body look slim.

There are instances in SLOG of lower modality, but not to the extent of the high objective modality present. In sample "Tongue" Kate starts off with high modality with "it's perfect to keep in your handbag" but the affinity drops after Polly mocks Kate's proposition. Kate then says "they'll probably marry you... it could help you get some morning action" with the modal adverbs "probably" and "could" signalling low modality. Negative responses to products and services are uncommon in SLOG in general and the review of the corpus suggests that it is positive high modality language that is most presence.

Commercial Discourse

There are further instances of commerce and advertising in the linguistic choices of the women of SLOG that will be discussed here in relation to text, as well as later in relation to intertextuality at the Discursive Practice level. Anna's use of the adjective "casual-cool" in the "Shoes" sample displays memorable alliteration more common in advertising than everyday conversation (Jefkins & Yadin, 2000). "Hit the store" as used by Kate in "Blackcurrant" is a metaphor that is used commonly in New Zealand when talking about shopping. A person can "hit the store" when they shop, and as in this case items can "hit the store" when they arrive. This verb "hit" in this metaphor suggests power and speed and the term is often used when discussing new and desirable products, as if they have been rushed in for the consumer. This ties in to Kate's discussion of blackcurrant power as being "the" new and fashionable product at the health store, with the definite article "the" suggesting it is the single leading product of the time.

In the "Blackcurrant" sample Kate uses the marketing term "super-food" to describe the blackcurrant powder she is discussing. "Super-food" is a term that has no specific nor scientific meaning but is used to sell supposedly nutrient-rich food or supplements (Lunn, 2006). In the same sample Kate talks about how "last season it was all about the acai berry", using the term "last season", which is generally associated with fashion trends and reflects the commercial need to create new products for ongoing consumption. This signals that supplements and health can be trend-driven in the same way fashion is, and because Kate uses this as a selling point for blackcurrant powder this suggests that she sees such trends as a good thing. Fairclough (1992) writes at some length on the changing discourses of health care in *Discourse and Social Change*, but he does not mention that such commercial discourse is present. This discourse can be viewed as health discourse appropriating fashion or commercial language, but the opposite could also be valid. Health discourse could be appropriated here to sell a fad food supplement, but from either perspective the combination of marketing and fashion industry lexis with health discourse is unusual.

Kate also discusses buying blackcurrant powder as being an “investment” in ones’ health in “Blackcurrant”. The metaphor of investment echoes commercial discourse in regard to business and also in regard to advertising, as many advertisements feature this term to suggest that their products are a logical purchase because they offer a return on expenditure (Jefkins & Yadin, 2000). I think that many ZM listeners will likely be familiar with the term “investment piece”, which describes an expensive item of clothing which is justified because it is good quality and will be worn a lot. The use of the term investment also has connotations of maturity and prudent decision making. Arguably there are few items of clothing in the world that would literally return an investment, just as it would be difficult to prove that blackcurrant powder improved health or saved money on healthcare in the long-term.

Scripts

Within text analysis Fairclough (1992) draws on Gorton, Montgomery and Tolson (1988, in Fairclough, 1992) to discuss scripts. Scripts, sometimes also called narratives, describe “stereotypical scenarios and sequences of events associated with them” (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 196-197) which illustrate common sense beliefs present in the text, often through metaphors. One such metaphor is the use of the term “protection” as a selling point for hair products, as discussed below in relation to the *Khie’s* “Hair” sample. The stereotypical treatment of women and consumption could also be considered to be one of the scripts in SLOG (Sandlin & Maudlin, 2012) along with scripts about the importance of women’s appearance and grooming (Gill, 2009). Examples of heteronormativity are given throughout this chapter, with one particular script being present at the conclusion of SLOG in the sample “Succinct”. Here Polly and Grant’s exchange suggests that the women of SLOG talk a lot, and when they are “succinct” Grant indicates his approval, and this can be seen to reflect the stereotypical script of women talking too much, to the misfortune of the men around them (Talbot, 2000). A second script reflecting stereotypical heteronormal activity is that of the one night stand in “Tongue”, particularly as the narrative develops to suggest that it is normal for the woman to get up and groom herself in the morning to try and impress the man.

When the contributors of SLOG speak about products they always list the benefits of these products, and these benefits act to justify why the products have been chosen for discussion. These benefits, which in themselves reflect advertising discourse, are also scripts in that they display assumed sequences of events (Fairclough, 1992; Jefkins & Yadin, 2000). The grooming and fashion products discussed are sold on improving one's appearance, and, while being attractive to others is not discussed explicitly, the "perky bum" of the "Shoes" sample can be clearly associated with the male gaze (Mulvey, 2003). Being fashionable and up to date with trends is also seen as very important in SLOG, and this is in keeping with ZM's "personality" (The Radio Network, 2013b). Within the same SLOG feature Kate speaks about trends in health supplements ("Blackcurrant"), and Polly's sole justification for wanting neon clothing ("Neon") is because of popularity. Here Polly emphasises with high objective modality, hyperbole, and repetition that neon was popular in New York, but at no point does she say that it looks nice or offer any other reason to like it.

Sex Sells Scripts

The tongue scraper ("Tongue") and the *SmartBalls* ("SmartBall"), while very different products, are both introduced as tools that improve women's health and sex lives. In both cases it is the sex angle which is emphasised, reinforcing the maxim "sex sells", at least more than health does. The "SmartBalls" contribution is discussed in greater detail below. The script first offered in the "Tongue" sample suggests that if women display good personal hygiene in a casual sexual relationship then it will likely turn into a longer term relationship, because (it is presupposed) this is what women want. In reality it is an unlikely notion that a woman would carry around an Indian tongue scraper for fresh breath the morning after a one night stand, and further it is not a message found in mainstream advertising (which arguably contains many unrealistic ideas as discussed in Cook (1992)). Unusually for SLOG, Polly does question Kate's contribution, pointing out that it is unusual behaviour to scrape one's tongue at the home of "some random" ("Tongue"). Kate continues with the original benefit, even extending it to suggest marriage could be the outcome, but the modality of Kate's statements do drop to include "it could help" and "possibly". No one in SLOG,

however, questions the popular assumption that women want long term relationships and marriage. In the clause “they’ll probably marry you” it is the man who acts and the woman who is passive, which reproduces the script that the man is the decision maker and it is the woman’s job to “win him over” long term. As discussed in other areas of this chapter, these scripts are always heterosexual as identified through a reference to penetrative sex in sample “SmartBalls” and “he” and “the boy” in “Tongue” sample.

Hair “Protection” as a Script

One specific script from the data will be analysed in depth. SLOG presents the established script that women need to use hair products, and particularly that they need “protection” for their hair. Polly unquestionably advocates for the use of hair product in the “Hair” sample, using high objective modality and categorical assertions when describing the benefits that the product supplies (the product is the agent). In her contribution she refers to other “crap” products but at no point does she acknowledge that the hair product may be unnecessary. Polly also assumes that her listeners will understand the vague name of the product “Heat Protective Silk Straightening Cream”, as she begins talking about when to apply the product without saying what it does. The assumption here is that the product will stop hair being damaged when hair dryers or straightening irons are used, with the further assumption being that heat damages hair. The first common sense “fact” present here is that the listeners she is speaking to use heated styling tools on their hair, and therefore this topic is important to women. The second “fact” is that heat damages hair. It is true that heat can contribute to hair breakage and frizzy hair, but this outcome is largely about the appearance of hair rather than health (Sinclair, 2007). In this case “protection” is a metaphor and the true benefit is hair that conforms to popular perceptions of beauty. If Polly genuinely wanted to advocate for healthy hair she could tell her listeners that they do not need to heat their hair into the fashionable style, because it is the heat styling that is causing the perceived damage. Rather than this, Polly is advocating that listeners spend money and time on protecting their hair from self-inflicted damage, but this contradiction goes unnoticed.

SLOG directly reflects the popular scripts of hair product commercials and women's magazines worldwide that smooth hair is healthy hair and this is achieved through the use of hair products (Sinclair, 2007; C. Thompson, 2009). The language used by Polly in "Hair" to describe the product benefits could be directly from a mass media shampoo commercial, the metaphorical adjectives "silky" and "glossy" suggest luxury and desirability and reinforce the "silk" of the product title. Because of this language this contribution sounds even more like an advertisement or paid advertorial than many of the others, but as discussed above it has not been paid for and Polly also subjectively endorses this product which is a very uncommon feature of paid content. It is my understanding that Polly truly thinks this product is excellent and wants to share it with her listeners, and so to do this she uses language in a way that they will understand and connect with. Polly's contribution here repeats conventional beauty scripts and discourse that all listeners will be familiar with and therefore there is nothing secret about this contribution.

SmartBalls: A Crux

SmartBalls and Fairclough's Cruces

The majority of the discourse of SLOG conforms to a general model, and this forms the body of data discussed to date. Fairclough (1992), however, also suggests studying moments of crisis in the text, known as cruces, and the archive supplied one sample which fits this description. Polly prefaces SLOG on September 27th, 2012 with a warning about its "saucy" nature (sample "Saucy"), and goes on to discuss a product called *SmartBalls* in what appears to be a very awkward contribution. The discourse discussed in relation to this contribution is found in the sample named "SmartBalls", unless another sample is specifically referred to. *SmartBalls* are a ball designed to be held in the vagina to strengthen the pelvic floor muscles, an act that prevents and corrects bladder weakness (Pelvic Floor Health, 2010). The previous sentence summed up *SmartBalls* in 25 words, but Polly uses about 400 words in her efforts to discuss them. Throughout the contribution Polly's language suggests she is uncomfortable and much of the information she offers is ambiguous. The audience is likely to have to

make many inferences to decipher what is being discussed. While Polly does apply some of the key linguistic elements of SLOG such as high modality and humour, overall her linguistic behaviour stands out as unusual.

Conventional Secret Life of Girls Discourse

Polly uses some of the established linguistic practices of SLOG in this contribution from the “SmartBall” sample when she aligns herself with the product and presents a youthful approach to it. Polly continues the SLOG practice of using high modality signalling support, present tense and the inclusive “you” in some statements, including “your pelvic floors are important for girls”, “when it comes to relationships it’s much better if you have strong pelvic floor muscles” and “I say that every woman needs *SmartBalls*”. She also repeats the brand name and the website a number of times. Polly keeps this conversation youthful and talks to the audience as if they are younger women even though this is a product aimed predominantly at women who have had children (Pelvic Floor Health, 2010). She says strong pelvic floor muscles are important so that “when you’re older” women will not wet their pants and she also stresses that it makes intercourse better, clearly constructing the audience as young and reinforcing that *ZM* is a station for young, sexy, people. The focus on intercourse is reinforced by the “saucy” theme of the day’s SLOG (sample “Saucy”) and also by slow jazz music in the background, which is a pastiche by *ZM* but still has clear connotations of romance and sensuality.

Polly’s Low Affinity

Polly may endorse the product but at no point in the “SmartBall” sample does she state or suggest that she has used it. One of the first things Polly says is “I got sent this” which makes it clear she did not seek it out, and she signals that the product is unusual through “I was like what the hell is that?” (sample “SmartBall”). Both these utterances are distancing strategies which show low affinity to the product (Fairclough, 1992). Near the end of the “SmartBall” contribution Polly says “‘cause, apparently, women are reporting everywhere very good”. Here the “apparently” signals low modality, and the noun “women” can be taken to mean “other women” in comparison

to the more inclusive pronouns “you” and “us” which are found elsewhere in the sample. This sentence is also an example of Polly’s lack of fluency in this contribution. Unlike other topics such as those of the samples “Neon” and “Hair”, this is not one Polly is keen to align herself with personally.

Polly’s Unconventional Discourse

Throughout her contribution on *SmartBalls* Polly uses linguistic elements which suggest she is uncomfortable with this topic. Polly’s speech lacks her usual fluency and instead includes nervous laughter, a large number of ums and ahs, and unfinished sentences such as in “... it’s a *SmartBalls* it’s to be is is um it’s haha pelvic floor dot co dot en zed” (sample “SmartBalls”). There are many euphemisms throughout this contribution which at times make the vague clauses difficult to follow. “... um it’s um it holds everything in there basically it’s a it holds everything in all your internals...” is a particularly difficult string of speech to decipher, “it” refers back to the *SmartBalls*, but what your internals are and where they are held can only be assumed rather than determined from the surrounding text. The first euphemism Polly uses is “nyeng-nyeng”, a noise rather than a real word, for vagina. Later she avoids saying vagina and other biological terms (I cannot always determine which part of the female body she refers to) by using the ambiguous terms “everything” and “internals” and “the place where you’d wear it” (“it” being the nyeng-nyeng), which appear prudish. Later Polly refers to “everything you need um to go along with that so that it makes putting in your *SmartBalls* easy”, which, from looking at the *SmartBalls* website, would be the kit with lubricant and an information leaflet (Pelvic Floor Health, 2010). Some of Polly’s utterances are more fluid and sound more confident than others, she appears to struggle the most when talking about the *SmartBalls* being worn in the vagina.

Some of Polly’s speech appears to be an attempt at youth and humour while discussing a topic that is not easily youthful or fun. This can be seen in “wizzles in your pizzles”, which is a play on wet your pants using the colloquial term “wiz” and also the “izzle” rap speak, associated with rapper Snoop Doggy Dogg and often appropriated as humour in popular culture. Here it appears that Polly is attempting to present a very

“uncool”, upsetting and embarrassing issue in a way which is modern and humorous to the audience. Polly uses odd accents for entertainment purposes when she says “it’s the size of a small egg” and “you need smart balls too”, and Polly parodies an official tone when she says “makes putting in your *SmartBalls* easy”. Polly’s use of the term “relationships” for penetrative sex is in many ways prudish, but when she says “relationships” Polly drops her voice and extends the word. This speech act works to emphasise the word rather than distract from it and gives the impression Polly is sharing a secret with the listener (possibly because children may be listening), which in turn suggests mutual understanding and intimacy.

Polly obviously does not want to say “vagina” on breakfast radio, and, while it is not mentioned on the Broadcasting Standard Authority’s (2010) list of offensive words, the BSA do advise discretion at times when children may be listening. Although this study does not go as far as to investigate attitudes towards the word vagina, I do find Polly’s intense reaction to it surprising. As a *ZM* listener I would have expected confident, modern Polly to use a current euphemism and get on with talking about the product, but overall she hesitates and repeats herself so much (like she is searching for words) that it appears she is struggling to talk about it at all. Polly uses the word “gimp” within this segment, likely for humorous effect, and the term “gimp”, while less widely known, is a much more subversive term than vagina. Polly also avoids saying lube or lubricant, which I would suggest is a word similar to gimp in the sense that it is sexual but would likely go unrecognised by children.

Polly gives a number of indications that she thinks *SmartBalls* are odd and as a result are humorous. One can assume that this is because *SmartBalls* are used in the vagina, which is still often considered a taboo part of the body in contemporary society (Kramarae & Treichler, 1992). While the women of SLOG are comfortable talking about penetrative sex, it appears that inserting something other than a penis into a vagina is weird and therefore amusing. Awkward laughter features throughout the contribution. As Polly tells Anna and Kate that she has *SmartBalls* to give them, she laughs. They respond in kind with laughter and hesitant responses, with Kate reacting first with an apprehensive “Oooh” and Anna then joining in. As established above Polly is both the

hostess and the ringleader of SLOG and I would suggest that her ambiguous approach to the *SmartBalls* did little to guide the other women's responses. Polly's final comment about *SmartBalls* comes about as she invites Anna to speak next, using the introduction "and here she is, Miss SmartBalls 2012". This parodies a phrase familiar to beauty pageants and suggests that Anna is a contestant or winner of one such pageant. The joke is that Anna is sponsored by a pelvic floor exerciser, which is funny because it is outlandish and also because *SmartBalls* are funny.

Mixed Messages in "SmartBalls"

Overall Polly offers mixed messages about how she feels about this product. The women make their own decisions about what to contribute (C. Boston, personal communication, 15 July 2013) and so Polly, possibly along with her colleagues, made the decision to talk about *SmartBalls* during SLOG. Polly speaks at times with confidence and authenticity about the product and about female health. Because this is a taboo subject, and also because it is an important one for women, it would seem to fit a radio segment about female secrets more than many of the other goods and services regularly discussed, but instead it stands out. It stands out in presentation as a crux as much as it stands out in subject matter due to Polly's inconsistent and awkward manner (Fairclough, 1992). This manner also fails to replicate friendly, honest, and intimate chat between friends, particularly in a feature called "Secret Life of Girls". This is in contrast to the SLOG women appearing perfectly comfortable in this contribution and others talking about very sexual topics like one night stands and gimps. Polly's speech appears much more comfortable when talking about penetrative sex ("relationships" discussed above) than when talking about wearing a *SmartBall* in the vagina. Polly also emphasizes that the product may improve your sex life when the main message on the *SmartBalls* website is one of improving bladder weakness (Pelvic Floor Health, 2010). The linguistic analysis here suggests that in the world of SLOG being sexy, sexual and young is more valued than being informed about women's health. When SLOG moves out of its comfort zone to address genuine women's issues the discourse reflects disharmony.

Humour, Banter and Teasing

Throughout all of the stages of SLOG discussed above the women engage in humour, chat and banter. Examples can be found in the samples “Therapy Outro”, “Locker Room”, “Miss SmartBall”, “Tongue”, and “Wrestler”. Talbot (2007) writes that such talk is to be expected in any contemporary chat entertainment media and breakfast radio is no exception. In the samples collected the women engage in ways which appear at times to be insensitive and not within the traditional mould of female communication. Such teasing is seen when Polly calls guest Keisha Castle-Hughes a “crazy group therapy girl” in sample “Therapy Outro” after Keisha talks about a therapy session with friends, with “crazy” having clear connotations of mental illness. Polly is again the antagonist when Kate is called a “Guinean wrestler” (sample “Wrestler”) and Anna “Miss *SmartBalls* 2012” (sample “Miss SmartBall”), but Anna also contributes to the teasing in “Tongue” when she accuses Kate of snooping through people’s belongings.

Humour for Friendship and Personalisation

Such comments could be perceived as passive aggressive, but these are presented in a friendly tone of voice and light-hearted manner, and are received in a similar way. In this regard the teasing can be perceived as a form of politeness as it works to acknowledge the target of the joke as an intimate, because people can mock their friends but must use positive politeness with strangers and superiors (Talbot, 2007). This is particularly valid for Keisha in the “Therapy Outro” sample, because as a guest was greeted in a traditionally friendly manner (not in sample) but leaves as “one of the girls”. In broadcasting shared humour not only works to entertain but is also a common way to connect with people (Talbot, 2007). This inclusiveness is reinforced in SLOG by the fact that in all three of these samples the teasing carried on an earlier topic and so represent an “in-joke” that would only be understood by those in the audience whom had been listening for an extended period of time. This purposeful use of language to connect with the audience is a further example of synthetic personalisation in SLOG (Fairclough, 2001; Talbot, 2007).

Jokes and Gender

While humour should not be taken too literally, there is some clear heteronormal ideology present in the SLOG sample which deserves attention. The humour of “Miss SmartBalls 2012” in the “Miss SmartBall” sample has already been discussed, and the naming of Kate as “Kate, the Wrestler” and “Kate the Guinean Wrestler” derives humour in a similar manner (sample “Wrestler”). This joke drew on an earlier discussion (just prior to SLOG) about how individuals could match up their body height and weight to a current Beijing Olympian, with Kate’s match being a Guinean Wrestler. It’s mentioned earlier that Kate’s match is male, but either way wrestlers are stereotypically stocky, muscular and aggressive, which are three conventionally masculine traits. Guinea is a developing nation that New Zealanders are unlikely to be familiar with and this foreignness would reinforce the incongruity of this image of Kate. The attention given to race and ethnicity is notable here but as it comes up only once in the corpus it is not interrogated. Kate as a muscular, aggressive wrestler is a very masculine image which is at odds with her identity on SLOG and female identity in general, and this is why it is funny. If Kate’s Olympic match was a swimmer or a gymnast it is unlikely it would elicit as much humour. This joke is seen to reinforce traditional femininity and ridicule masculine traits in women. Polly’s utterance to Grant that the “girls” were “naked” in the “locker room” in the “Locker Room” sample is another example of an attempt to entertain the audience, in this case with an extended metaphor and a risqué topic, by emphasising gender stereotypes. Similarly, the exchange between Polly & Grant in the “Succinct” sample reinforces the stereotype that women talk a lot (Talbot, 2000).

Pastiche, Sarcasm and Irony

Talbot (2007, 2010) writes that irony, sarcasm, pastiche and parody are an important part of contemporary media. From a feminist perspective, such linguistic complexity is tied to the contradictory and ambiguous nature of postfeminism (this will be discussed further in regard to Discourse as Social Practice) (Genz, 2009; Gill, 2007a, 2007b). In one sample Kate introduces herself as “Kate, the wrestler” in a quiet voice which suggests sadness or embarrassment but then she begins to laugh, showing that she

was joking about being upset (sample “Wrestler”). Such techniques are also seen in Anna’s hyperbole about shoes saving the world (in “Shoes”) and Polly’s use of different voices, including parodying an “official” tone, in the “SmartBalls” sample. For these moments in particular it is difficult to determine what the women speaking mean to communicate through their use of parody and humour, especially because they are only very brief moments rather than extended jokes or performances. The contradictory nature of such humour is seen in Anna’s sarcastic comment “saving all the world problems one shoe at a time” in “Shoes”, which can be interpreted here as mocking the fashion media’s obsession with shoes, but at the same time is followed by a passionate contribution about shoes. This fits with Gill’s (2007a) suggestion that irony is a way of “having it both ways” when making a sexist or otherwise offensive comment, because it can always be defended as “a joke”. Ultimately, SLOG’s priority is to entertain, and humour does this above all else. If any of the participants in SLOG had a problem with any of the joking it is unlikely that this would be shared on air as it would interrupt the performance underway.

Discourse as Discursive Practice

Discourse as discursive practice considers the processes of production, distribution and consumption as set out in *Discourse and Social Change* (Fairclough, 1992). This level, like the Discourse as Social Practice section to follow, is considered more interpretative than the text analysis process undertaken above (Fairclough, 1992). It draws upon both text analysis and social practice to interpret findings, and also includes media theory to consider the role that radio broadcasting plays in the discourse (Fairclough, 1992, 1995; Hendy, 2000; Talbot, 1995, 2010; Tolson, 1991). Knowledge of New Zealand radio systems and processes, including my own experiences, also inform this discussion. Distribution is discussed first and concerns the more tangible aspects of the production process, including the impact of live broadcasting and podcasting and also the treatment given to audiences, both obvious and subtle. The production phase follows, and is given the most attention here as it includes the key themes of intertextuality and orders of discourse. Intertextuality, both manifest and constitutive, and orders of discourse display discursive relationships which are important to highlight both convention and change. It is in this sub-chapter that the central theme of postfeminism (Gill, 2007a, 2007b) is introduced, and explored in relation to advertising, neoliberalism, and patriarchy. Given that gender and femininity are constructed and unstable, it is important to note that “femininity is not a discourse type in its own right but, rather, is articulated in different discourse types” (Talbot, 1995, p. 145). The interpretations regarding discursive consumption within this chapter are restrained due to the focus on media outputs, but discussions of coherence do illustrate the narrow world view put forward within SLOG.

Distribution

Live Broadcast

Fairclough’s (1992) discussion of “intertextual chains”, which are predictable transformations of texts and textual content, provides the framework for exploring the role of live broadcasting in this discourse. Radio broadcasting is a unique form of

distribution, and one that often has few links in the chain in regards to the production and distribution of the text as a whole. Radio has traditionally been produced and broadcast live and this continues to be the main form of delivery, as it is for the *Polly & Grant* breakfast show on ZM. There is a small chance SLOG could be pre-recorded, but it is performed as live and by all indications it is done in one attempt and does not undergo editing before being broadcast. While the medium of radio could technically allow for very formal, scripted live production, most commercial radio in New Zealand as in other English-speaking nations has embraced this spontaneous temperament as part of the entertainment (Ames, 2012; Hendy, 2000). Radio is said to be the most intimate of the mass media, and this is largely attributed to the fact that the audience member is being addressed using first and second person pronouns in real time (Hendy, 2000).

Podcasting and Website

Polly & Grant is like a number of humorous and entertaining radio shows around the world in that it produces a “best of” recording of the day’s talk (without music or advertising) available over the internet as a podcast. While statistics are not available for the podcast, it is clear that broadcast radio is still the main form of distribution of SLOG (The Radio Network, 2013b). The podcast gives the content permanency beyond the live broadcast event and reinforces the importance of SLOG as entertainment because it is included in the “best of”. Occasionally products discussed on SLOG will also be featured on the *Polly & Grant* webpage, and the “girls” have directed listeners to the ZM website for more information (not in the sample). In my experience website content is something stations charge for and this caused me to question whether or not SLOG was truly independent from advertising and promotion. Programme Director Christian Boston maintains that all of SLOG content is independent, however, and my own brief examination of the *Polly & Grant* website supports this. Based on my experience in radio advertising I conclude that the SLOG web page lacked the refinement of professional advertising content (The Radio Network, 2013a). Because it is increasingly important for radio stations to drive website traffic (The Radio Network, 2013b), I interpret the SLOG web content as an opportunity to direct the audience to

the *ZM* website if they are interested in a product discussed, rather than have the audience go straight to that product's website. In this study we know little of how the audience responds to SLOG, but the fact that *ZM* producers put this content online suggests that the audience do engage with the content of SLOG beyond just listening to the feature. This intertextual chain reinforces the value of SLOG as content that *The Radio Network* utilises to attract audience, with the audience monetised through advertising either on air or on the station website.

Audiences

SLOG is marked as for "girls", but the live distribution of SLOG within *ZM*'s breakfast show means that a number of different parties are anticipated in the audience.

Fairclough (1992) identifies that texts have three audience groups. These are "addressees", who are directly addressed, "hearers", who are not addressed but assumed to be part of the audience, and "overhearers", who are not in the official audience but are known to be "de facto" consumers (Fairclough, 1992, p. 79).

Ostensibly SLOG is performed in a way that treats female listeners as part of SLOG and therefore they form the core audience of addressees. It is common for radio stations (and other media) to identify an archetypal listener whose interests, values and beliefs are used to guide content (Hendy, 2000; Talbot, 1995, 2007). For *ZM* this would tie in closely with the addressee audience of young, social, and brand-conscious females (The Radio Network, 2013b). The announcers then "speak to" this typical listener, and Talbot (1995, 2007) suggests that the closer an actual listener is to the typical listener, the more likely they are to connect with the speaker and what they are saying. In SLOG male listeners are excluded and ignored in a manner that treats them as overhearers, and this is reinforced by the status of Grant as he interrupts "from outside the door" (sample "Locker Room"). At times the conversation between Polly, Kate and Anna displays intimate speech in a manner that suggests any listeners are hearers or overhearers, but overall the nature of SLOG is to include female listeners rather than exclude them. Ames (2012) writes that when multiple radio hosts are on air they usually keep the conversation between themselves and listeners are treated as

hearers, so the direct address used in SLOG can be seen as even more intimate than general broadcasting.

This performance of speaking only to women contrasts with the authentic audience of SLOG. Like most commercial media, *ZM* are well aware of both the audience they have, as measured through surveys, and the audience that they are targeting (The Radio Bureau, 2013a; The Radio Network, 2013b). Even though the “boys” are kicked out of the studio, at 42% of *ZM*’s audience the male listeners are likely to be present (The Radio Network, 2013b). Polly does not tell the male listeners to go away, telling your listeners to leave your station is not consistent with acceptable broadcast practice. *ZM* is a radio station which targets all genders and so the announcers will be well aware of their male audience, which makes these men hearers in Fairclough’s (1992) categorisation. It is my suggestion that in commercial radio the regular overhearers are the radio station business executives and advertisers who are invested in the communication of *ZM*. When I worked in radio advertising it was obvious that organisations were interested in any mention of their company, brand, or product in the media, and SLOG was discussed by client advertisers a number of times because it includes commercial products. Media personalities have many free items sent to them, just as Polly is sent *SmartBalls* in the sample, in the hope of good coverage. The public relations and business people associated with these products are likely to be interested in any coverage they receive. To investigate the impact this would have on the content of SLOG would require further study but it can be assumed that their role as overhearers is recognised by *ZM* broadcasters.

Production

Author, Animator and Principal

To investigate who produces the discourse in question Fairclough (1992) looks at the text production in three parts. The author puts the words together, the animator speaks, and the principal is “the one whose position is represented by the words” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 78). For example, when Polly says “women are reporting

everywhere very good" (sample "SmartBalls"), Polly is the author and the animator and "women" is the principal. Throughout SLOG the woman speaking is almost always the author, the animator and the principal of her own statements. The example used previously is an exception to this, as are Polly's distancing strategies in the "SmartBalls" sample when she uses alternative principals including "women are reporting" and "I read about it". SLOG is broadcast live and the language reflects this as it lacks the polish of scripted content. Each woman's contribution is presented as her own idea; this is evident in the lack of reporting clauses throughout the sample. There are also incidents of Polly and Kate using "I" statements at the beginning of their contributions and explaining how they came across this information. This reinforces their ownership of the discourse that follows, for example "I frequent my local health store... the latest super-food to hit the store" (sample "Blackcurrant"). This thesis has argued elsewhere that SLOG is not paid promotion, so while Polly may use words like "silky" (sample "Hair") that sound as if they are straight out of an advertisement, she is still the author and principal of that utterance. Polly is a particularly well-established personality who connects with her audience both on-air, online and in her magazine column (Gillespie, 2013a) and her opinions and recommendations are likely to be held in high regard by both listeners and any commercial overhearers. There is a perceived value in associating commercial products with radio "personalities", In New Zealand radio announcer-led advertising content such as ad-libs and phone-outs are sold as a premium product for this reason (The Radio Bureau, 2006b).

Manifest Intertextuality

Manifest Intertextuality with *KhieI's* Packaging

Manifest intertextuality is concerned with the reproduction of specific texts. Within SLOG there is an obvious connection to some of the specific marketing messages of the products discussed. This is seen clearly in the discussions of *KhieI's Heat Protective Silk Straightening Cream* in the sample "Hair". Within the *KhieI's* contribution Polly uses language which directly reproduces the two key messages from the product package, using the same key words. The first paragraph on the product package talks about the

ingredients and benefits of the product. The benefits of the product are reproduced in SLOG with Polly using the same terms, smoothing/smooth, silky/silk, and protects/protecting. The second paragraph on the packaging is directions for use, which Polly also includes in her contribution, but in less detail. Polly's discourse reproduces the verbs and adjectives of the packaging but she gives the statements higher modality. While Polly says that the product "makes" hair silky and smooth and "protects" it (sample "Hair"), on the packaging the product is said to "help" with these outcomes and provide a silky-smooth "look" (Kiehl's, 2011). It appears that *Kiehl's* uses language carefully to control what they promise but Polly has no such concerns. In addition to this, the original text is not specifically indicated through either sound (as an advertisement would be) or language (as a reporting clause), and so it appears closely associated with the announcers and the radio brand.

Manifest Intertextuality with the *SmartBalls* Website

The contributions for *SmartBalls* and blackcurrant powder also directly reproduce the information that is used to market the products. In "SmartBalls", Polly says she has read about the product and also directs listeners to the website pelvicfloor.co.nz. While her utterances lack any clear reporting clauses, there is an implicit indication that the information Polly offers is tied to these sources, particularly because of the distancing Polly undertakes (see the Discourse as Text section above). As with the *Kiehl's* product above, for *SmartBalls* Polly recites two benefits from the product marketing. The first benefit is that *SmartBalls* prevent bladder weakness. This can be seen to be the main selling point on pelvicfloor.co.nz as it is featured prominently and repeated throughout the website, including the home page (Pelvic Floor Health, 2010). This bladder weakness is reappropriated in a youthful and humorous manner by Polly as "wizzles in your pizzles" (sample "SmartBalls"). The second benefit is that the use of *SmartBalls* increases sexual pleasure during penetrative sex, referred to in SLOG as "relationships". Polly emphasises this point in SLOG but on the pelvicfloor.co.nz website it is mentioned only once and in a less prominent position than bladder weakness. In the case of *SmartBalls* Polly has taken marketing information about the product and made lexical changes so that it appears more youthful and also more

euphemistic than the website. It proved more difficult to find marketing material specifically associated with blackcurrant powder (as per sample “Blackcurrant”), but the literature available on such supplements suggests that the terms “superfoods” and “antioxidants” are very common terms used to sell these products (Lunn, 2006). In comparing the discourse of SLOG with the associated texts available it becomes obvious that, while the women of SLOG may be sharing their own opinions, they also draw directly from marketing texts.

Interdiscursivity

Radio Genre

Interdiscursivity is the term Fairclough (1992) applies to the constitution of texts out of other discourse types, of which genre and discourse are of most concern here. The Methodology chapter above includes more detail on interdiscursivity and discourse types. A major genre present in SLOG is the conventional radio broadcasting genre. Here conventional radio broadcasting is identified as following the structure and talk of music radio that is common throughout the English-speaking developed world. Broadcast radio is generally categorised by format and also by day part (day parts being breakfast, days, drive-time etc.), and so in this regard SLOG as part of *Polly & Grant* fits within the genre of a contemporary hit radio (CHR) breakfast show (Hendy, 2000). It is conventional for talk between hosts to dominate breakfast radio, and SLOG reproduces the conventional broadcast talk identified by Montgomery (1986), Scannell (1991) and Tolson (1991, 2006). This talk also fits within the “chat” genre that is made up of part entertainment and part conversation (Ames, 2012; Hendy, 2000; Tolson, 1991). The Discourse as Text section above has already discussed the ways in which chat is present in SLOG, and also how this chat comes in to conflict with the more structured moments of Polly in charge. In terms of content, CHR formats are very conventional; stations play “top 40” pop music and target audiences that are young and upwardly mobile with a confident, humorous and convivial style (Hendy, 2000). Being contemporary is important for CHR and this is seen in SLOG through references to current events and pop culture, such as the Beijing Olympics in the “Wrestler”

sample and the use of rap slang in “SmartBalls”. Throughout SLOG the broadcasters are playful in their use of voice and youthful and metaphorical language, reinforcing Scannell’s (1991) identification of “a self-reflective playfulness – with language, with identity – as central characteristics of contemporary television and radio” (p. 9).

Within the CHR breakfast radio genre are communicatory techniques that make the most of the aural nature of radio. It is common in radio for the broadcasters to tell the audience what is going on visually, for example when Grant says “I’m shouting outside the door” in the “Locker Room” sample. In “SmartBalls” Polly directs her speech to Kate but she also uses language that describes what is going on for the benefit of the audience, for example “No have a look at it right here, see it’s the size of a small egg, like a little wood pigeon egg”. As discussed in the text analysis, language and sound can be used to feign the physical environment or exploit a metaphor such as the locker room more freely than in a visual medium. Radio also lacks visual signals such as facial expression and quotation marks to add nuance to the words spoken, but voice and music can be used in this way. In SLOG this is seen in “SmartBalls” with the use of sensual music and Polly’s use of voice for emphasis. The use of the sensual slow jazz music in this regard is something of a pastiche, because the audience should recognise it as outdated and outside *ZM*’s music genre. Despite this pastiche it is still used to communicate sensuality during the “saucy” edition of SLOG (sample “Saucy”), so it both mocks the topic and reinforces it. This reflects the playful, genre-mixing nature of contemporary broadcasting and also how ambiguous this can be for both the audience and the analyst (Gill, 2007b; Scannell, 1991; Talbot, 2007; Tolson, 1991).

SLOG is treated as an isolated segment within a CHR breakfast show and this separates it from some of the conventional aspects of CHR commercial radio that are generally exhibited by *ZM*. For instance, the feature does not include or segue to music, advertising or news and nor does it include regular information like the time or information about what is coming up next (Hendy, 2000). The participants also differ from standard breakfast radio formatting as two of the breakfast show announcers (Grant and Marc) leave and are replaced by “the girls”, two or three guests who are not full-time broadcasters. When guiding the segment Polly’s manner is different from

the conventional flowing chat that professional radio announcers participate in, and it is also different from interview genre (Hendy, 2000; Tolson, 1991). As discussed above Polly uses a combination of subtle and obvious cues to control the interaction, and this control is accepted by the women in the studio who have some understanding of what is expected of them. SLOG does not involve nor refer to listener interaction via phone calls and mobile phone text messaging, which is an important part of current radio broadcasting, and in my experience is used often in CHR in New Zealand (Hendy, 2000). This initially seems unusual given the intimacy established by segment title and subsequent discourse, but it also allows Polly and the participants to have absolute control in establishing the artificially intimate environment.

Radio as a Discourse Type

In addition to the conventions of radio genre, radio broadcasting has its own style of discursive construction. Radio is seen to be unique among media in that its discourse is conventionally imbued with an assumed intimacy and familiarity between the broadcaster and the audience, which Karpf (1980) goes as far as to call an “innate intimacy” (M. Andrews, 2012; Hendy, 2000). Radio has often been described as a friend, intimate and companion (Karpf, 1980; Lacey, 2004); for example *The Radio Network* (2013c) currently promotes *ZM*’s daytime host Sarah Gandy as having a ““your-best-mate” style” (para. 2). Radio announcers appear to speak “live” in real time to one listener and utilise the warmth of the voice in a manner which media scholars have suggested is more intimate than either print media or television (M. Andrews, 2012; Hendy, 2000; Hilmes & Loviglio, 2002). Like many radio stations in New Zealand and around the world, the announcers of *ZM* are on air regularly and over long periods of time (Polly & Grant have hosted the breakfast show on *ZM* for at least ten years) and this allows them to establish their personality and form a relationship with their listeners (Hendy, 2000). Traditionally, radio has invited interaction with the audience that other media did not (Hendy, 2000), and anecdotally it has been called “the original social media”. “The radio”, as it is often referred to, despite the variation of programmes on offer, is always there to keep the listener company (M. Andrews, 2012; Hendy, 2000). Radio stations provide music, news, advice, and weather updates

in a timely and trustworthy manner, and radio has long been the medium the public turns to in times of natural disaster (Hendy, 2000).

While some aspects of radio discourse are shaped in part by the medium itself, such as the use of voice and the immediacy of live broadcast, much has become established through practice. Radio discourse demonstrates intimacy through the discursive techniques of synthetic personalisation, shared jokes, and using the (assumed) same language as the listener (Fairclough, 1992; Hendy, 2000). Many of these strategies are also found in Tolson's (1991) theory of television chat, and arguably have been present on radio for some time (M. Andrews, 2012; Berland, 1990; Hendy, 2000; Hilmes & Loviglio, 2002). There is a mutual understanding between the content producers and the audience that the radio is a trusted, friendly and familiar companion. This allows the women of SLOG to communicate in a manner which would be unexpected in most other mass media, I would suggest that even women's magazines would not use colloquial language or synthetic personalisation to the degree it is present in this study. SLOG is able to exploit the audience's understanding of the discourse of radio to chat, joke, and offer friendship and advice in a manner which is acceptable to the audience.

Girlfriends Discourse Type

In this study the term "girlfriends" is used to identify the discourse type that involves informal, conversational and intimate speech between friends. The term is used in relation to close platonic friends rather than in romantic terms. In SLOG such discourse takes place between female friends, but, as Frith, Raisborough and Klein (2010) point out, men can participate in feminine discourses. I have already discussed the intimacy presented in TSOLG as it exists between both the on-air participants and between them and the audience. Intimacy is created through informal language, humour, and mutual understanding. Talbot (1995) notes that this mutual understanding is an important part of friendship, and the content and delivery of much of the SLOG discourse promotes common ground. Positive politeness is present but it may be unconventional, as discussed in the text analysis above in terms of name-calling and interruption (Fairclough, 1992; Talbot, 1995). Moments of the girlfriend

discourse type may also draw from the genre of gossip, with the title of SLOG suggesting confidentiality and some utterances including low voices, euphemisms and taboo topics (such as within the “SmartBalls” sample). Much of this content is presented through synthetic personalisation, and here Fairclough’s (1992) theory reminds that, while the friendship between announcers may be genuine, the relationship between the announcers and the audience can only be a simulation.

Girl Power Discourse Type

The “girl power” discourse type identified here describes when Polly and the “girls” speak in a manner which displays overt power and confidence. The term “girl power” has been used in academe in particular ways (Harris, 2004; Jackson, 2006) and, while themes from these authors do intersect, here it is used independently for the discourse type described. The term was chosen not only for the literal meaning but also for the connotation of the brash pop group the Spice Girls, who were at the height of popularity when many of *ZM*’s target audience were teenagers in the 1990s. This girl power discourse type is the opposite of being “ladylike” and the stereotypical “homemaker” femininity of the post-war period is largely rejected, the closest the women of SLOG get to this is a passing comment about the price of courgettes (sample “Courgettes”). Girl power discourse is most obvious in SLOG when Polly speaks in an aggressive manner to Grant, raising her voice and ordering him around. Alongside this aggression Polly leads the women of SLOG in being provocative by using elements of uncouth and lewd speech. This is seen in the number of occasions the women tease each other and the sexual nature of some of these jokes, for example “Miss SmartBall”. The girl power discourse type is also seen in the treatment of sexuality in SLOG. The women not only discuss sexual freedoms and women’s sexual choice, but they also discuss them in a manner which treats female sexual agency as the norm in contrast to the sexual double standard still found in popular media (Jackson, 2006). For example, in “SmartBalls” Polly assumes that all women want to enjoy sex and in “Tongue” the one night stand is not emphasised within the wider story. Such discourse can also be seen to entertain the audience with jokes and drama and also to connect with them. Because most radio announcers want to speak like their audiences, and

intimacy is tied to joking and mutual understanding, this suggests that the women of SLOG believe the girl power discourse type is understood and enjoyed by their audience (Talbot, 2007). In presenting themselves as strong and independent in their own behaviours and in their interactions with the men around them the women of SLOG also entertain and connect with their audience.

Postfeminist Discourse

The girl power discourse type can be seen to sit within a wider discourse of postfeminism. Elements of “girlfriend” discourse and the parody and playfulness of CHR radio also overlap with postfeminist discourse. The notion of postfeminist discourse here draws largely on the work of Gill (2007a, 2007b, 2009) within the wider academic discussion of postfeminism (Genz, 2009; Jackson, 2006; McRobbie, 2004). Postfeminist discourse takes for granted the independence and agency of feminism, as illustrated above in relation to “girl power”, but ignores many other values of second wave feminism (Gill, 2007b). For example, within the “Tongue” sample female sexual agency is treated as normal, but so are heteronormativity and the assumption that all women want to find a husband. The overarching structure of SLOG can also be seen as postfeminist discourse as the women aggressively “kick out” the boys, but they then use the resulting privacy to discuss superficial topics such as clothing and hair products. Much has been written about the potential harm in the beauty industry and consumer capitalism (Gill, 2007b, 2009; Klein et al., 2010; Wolf, 1991), and so such topics are seen to go against feminist values (Lazar, 2005; Talbot, 2007, 2010). According to Gill, a further aspect of postfeminism is the role of choice and agency, and so here SLOG displays postfeminism as all of the women clearly choose their topics and their manner of presentation themselves.

Complexity, ambiguity and pastiche are a part of postfeminism clearly represented within the postfeminist discourse of SLOG (Gill, 2007b, 2009; McRobbie, 2004). These facets are also characteristic of contemporary entertainment media, but within SLOG they are particularly marked for gender (Talbot, 2007; Tolson, 2006). The discussion of the “SmartBalls” sample above details the contradictory nature of Polly’s contribution and the many resources she utilises in this, including parody, humour, slang,

euphemism, implacature and direct speech (Fairclough, 1992). There is the chance that Polly is putting on an act of embarrassment, but she is convincing and, regardless, she is ambiguous about women's health while being explicit in her discussion of and attitude towards sex. A further example within the "SmartBalls" sample is the appropriation of jazz music as discussed above and the parody of the beauty contest genre by Polly as she introduces Kate in "Miss SmartBall". Polly is making fun of beauty contests, but she is also making fun of female health, and of Anna, with no clear direction. In the "Shoes" sample Anna displays postfeminist discourse when she says "solving all the world problems one shoe at a time", because this comment has many potential interpretations but few clues as to what Anna means. This statement is clearly hyperbole, but beyond this it could be a commentary on female choice, a self-deprecating comment, a straightforward exaggeration by a shoe-lover, or a combination of the three. It would be my suggestion that Anna is being self-deprecating, as if she is acknowledging the shallow nature of the topic. Even with this in mind, however, her contribution is still a paradox, because she then talks about how remarkable these shoes are in a guileless manner which contradicts her previous suggestion that the topic is not important. These examples from SLOG illustrate Gill's (2007b, 2009) argument that the irony and humour of postfeminism are complex and ambiguous for both audiences and analysts.

Advertising Genre

Elements of advertising genre are found throughout SLOG, particularly within the contributions when talking about consumer products, and signal the predominance of promotional culture within SLOG (Fairclough, 1995; McAllister & West, 2013). This is most obvious in the lexical choices discussed in regard to manifest intertextuality above and also through high objective modality described extensively in the Discourse as Text section. Contemporary advertising also often integrates synthetic personalisation, such as the pronoun "you", to show informality and commonality with the audience in a friendly style (Fairclough, 1992). Because this is used in broadcasting to the same effect it works to blur the distinction between the two genres. In advertising the audience is always treated as a consumer (Cook, 1992) and in SLOG the

role of consumer is projected for both the audience and the “girls” through the subject matter of the contributions. SLOG also presents women as young, sexy, and straight, which reflects the conventional construction of femininity perpetuated by the advertising industry (Andersen & Witham, 2011; Goldman, 1992). While the feature title and introduction make no mention of consumption, there is almost always a focus on a commercial good or service with benefits and specific purchase details included. When these matters of style are combined with commercial topics the overall impression is one of being advertised to. If the contributions on branded products were to play without the introductions and joking banter which exist as part of SLOG I think that the audio would seem to the audience as an advertisement rather than editorial content.

Neoliberal Economic Discourse

Addressing the audience as consumers above all else and reproducing advertising discourse fits into a wider pattern of neoliberal economic discourse present in SLOG. SLOG glorifies the ongoing consumption of what is new and on-trend in a way which reinforces the consumer capitalist economic cycle (Faraone, 2011; Pietrykowski, 2009). Just as the term “investment” has been appropriated from the financial industry to the fashion industry, the term “last season” has been appropriated from the fashion industry to the health supplements industry by Kate in the “Blackcurrant” sample. Both these terms are metaphors from the commercial world which are now used positively in the private domain to justify spending. The discussion of “scripts” above further illustrates how the language and content of SLOG presents the consumption of “beauty” products as necessary and normal. In keeping with contemporary economic discourse SLOG only acknowledges how this consumption benefits the customers, with no mention of other parties involved such as corporate owners or employees involved in the manufacturing of such products (McRobbie, 1997). If the cost of the products is discussed it is only in relation to it being “worth it”, as in “Blackcurrant” and “Hair”. This overarching economic discourse is presented side by side with elements of advice giving and chat genre, which are utilised to deliver this information in a manner recognisable to the audience. Further, this advice is almost always presented as

coming from the “girls” themselves, with the third-party credibility of such a delivery (Fairclough, 1992).

Orders of Discourse

The Public and the Private

The combination of discourses in the order of discourse of SLOG corresponds with Fairclough’s (1992) observation of the shift of public language in to private language as part of “the rearticulating of the relationship between the public domain of political (economic, religious) events and social agents, and the private domain, the domain of the ‘lifeworld’, of common experience.” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 110). For SLOG the traditional discourse format would be public broadcast discourse, which includes formal language and a less intimate treatment of the relationship between the broadcaster and the audience (Hutchby, 2006; Tolson, 2006). The language and style of SLOG incorporates both the private lifeworld and the public advertising domain into this radio space. Private subject matters are also incorporated in to this public discourse, including interpersonal joking and “lifeworld” topics like sex and health. This amalgamation of public and private is undertaken in a way that ignores any traditional boundaries between discourse types. Such complexity is largely to be expected in contemporary entertainment media and SLOG generally maintains its equilibrium throughout the corpus under the guidance of Polly. The *SmartBalls* crux illustrates when this equilibrium is challenged. In this contribution Polly is communicating a health topic but avoids using any health or medical discourse in favour of the youthful and humorous style of broadcast radio and the coercive structure of advertising (sample “SmartBalls”). Such a mix of discourses, styles and topic is not found in any traditional order of discourse and may be one of the reasons Polly struggles to communicate her message.

Commercial Messages in Editorial Content

The order of discourse of SLOG is distinguished from traditional radio broadcasting in the treatment of commercial content. It is conventional within the order of discourse of the media to demarcate paid advertising content from non-commercial content,

known as editorial (Jefkins & Yadin, 2000; Kim, 2011). The increase of commercial content within editorial content or in editorial style has been identified across the media sector, including television, film, magazines and the internet (Erjavec, 2004; Kim, 2011; McChesney, 2008; McChesney & Foster, 2003). In radio, advertising breaks are traditionally marked as separate from editorial through their brief fifteen or thirty second length, placement alongside other advertisements, and the use of different voices, sound, music and style (The Radio Bureau, 2006b; Watts, 2010). Promotional content is further integrated into station talk but is differentiated from editorial content (although not always clearly) by the inclusion of brand and product messaging, competition information and prize giveaways (The Radio Bureau, 2006b; Watts, 2010). Despite SLOG being free of paid advertising (C. Boston, personal communication, July 15, 2013), the text analysis has determined that elements of the feature are highly commercial. This commercial messaging is interwoven with entertaining content and set within a radio segment which is identified like a chat rather than an advertisement or promotion. Whether the commercial messages of SLOG are paid for or not, the feature is an example of commercial discourse playing a major role in media which is identified as entertainment rather than advertising.

Synthetic Sisterhood and Synthetic Friendship

A key conclusion of the order of discourse of SLOG is that it aligns closely with Talbot's (1995) theory of synthetic sisterhood. This is seen in the combination of synthetic personalisation, friendly chat and the girlfriend discourse type, coupled with elements of advertising genre and neoliberal discourse. In synthetic sisterhood mass media communication simulates a close relationship between the text producer and the audience to provide "altruistic advice" (Conradie, 2011, p. 411) on matters that ultimately align femininity with consumption and neoliberal ideology (Talbot, 1995, 2007). For Talbot this relationship is established through the use of positive politeness, particularly the simulation of friendship and the simulation of reciprocal discourse (Talbot, 1995). SLOG displays these practices through synthetic personalisation, the connotations of "secret" in the feature title (a synthetic secrecy) and the many linguistic techniques discussed above which establish an environment of friendship,

intimacy and solidarity. The content then includes information on “feminine education” which is presented in the manner of friendly advice, which Talbot interprets as much like that of an older sister (McRobbie, 1991; Talbot, 1995). In this study I interpret the text producers as recreating the language of intimate friendship rather than sisterhood and will use the term “synthetic friendship” for this reason. The focus on appearance, “beauty work” and consumption is presented as integral to the female experience through the prominence it is given (Conradie, 2011; Talbot, 1995). In SLOG this relationship and the corresponding advice is presented by the women of SLOG, who balance the “expert” presentation of absolute statements about products with the hedging and humour of chat. Synthetic sisterhood has been found in other commercial media including women’s magazines (Conradie, 2011) and television (Klein et al., 2010) but prior to this study no research has been undertaken in regard to radio.

Combining Discourses: The Order of Discourse of SLOG

The relationships between discourses in any discourse sample are important to provide insight into the orders of discourse present and any social change this may relate to. SLOG incorporates genres from radio and the wider media environment and discourse types from both the public and private worlds. The particular combination of discourses within SLOG is innovative rather than conventional and therefore it will be discussed as a distinct order of discourse. The order of discourse of SLOG can be seen to exist within wider orders of discourse, such as the order of discourse of New Zealand commercial radio or the order of discourse of commercial media aimed at female audiences. The order of discourse of SLOG aligns the key discursive themes of SLOG, and the significance of these themes and the corresponding relationships will be discussed in more detail throughout the remainder of this study.

Key discourses have become apparent through this discourse analysis and these can be seen to form the basis of SLOG’s order of discourse. The friendly, conversational and youthful “girlfriends” discourse type related to radio, broadcast chat, and advertising is applied throughout SLOG, whether the “girls” are chatting about themselves, popular culture or consumer products. In the contributions section of SLOG the participants draw heavily on advertising and commercial discourse, from micro word choice to

macro socio-economic assumptions, in their discussions of consumer products. Underpinning all of this is the “girl power” message which presents women as powerful actors who are the independent authors of their discourse. This show of power and choice alongside “girly” language and behaviour creates a discourse environment which resembles Gill’s (2007a, 2007b) interpretation of contemporary postfeminism. The women display power and ownership but discourse analysis has revealed that a large proportion of their messages come from the commercial realm and work to align femininity with consumption in a manner which may not ultimately benefit women (Gill, 2007b; McRobbie, 1997, 2004; Wolf, 1991). Gill’s postfeminist discourse is distinguished by complex, ambiguous and contradictory messages about femininity and this is clearly seen throughout the discourse samples of SLOG.

Consumption

Coherence

Coherence is concerned with the audience understanding of the discourse outputs being studied. The entire premise of SLOG is built upon the assumption that “girly” femininity is both natural for women and also enjoyable entertainment. This ideology is presented to the listener as normal and celebrated, with no acknowledgement that alternative or contradictory ideas exist. The messages are highly promotional in nature, to the extent that some sound like an advertisement, but this is not acknowledged in any way. In many ways the discourse is presented as normal, friendly chat between friends, exploiting the intimate and trustworthy discourse of radio. As discussed above, much of the communication in SLOG is set up as to be read in a particular manner by the audience, for example the many presuppositions of heterosexuality. When such inferences are presented in the language of young, female audience members, and the topics are presented as friendly advice by women the audience listen to every week, it is likely that some of these messages connect with some members of the audience (Fairclough, 1992; Talbot, 1995).

Such messages, however, sit alongside jokes and hedging which work to downplay the contributions (see Discourse as Text above), but these turn may be interpreted as providing balance to the argument, or as false reasoning which adds to the insidious nature of the commercial messaging. SLOG has many utterances like this which have multiple possible readings, and audience members may accept, reject, or amend these due to their own interpretative context (Fairclough, 1992). Such ambiguity can be related to the complex and contradictory nature of postfeminism discussed above (Gill, 2007a, 2007b, 2011). Even when irony is present in SLOG, as in “solving all the world’s problems one shoe at a time”(sample “Shoes”), it is not a straightforward interpretation of saying one thing and meaning another. SLOG, therefore, can be seen as a combination of straightforward and ambiguous messages, and this can pose problems for a discourse analyst. I acknowledge that coherence is not well served by a purely CDA study such as this and is one of the areas in which Fairclough (1992) recommends triangulation.

Discourse as Social Practice

In Fairclough's (1992) approach to CDA, discourse as social practice is concerned with social power. This step allows the researcher to look at the power relationships and inequalities present and also consider if the power is hegemonic; meaning the authority and dominance is established through consent rather than force. Social power can be identified in both the discursive events and the structures of the samples being discussed (Fairclough, 1992). In this case the structures refer to the commercial media organisation which ZM is a part of, *The Radio Network*, the wider deregulated media environment, as well as the New Zealand social, political, and economic situation. For Fairclough, discourse and discursive change often reflect the ideological realities of the institutions and societies involved, even though such realities are constantly shifting. In SLOG ideologies of patriarchy, postfeminism and neoliberalism have been identified at the discursive level which leads to a discussion of their presence within the structures of the feature. These ideologies can be identified as hegemonic when stereotypical femininity is not only normalised but glorified as entertainment on the radio, particularly by women themselves. At this level there is scope for the researcher to bring in her own critical perspective when discussing the issue of the presence of such ideologies in popular mainstream media (Fairclough, 1995). Discourse as social practice draws on the findings of the previous two levels of Fairclough's (1992) Social Theory of Discourse but it also does not preclude introducing new information based on social context.

Ideology

Patriarchy

In dealing with issues and representations of gender the social and discursive practice of SLOG engages with normative patriarchal gender ideology. SLOG reproduces heteronormal ideals, regularly reinforces the notion of superficial gender differences and reinforces normative "girly" femininity. This is seen through the establishment of a female space which excludes the male broadcasters, particularly because many of the

topics are superficially gendered. The only truly female product is the *SmartBalls*, because realistically hair products, health supplements and high heels can be used by anyone. Non-traditional gender identities are exploited for humour, such as in the case of “Kate the wrestler” (sample Wrestler). Romantic and sexual relationships are often discussed in SLOG, suggesting that these are important to “girls”, but these are always presented as heterosexual with gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender identities ignored within SLOG. In the “Tongue” sample it is suggested that a woman must “win over” a man. This reproduces a heteronormal scripts found in both society and popular media and reinforces the notion of men as the powerful actors in heterosexual relationships.

The majority of the patriarchal ideology of SLOG is present in stereotypical female representation and preferred female behaviour. In SLOG the women restrict their discussions to the traditionally female private realm, with key topics being romantic relationships, entertainment, humour, grooming and health. It is a concern that the “secrets” of SLOG are matters of the private realm because feminist theory argues that constructing the women’s world as the private world depoliticises women (Du Plessis & Alice, 1998; Gill, 2007b; Lazar, 2005; Sandlin & Maudlin, 2012). This positions women as friends, lovers, consumers, and physical bodies but not as workers or citizens. Such findings mirror those of feminist research regarding women’s magazines. Gill found that magazines “offer a narrow and restrictive template of femininity constructed around fashion, beauty, and ‘how to get a man’” (p. 149) and Radner (2004) and Mendes (2012) have emphasised that female agency is established through consumption and appearance. SLOG treats the aesthetic labour involved in maintaining a feminine appearance as natural, both in the topics discussed and also through the “girly” behaviour of Polly, Anna, and Kate (Dean, 2005). As Radner (2004) makes clear, “appearance is not an accomplishment”, and the harm of such a focus on female appearance has been written about extensively in feminism (J. Coupland, 2007; Wolf, 1991).

SLOG also reinforces the postfeminist idea that female bodies should be self-surveilled and self-disciplined, and further that this activity is always a pleasurable (Gill, 2007b;

Stuart & Donaghue, 2012). The women of SLOG discuss favourably the time and energy they spend to find the right neon bangles and show enthusiasm when describing shoes or the most recent fad dietary supplement (samples “Shoes” and “Blackcurrant”). Despite the “girl power” attitudes present, there is never any critical analysis of the time, energy and money women spend on these activities, and when things are expensive they are justified as worthwhile as in “Blackcurrant” and “Hair”. Second-wave feminists have written extensively on how materialism and beauty culture can cause personal and socio-political (and even physical) harm to women but in SLOG this is not a “secret” given any attention (Stuart & Donaghue, 2012). Even if SLOG is taken at face value as pure entertainment content, it still shows a limited view of what women find engaging.

The connection between these subject matters and the female environment of SLOG is purely implicit and therefore likely to be hegemonic; there is never any justification of why these matters are “girly”. The text analysis of SLOG above has illustrated numerous ways in which the feature draws on stereotypical key narratives of gender difference and preferred female behaviour. Most of these narratives are presented in such a way that requires the audience to draw on what Goldman, Heath and Smith (1991) describe as “a taken-for-granted familiarity with the codes of patriarchy” (p. 334). Not only is heteronormativity and the pleasure of “girly” behaviour taken for granted, but the feature also contributes to a hegemonic construct of feminine behaviour as superficial, private and consumption-centric. Sandlin and Maudlin (2012) among others (M. R. Andrews & Talbot, 2000; Bauman, 2007; Cox & Proffitt, 2012) have written about the dominant discourse of women as duped consumers and how this demeans and oppresses women in the public sphere. Such stereotyping separates women from the political and economic worlds that they have traditionally been excluded from, with no acknowledgement that such socio-political “secrets” or “lives” are relevant to women.

Postfeminism

Possibly more concerning than “traditional” patriarchal ideology is the postfeminist ideology found throughout SLOG because of its more subtle but insidious nature (Gill, 2007b; Lazar, 2005). It has been discussed in some detail above how the postfeminism discourse of SLOG mixes female agency with “girly” topics. In the SLOG samples across different weeks Polly is seen to “kick out the boys” and behave in a confident and comfortable manner with her “friends”, but the supposedly intimate and confidential environment created is used only to encourage superficial behaviour. Empowerment for women should be positive, but the empowerment present in SLOG exists in relation to the external standards of femininity and limited choices for women (Stuart & Donaghue, 2012). As Gill (2007b) asks, if women are autonomous free agents, then why is the desired look the same? Postfeminist ideology allows women to express themselves in an empowered manner as long as they do not digress too far from stereotypical femininity, and this is exactly what occurs in SLOG (Gill, 2007a; Stuart & Donaghue, 2012). Postfeminism ideology is also found in the values of choice and pleasing oneself, so the women of SLOG are seen to exercise their power by choosing to talk about frivolous topics like shoes and choosing to spend their money on “fashionable” but unproven health supplements (samples “Shoes” and “Blackcurrant”) (Gill, 2007a). From a critical point of view this postfeminist ideology is ultimately patriarchal in nature as it contributes to female oppression. Lazar (2005) argues that when discourse is used to conceal and confuse contemporary messages about gender such “subtle sexism” is particularly dangerous because it does not look like the patriarchy that second wave feminism identified. When patriarchal ideology is presented by women to women, utilising “girl power” discourse, and as an autonomous choice, it is arguably more insidious (Lazar, 2005; Talbot, 1995, 2005a).

Superficially, postfeminist ideology suggests a restructuring of power relations, and there are moments of genuine progressive gender ideology in SLOG. This is present in the representations of confident women, the fact that SLOG is independent of men, and the acceptance of female sexual autonomy (for example in the “Tongue” sample). When Polly discusses a more serious topic in “SmartBalls”, however, she struggles and

can be seen to fall back on the postfeminist discourses of humour and sexual innuendo in what one can assume is an attempt to be entertaining and relevant. Gill's view of postfeminism is that it can be contradictory, and in SLOG this is reflected in the disharmony of the discourse when SLOG moves out of its comfort zone to addresses genuine women's issues in "SmartBalls". For Fairclough (1992) discursive irregularity can represent social imbalance and I would suggest that social attitudes of both genuine and postfeminism are being explored within SLOG, although in the samples present it is postfeminist ideology that appears most dominant.

Advertising, Neoliberalism and Consumption

In the paragraphs above both patriarchal and postfeminist ideology were found to be related to shopping and consumption in some manner. The majority of the talk of SLOG is committed to goods and services, which clearly and obviously associates the world of women with the world of shopping. The overt and individualistic consumption that is encouraged in SLOG is the only style of consumption presented by SLOG. From the archive of topics recorded it appears that a SLOG contribution would never encourage women to stay away from the mall or give to charity without receiving something in return. The discussion of discourse types above has established that neoliberal and advertising messages are present at both manifest and constitutive levels of intertextuality in SLOG. In the neoliberal discourse of SLOG even health supplements are discussed as a trend, normalising the continuous cycle of consumption that sustains the contemporary economy (Pietrykowski, 2009). The focus on pleasing oneself also reinforces the central neoliberal values of choice, autonomy and individualism and this emphasises personal accountability and disregards the structures that underpin gender inequality (Gill, 2007b; Stuart & Donaghue, 2012). For feminists this notion of autonomy is central to the postfeminist view that women no longer face discrimination in the developed Western world (Gill, 2007b; Kosetzi, 2008; Talbot, 2007).

Power

Power in Commercial Radio

Fairclough (1992) suggests that ideology can be identified by asking where such messages come from and who may benefit from them. These values of consumerism and neoliberalism, including postfeminism, can be seen to directly benefit the profit-driven media companies and the advertisers who sustain them. On a macro level, the neoliberal economic model which underpins these commercial entities is accepted and reinforced whenever commercial content and neoliberal ideology is included in SLOG. At a lesser level, the media company, in this case *The Radio Network*, benefits from the station being a consumption-friendly environment in which advertisers will pay to have their advertisements played. When placing advertisement the advertiser looks not only at the demographic ratings but also at the personality and values of the station, also known as the “environment” (Jefkins & Yadin, 2000; Stiernstedt, 2008). The parties that benefit from a commercially-friendly environment are the commercial advertisers, the commercial media organisations such as *ZM* owners *The Radio Network*, and any other political and economic players who profit from public acceptance of the neoliberal marketplace. In keeping with Fairclough’s (1992) view of structural power this does not mean advertisers or senior executives are dictating the content of SLOG, but rather that within this environment it is the ideologies of these groups of people that are ultimately the most powerful. This implies that inequalities of power are present in the structures that contain SLOG and these findings support previous literature on New Zealand radio that suggests that commercial New Zealand radio organisations are extremely profit-orientated (Mollgaard, 2005; Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010).

Power in Secret Life of Girls

The partiality towards neoliberal consumption displayed within SLOG can be seen to display the constraints upon such a feature, even if it is editorial. Throughout both my education and my employment in radio there was always a clear rule that you never insulted the music or the advertisers. In the competitive New Zealand media market

any station that criticised its advertisers or the marketplace in which they operated could easily see their clients go elsewhere. In terms of the station environment, recent research by Sandlin and Maudlin (2012) has also demonstrated that contemporary pop music of the type played on *ZM* proliferates the stereotype of women as consumers. The overall environment of SLOG is positive and upbeat in almost all ways and this data analysis has given many examples of the particular glorification of consumption. *ZM's* Programme Director Christian Boston (personal communication, July 15, 2013) describes SLOG as having uncompromised and protected editorial control and, as I have written elsewhere, this is also my impression of SLOG. The fact that the feature is independent and the recommendations are well-intentioned does not preclude the ideology and hegemony present. SLOG is about lives of women, but within this broad area there are endless topics that could be discussed that are not about consumption. Alternatively, if SLOG was a "shopping" feature it could still include a more balanced analysis of products.

In addition to showing enthusiasm for the goods discussed, little in SLOG is said that could be considered negative. For example, the Discourse as Text chapter above details how in the sample "Neon" Polly asks her listeners for alternatives to the clothing store *Cotton On*, but does not say why. Based on my knowledge of both the store in question and Polly, one likely reason for Polly being dissatisfied with *Cotton On* could have been that Polly did not fit the clothes there. This is only one suggestion, other reasons could have been due to the quality, price, or style, but regardless it is clear that Polly is dissatisfied but does not say why. SLOG is presented as an intimate environment where women can speak frankly, but in this situation Polly leaves out a key part of her story that was likely to reflect negatively on both the store and the neoliberal message that shopping is (always) fun. Any potential concerns of Polly's, whether they were sizing, quality, cost, or the issue of fast fashion and sweatshop manufacturing, are all arguably valid areas of conversation for a frank and friendly discussion about shopping, but they do not make it to air (McRobbie, 1997). SLOG also ignores any issues of economics or class; disposable income and ongoing consumption are treated as normal for all women and the expense of products is only discussed if it

is being justified. The commercial interests of those that produce the products are ignored, and it is only the consumer who is seen to benefit. Another potentially problematic theme of SLOG which the women ignore is the focus on youth above all else. Sex, youth and femininity are embraced in SLOG in a hegemonic manner which reproduces the image of women preferred by advertising and popular media (J. Coupland, 2007; Gill, 2010; Meyers, 2008).

Advertising and Consumption as Entertainment

SLOG is said to be editorially independent from advertising and client influence. This is worth discussing further, however, in light of the many instances of commercial messaging, advertising discourse and neoliberal ideology, identified throughout this research. SLOG is part of the *ZM* breakfast show and it has been confirmed by the *ZM* Programme Director that it does not contain advertising or other paid content (C. Boston, personal communication, July 15, 2013). Some critical scholars may be sceptical of this statement, but I do believe that within the conventions of New Zealand commercial radio SLOG is editorial. This means that when Polly speaks passionately and at length about *Khie's Heat Protectant Silk Straightening Cream* (sample "Hair"), or Kate about the Indian tongue scraper (sample "Tongue"), their main goal is not to sell this product but rather to create a few minutes of entertaining radio content. Scholarship in the field of promotional culture (McAllister & West, 2013; Wernick, 1991), as well as within political economy (McChesney, 2008; Meehan & Riordan, 2002b; Pietrykowski, 2009), suggests that many areas of contemporary society are becoming increasingly dominated by advertising, promotions, and consumption. In modern times it has become common for advertising to imitate entertainment, but here we see SLOG, an entertainment feature, imitating advertising (Cook, 1992). The presence of overtly commercial content within the "independent" feature SLOG is an example of a commercial influence that is so subtle that it is ignored (to a degree at least) within the industry. Due to its subtle nature the commercial ideology appears to have a hegemonic presence off-air at *ZM* and this can be seen to play out through the discourse.

Theories of feminism, consumption, and media studies suggest that SLOG has embraced the ideology that consumption and traditional feminising practices are not only natural female behaviour but also a form of entertainment and pleasure (Gill, 2010; McRobbie, 2004, 2008; Stuart & Donaghue, 2012). When “girly” behaviour is displayed by women as a choice and a pleasure this reinforces the neoliberal and postfeminist nature of SLOG, as well as the hegemonic acceptance of the behaviours and ideologies present (Gill, 2003, 2007b). While little evidence of this has been identified previously in regards to radio, this does reinforce what Mendes (2012) and others (2011; Goldman, 1992; Goldman et al., 1991; Talbot, 1995) have identified in numerous studies of women’s magazines. Mendes wrote that in women’s print media “consumption is seen as the quickest (and most satisfying) route to empowerment” (p. 565). In SLOG the products themselves are glorified, such as the heels in “Shoes”, and so is the work associated with feminine activity, such as shopping. When considered in isolation, Polly’s shopping trip in “Neon” was largely unsuccessful and Kate’s tongue scraping activity in “Tongue” does not sound enjoyable, but they are both discussed and promoted on the radio in an upbeat manner that ignores any issues of labour, economy, or dissatisfaction. If the contributors of SLOG are always upbeat, and they are also always shopping, this leaves little scope for a more realistic portrayal of feminine behaviour. There are other subject matters that the women of SLOG could discuss beyond that of consumable products, but in excluding these subjects SLOG gives the message that shopping is the most engaging topic for women. This is further reinforced when Polly tries to talk about *SmartBalls* and ends up giving the impression that it was a difficult topic to discuss and definitely not pleasurable or “cool”.

Hegemony, “Effects”, and Critical Concerns

The discourse styles of synthetic friendship and postfeminism illustrate how these ideologies are treated as common sense beliefs that are presented to the audience in a subtle hegemonic manner. When the women of SLOG themselves consent to such ideology they present a postfeminist image of womanhood which is not seen to advance the cause of feminism. Further to this, every time the women of SLOG talk to

“you” the listener they share assumptions about lifestyles and consumer behaviour which reinforce normative ideologies in a manner which encourages the listener to agree (Fairclough, 1992; Talbot, 2007, 2010). Radio broadcasting is one-way communication that does not allow any alternative points of view, and the text analysis has revealed the degree to which Polly controls the feature, but because it mimics personalised conversation this is obscured. The intimate and engaging manner of synthetic friendship suggests that the speakers have the audience’s best interests at heart and the postfeminist style suggest a contemporary “girl power” which is difficult to dispute (Talbot, 1995, 2010). Like the presenters, listeners are encouraged to “buy in” to not only the products but the lifestyle and beliefs (ideologies) offered as well. When such hegemonic ideology is presented by women in a fun, humorous, female-only radio feature billed as intimate and friendly it raises concerns that listeners will be more susceptible to the message than if it were presented in advertising or by a more traditionally patriarchal channel (Talbot, 2007, 2010). As Gill (2009) points out, it makes sense to view pleasure and ideology as intimately related. “That any cultural form is pleasurable and ideological is, then, neither surprising nor worrying – what else could pleasure be? And how else could ideology work?” (Ballaster, 1991, p. 162, as cited in Gill, 2009).

As discussed in the literature review, there is nothing intrinsically wrong with such traditionally feminine topics providing pleasure for either the women of SLOG or the listening audience, but from a critical perspective it is a concern when these discussions lack balance and are seen to only benefit certain groups in society (Gill, 2009; Stuart & Donaghue, 2012). While media “effects” are debated, political economy and Fairclough’s CDA argue that media representations are important. Overall, the discourse of SLOG reinforces the popular notion that women should give attention to their appearance and their consumer behaviour rather their intrinsic worth (McRobbie, 1997; Stuart & Donaghue, 2012). The entire premise of SLOG is one of hegemonic acceptance of “girly” femininity encompassing shopping, the private realm and grooming. A sizeable and well-established field feminist scholarship has argued that such stereotypical femininity, including postfeminism, reinforces patriarchal ideology

(Butler, 1990; Gill, 2007a, 2007b; Wolf, 1991). This femininity has strong ties to advertising and given the focus on consumption in SLOG there is a clear correlation to the owner of the media organisations and the wider neoliberal marketplace (M. R. Andrews & Talbot, 2000; Goldman, 1992; Goldman et al., 1991; McRobbie, 2004, 2008). The content of SLOG can therefore be seen to display inequalities of power within commercial radio in New Zealand.

Chapter Five: Discussion

Introduction

The data analysis chapter of this study has established a number of findings concerning the discourse and ideology present in *Secret Life of Girls* (SLOG) and how these work in the construction of a particular kind of popular femininity. Themes of postfeminism and neoliberalism are combined with the friendly delivery style of synthetic personalisation to present distinctly commercial messaging in an entertainment format (Fairclough, 1992; Gill, 2007b; Gill & Scharff, 2011; Talbot, 1995, 2010). It is this attention given to consumption as a form of commercially-independent (female) entertainment that appears pertinent, particularly given the influence of the political economy of media tradition upon this study (M. R. Andrews & Talbot, 2000; McChesney, 2008; Meehan & Riordan, 2002a; Talbot, 2007). As is appropriate in Fairclough's (1992) critical approach, some of the social concerns of this study have already been discussed in regard to the ideology present and the hegemonic manner in which it exists. The examination of power and ideology continues in this chapter in regard to New Zealand commercial radio and also in regard to women and radio. Questions of critical concern are developed further in relation to the commercial power within radio and the place of postfeminism in contemporary media and society. Previous studies (Conradie, 2011; del-Teso-Craviotto, 2006; Gill, 2009, 2010; Kuldip et al., 2013; Stevens & Maclaren, 2012; Talbot, 1995, 2005a) have looked at these issues in different combinations across different media, but this research appears to be the first to situate postfeminism and consumer culture in the context of New Zealand radio.

Postfeminism and "Girly" Femininity

SLOG displays what I interpret as a distinctly postfeminist voice that embraces "girly" femininity. This ideological state underpins the entire feature of SLOG, a space where women kick out the boys so they can do what they want, and what they want to do is

to talk about shopping and grooming. This agentic female voice aligns closely with the academic theory of postfeminism established by Gill (2007b, 2010) and McRobbie (1997, 2004), and provides evidence for their claims that the popular media has embraced this postfeminist sensibility (Genz, 2009; Goldman, 1992). SLOG amalgamates stereotypical “girly” femininity and the conventional mass media representation of the perfect woman as young, sexy, and heterosexual, with progressive representations of female confidence, agency, and humour. This amalgamation takes place alongside the well-recorded postfeminist practices of self-surveillance, whereby grooming and associated tasks are presented by the women of SLOG as not only a personal choice but also a pleasure (M. R. Andrews & Talbot, 2000; J. Coupland, 2007; Goldman et al., 1991; Kauppinen, 2013; Radner, 2004; Talbot, 1995). Feminising work and the constant talk and advice in the mass media regarding these practices is seen by feminist to contribute little to the advancement of women (McRobbie, 2008; Meehan, 2002; Talbot, 2005b). As del-Teso-Craviotto (2006) writes in regard to magazines, “Constructing femininity as a state that needs constant care and guidance reinforces patriarchal ideologies that cast women in a helpless position” (p. 2012). Despite the genuine friendship displayed in SLOG, the focus is on the postfeminist and neoliberal goal of individual consumption rather than any collective politics reminiscent of second wave feminism (Gill, 2007b, 2010). When female sovereignty is displayed in SLOG it is undermined by underlying factors, for example in the “Tongue” sample sexual sovereignty is linked to finding a husband.

Gill (2007a, 2007b) and McRobbie (1991, 2004) emphasise the contradictory and ambiguous nature of postfeminism, and the difficulties that this can present for both audiences and researchers in identifying the underlying ideology present. SLOG presents a complex construction of femininity presented by real women in a (fairly) genuine manner, which is a change from the one-dimensional popular representations of women in the late 20th century (Gill, 2007b; Jenny, 2009; Tasker & Negra, 2007). From a critical standpoint, such alternative perspectives serve only to camouflage the patriarchy in a way that makes it more difficult to identify and contest, and this can be seen as part of what Lazar (2005) described as contemporary “subtle sexism” (Gill,

2007b; Talbot, 2005a, 2010). The presence of feminist discourse within the postfeminism of SLOG has similarities with the work done by Talbot (1995, 2000, 2005a) in which she identifies instances when popular media have appropriated feminism for commercial gain. The corporate media adopt feminist discourse to appear as a friend, ally or champion of women while surreptitiously promoting their own agendas, in this case the patriarchal and capitalist message that aligns femininity with beauty work and consumer culture (McRobbie, 2008; Talbot, 1995, 2005a). Although SLOG contains moments of irony and humour, overall the discourse lacks reflectivity and demonstrates little awareness of the legitimate paradox of postfeminism.

Consumption as Feminine

One of the most significant aspects of the construction of femininity in SLOG is the manner in which it is tied to consumption and the capitalist market. SLOG appears to function as a hyper-commercial environment that encourages consumer culture through the prestige given to goods and the application of these goods in the shaping of gender identity (Arnould & Thompson, 2005; Pietrykowski, 2009). The centrality of consumerism to contemporary femininity has been identified by feminist scholars, with Sandlin and Maudlin (2012) writing that “consumption is an inescapable part of being a woman and a context in which female roles are performed, challenged and legitimized” (p. 176). The veracity of this statement is demonstrated in the womanly environment of SLOG where every contribution was about a good or service that could be purchased. As discussed in the Data Analysis chapter, consumption is encouraged both directly through the utterances of the announcers, and also ideologically through the neoliberal nature of the discourse. Consumption is constructed as a natural and compulsory part of being a woman and also a significant form of entertainment for women. McRobbie (2008) describes this as “consumer culture as a regime of truth” (p. 532) and argues that this “truth” must always be interrogated by feminism. In SLOG consumption is glorified using postfeminist discourse in a manner which presents it as a personal choice, and this choice can be seen to mask the structural inequality of

patriarchy (Gill, 2007b). The image of perfect femininity portrayed by popular media can only be achieved through work and capital; it requires products, time and energy as encouraged throughout SLOG (McRobbie, 1997; Radner, 2004).

Much postfeminist theory appears to emphasise the role of sexuality and appearance in consumption (Donaghue et al., 2011; Gill, 2003; Mendes, 2012; Stuart & Donaghue, 2012). While these topics are present in SLOG, in this study consumption must also be emphasised as an important aspect of the popular, postfeminist construction of femininity. For example, the “Blackcurrant” sample draws on discourses of postfeminism alongside friendship, fashion and health (but not sexuality) to promote consumption of this product. In this context one of the key messages from SLOG is the union of contemporary femininity and shopping. From a critical perspective this is an important issue that ties to the social concerns of consumer culture and consumer femininity (Arnould & Thompson, 2005; Featherstone, 2007; Sandlin & Maudlin, 2012; Talbot, 2010), but in literature it is often overshadowed by a focus on the objectification of the female body. Hypersexuality and objectification are clearly a feminist concern, but so too is a construction of women as obsessed with shopping (M. R. Andrews & Talbot, 2000; Record, 2002; Sandlin & Maudlin, 2012). Feminist scholarship argues that such a focus on frivolous, stereotypically feminine topics can be seen to distract, disconnect and discourage women from socio-political action, and justify the privilege of men (M. R. Andrews & Talbot, 2000; Gill, 2007b; McRobbie, 2008). McRobbie (1997) also notes that contemporary consumer culture ignores issues around the production and distribution of goods, and also those that cannot afford to be consumers, both of which raise global concerns about women’s welfare .

Independence and Entertainment

This study highlights that radio content identified as editorially independent can have a more complex relationship with advertising and commercial interests than is superficially implied. Bucholtz (2005) writes that “identifying such reversals between what a text does and what it purports to do is at the heart of critical discourse analysis” (p. 57). SLOG is set up as an unsponsored entertainment feature and is

described as having independent editorial control by ZM's Programme Director (C. Boston, personal communication, July 15, 2013). Despite this, at times it appears that this entertainment feature is more likely to be a series of promotional messages. The impression given is that the "girls" are presenting information that they believe is both entertaining and helpful to the listening audience, and their product recommendations are genuine. Superficially, SLOG is an informal and spontaneous feature, but text analysis has revealed that it has a clear structure with highly orchestrated elements that Polly realises while maintaining the humorous and chatty discourse. It is in this apparent belief that SLOG is "independent", along with the power of one-way "expert" advice, that I see the hegemony of the notion that women are most entertained and engaged by shopping and consumer culture above all else (M. R. Andrews & Talbot, 2000; Gill, 2003). The employment of consumption as the key topic of an editorial feature reveals how far promotional culture has penetrated the mass media (and audience expectations), to the extent that the advertisement has become the entertainment (Pietrykowski, 2009; Wernick, 1991).

Despite the impression of autonomy, the discursive constructions of the contributions of SLOG are clearly influenced by the commercial broadcasting environment. Scholars in the field of political economy have noted the importance for commercial media to appear commercially friendly and risk-averse in all of their content to appease advertisers and potential advertisers (McChesney, 2008; Watts, 2010). The women of SLOG talk favourably about consumption and actively avoid any criticism of products or wider consumer culture, as illustrated by Polly in "Neon". If this was an honest discussion of shopping between friends Polly would be able to share her dissatisfaction with the clothing store *Cotton On*, but discourse analysis suggests that she is constrained by the need to appear favourable to advertisers and the marketplace. A more sympathetic interpretation of SLOG may be that it is a space that invites the women to be "girly" in the frivolous sense of the word, and so talk of feminising practices is unsurprising. Even if this was the case, however, a more honest view of femininity and consumption could still be expected. It is impossible to determine the degree to which that the women of SLOG actively recognise the need to edit their

communication in a way that favours advertisers and the capitalist market, and it is not acknowledged in any way on air, but discourse analysis does suggest that editing takes place. The claimed “independence” of SLOG and the genuine nature of the recommendations reinforce the notion that the ideology of postfeminism and neoliberal consumption are presented in a hegemonic manner.

Successful broadcasters must connect personally with their audience, but this alone does not explain the personable, “girly” discourse of SLOG. In commercial radio the clients are advertisers, and the listeners are the commodity audience sold to these clients (Hendy, 2000; Stiernstedt, 2008). It is important for *ZM* to programme their broadcasting strictly towards their target audience, in this case a female skew aged 18-39 years old, to ensure that *The Radio Network* can deliver separate favourable demographics across its different radio brands (Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010; Stiernstedt, 2008). In this regard the audience are treated as consumers of media as well as consumers of goods and services (Conradie, 2011; Stiernstedt, 2008). There may be an argument that SLOG presents a friendly and girly message to connect with this audience, but this does not adequately explain SLOG’s entire discourse. The constant importance given to youth and beauty in SLOG is arguably more in line with popular representations of femininity rather than the real lives of listeners (J. Coupland, 2007). For example, New Zealand women at the upper end of *ZM*’s demographic are likely to have had children and may have experienced pelvic floor weakness, but in “SmartBalls” Polly talks to the audience as if this is an occurrence for the future (Rossouw & Dye, 2012). This leads me to the conclusion that Polly is constructing a young and sexy image of womanhood as favoured by the popular media rather than a realistic message for her audience.

Power in “Independent” Content

Both political economy of media theory and Fairclough’s (1992) critical discourse analysis (CDA) look for unequal power relations and ask who is served by such inequality. The propagation of the neoliberal, postfeminist ideology present in SLOG will benefit the owners of the radio station *ZM* and the advertisers who fund the

station (Mollgaard, 2005; Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010) (Golding & Murdock, 1997). Neoliberal values underpin the market in which these commercial entities operate, and feminism and postfeminism are exploited to sell within this market (McRobbie, 2008; Talbot, 2005a). From a feminist perspective, this ideology has the potential to reinforce gender inequality, and this is not in the best interests of female listeners. For example, the lack of sincere and legitimate talk for women becomes obvious in “SmartBalls” when Polly attempts to speak about female health and her discourse shows her struggling with the unfamiliar topic. It is particularly significant that these values are found in a feature that the production team consider to be independent of advertising or sponsorship (C. Boston, personal communication, July 15, 2013). These values are unlikely to ever be written in a company manual or discussed in internal emails, but critical theory suggests that by being present in the discourse they are also found in the structures of *The Radio Network* (Fairclough, 1992, 1995; Golding & Murdock, 1997). It is a concern that entertaining, editorial content that is perceived to be independent by the content producers lacks any genuine independence.

For Fairclough (1992, 1995), power is constantly being negotiated and renegotiated, and this tension is obvious in the postfeminist nature of SLOG. This reflects a wider tension identified in commercial media, and New Zealand radio in particular, when the need to entertain and engage with the audience converges with the need to operate as a successful commercial entity. What appears to be genuinely friendly and engaging entertainment radio also involves the promotion of neoliberal capitalist and patriarchal values. The combination of these two aspects within SLOG has resulted in a postfeminist discourse that works to obscure and minimise the patriarchy that is present in much of the content. The discursive techniques used throughout broadcasting to engage with the audience successfully, such as friendly chat and presuppositions, also work to make the messages pleasurable and this contributes to the hegemony present. As discussed above, ideology can be seen to work best in an environment which is pleasurable and relatable for those involved, and so for feminists the friendly and intimate nature of a feature such as SLOG can be seen to be particularly insidious (Gill, 2009; Talbot, 1995, 2010). The extent to which media texts

influence audiences is debatable but, as suggested in the literature review and methodology, the role of the media in reflecting and contributing to cultural values is significant (Fairclough, 1995).

New Zealand Commercial Radio

This glorification of consumption and the promotion of neoliberal capitalist ideology fits a pattern of highly commercial content identified by scholars of New Zealand radio. In 1992 Cocker wrote that the commercial radio stations in New Zealand were “mere vehicles for commercial speech and the ideology of the advertising industry” (p. 56) and over the last two decades the industry has become even more profit-orientated (Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010; Shanahan & Duignan, 2005). Shanahan and Duignan (2005) suggest that New Zealand radio stations are highly commercial, but they also write that there is little evidence of commercial needs impinging on the integrity of content. In contrast, Mollgaard and Rosenberg (2010) and Watts (2010) show concern for the influence advertisers have over non-advertising content, and it appears that their concern has been justified further by this study. The discourse analysis of SLOG has demonstrated a blurring of the lines between editorial content and advertising in a manner which benefits advertisers and the media owners but does little to benefit listeners or citizens. Earl (2005) drew a similar conclusion in her study of representations of Polynesian youth in the New Zealand television show *Bro’ Town*, which “privileges individual consumer interests over broader socio-political concerns” (p. 11). For critical scholars of New Zealand media the current study contributes an example of highly commercial content, this time in an entertainment radio feature.

Women and Radio

This study reinforces a number of philosophies about women and radio that exist in the academy. While the concern here is media outputs rather than audiences, it can still be said that the findings support the belief that female audiences connect with radio due to the intimate nature of the medium and the role of radio in the domestic sphere (Lacey, 2004; C. Mitchell, 2000). Radio appears to lend itself to the exploitation

of this connection by targeting female audiences with friendly chat and synthetic intimacy and treating them as consumer citizens above all else (M. Andrews, 2012). While the message is now postfeminist in nature, SLOG appears to enter the private realm and offer expertise to women in a similar manner to that of the inter-war and post-war radio stations that kept housewives company (M. Andrews, 2012; Fry, 1957; Karpf, 1980; Lacey, 2004). The first female broadcasters offered domestic advice in specialist segments (see Aunt Daisy in New Zealand (Fry, 1957)) and the shift from this to SLOG can be seen to reflect the shift in the popular representation of womanhood from wife and mother to sexual and self-surveilling postfeminist (Gill, 2003). Radio scholars have suggested that radio can be “fairer” or “liberating” to women because it lacks a visual dimension (Lacey, 2004; C. Mitchell, 2004). While this potential may exist, in SLOG the descriptive nature of radio discourse is utilised to reproduce the male gaze or self censorship, and this is most clearly seen when Anna describes “long legs... perky bum” and other “benefits” of high heels in the “Shoes” sample.

This study appears to be the first to identify postfeminism and the exploitation of femininity within a discussion of gender and radio. The few studies undertaken in the English-speaking world in the last decade in regard to representations of gender in radio appear focused on proving the presence of heteronormativity and stereotypical gender representations (Ames, 2003; Monk-Turner et al., 2007). In comparison to these studies, the postfeminist image of femininity presented by real women in a genuine manner in SLOG can be considered more complex and more difficult to critique and criticise (Gill, 2007b). SLOG does see women taking primacy in an industry which has historically rejected females in both broadcasting and production (M. Andrews, 2012; Byerly, 2011; Francis, 2006; Gill, 2000). Polly is clearly the lead broadcaster on *ZM* and her power is obvious in her interactions with her male colleagues (see samples “Get Out” and “Locker Room”). SLOG also shows a progressive attitude towards female sexual autonomy and what I interpret as genuine representation of female friendship. All of this is satisfactory to a feminist concerned with media representations of gender, but the ideology found throughout SLOG

suggests that radio is ultimately still an industry that sells women patriarchy disguised as entertainment.

Commercial Power in New Zealand Radio

This research displays an overarching theme that the content of SLOG is more likely to impede the advancement of women than encourage it. As Fairclough (1992) emphasises, power, ideology, and discourse are constantly being negotiated and renegotiated, but throughout the samples present there is a clear power imbalance. The data analysis above has shown that the content of SLOG illustrates a very limited view of the world of women and contains ideology which is ultimately patriarchal and consumer-centric. The steps by which this content comes about cannot be determined by CDA, but in political economy it is straightforward to identify a link between the goals of a commercial media company such as *The Radio Network* and the commercial messaging present in SLOG. New Zealand women continue to face inequality and so any instances of patriarchy in the mainstream media are a concern, particularly when they can be related to the capitalist ideology of powerful media owners. In a commercial operation like *The Radio Network* profit is paramount, and if this profit can be achieved through the exploitation of listeners then it will be. New Zealand radio sees little regulation in regard to commercial content or civic duty, and so such content will likely continue as long as it results in positive commercial outcomes. As someone with a passion for radio and for the dynamic if limited local industry, this content is a disappointment. If this engagement and intimacy could be utilised to connect with audiences over broader and more genuine topics it could make for excellent radio that advanced women rather than hindered them.

Postfeminism in Media and Society

The hegemonic nature of the postfeminism in SLOG is a concern in itself and also in the context of wider social change. The prevalence of postfeminist discourse rather than either traditional patriarchy or genuine feminism supports the statements of Gill (2007a, 2007b, 2011) and her contemporaries (McRobbie, 1993, 2004; Mendes, 2012;

Stuart & Donaghue, 2012) that postfeminism increasingly prevails in mainstream popular culture. The critical work of Talbot (1995, 2000, 2005a, 2010) on synthetic sisterhood and the exploitation of feminist discourse also displays instances where the media present ambiguous constructions of contemporary femininity for commercial gain. Many of the current examples in the literature concern advertising, and here it is a particular concern that SLOG is an entertainment feature for women and by women that is supposed to be independent of advertising. For Gill (2007b, 2010, 2011) postfeminism is seen to be difficult enough to identify in advertising but in SLOG it is found in a radio feature full of discourse that promotes intimacy and friendship, much of which appears genuine.

Postfeminism is a shift from the arguably less ambiguous patriarchal media messages and discourses that second wave feminists once rallied against. Humour, friendship and positivity, along with broadcasting discourse that creates intimacy and engagement, are used to draw the listener into the world of SLOG, and the ratings of ZM suggest that the station is successful in connecting with female listeners in this way (The Radio Network, 2013b). CDA and postfeminist scholarship suggests that such pleasurable, engaging and empowering discourse is most likely to promote hegemonic ideology (Gill, 2007b, 2011; Talbot, 1995, 2007, 2010). The prevalence of entertaining, engaging postfeminist discourse suggests that contemporary sexism can be harder to identify and therefore harder to resist (Gill, 2007b). Fairclough's (1992) Social Theory of Discourse says that such discursive change can signal social change, and therefore it is likely that postfeminism in popular media discourse is reflecting and also contributing to postfeminism in the lives of New Zealand women.

Discussion Summary

The data gathered in this study has led to solid analysis of the construction of gender within SLOG in regard to political economy, feminism, and radio theory. Patriarchal and neoliberal capitalist ideology has a strong presence in the discourse and structures of SLOG despite the feature being editorial content for women. SLOG lacks any genuine independence and this becomes most obvious when the discourse is flawed,

for example as during “SmartBalls” and “Neon”. What is particularly concerning about the discourse of SLOG is that postfeminism and synthetic friendship mask these ideologies behind empowerment, fun and engagement. Not only is such subtle sexism more difficult to identify and contest, but pleasurable media is seen to contribute to hegemonic ideologies (Gill, 2007b, 2009; Lazar, 2005). The hyper-commercial nature of SLOG reinforces the findings of New Zealand radio scholars that the industry prioritises profits over listeners (Cocker, 1992; Mollgaard, 2005, 2012; Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010; Watts, 2010). While commercial radio will always display a tension between satisfying audiences and satisfying shareholders, this situation lacks any equilibrium.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to investigate the construction of gender in commercial radio in New Zealand. After critical discourse analysis (CDA) of *Secret Life of Girls* (SLOG) audio three specific conclusions can be drawn. These conclusions are the presence of a strong postfeminist sensibility throughout the discourse; the presence of patriarchal ideology; and a neoliberal message of consumption as both normal and desirable for women. These conclusions are interrelated, particularly as the postfeminist sensibility contributes to the hegemonic delivery of the patriarchal and neoliberal ideology. As the first study of gender in New Zealand radio the presence of a distinctly female synthetic friendship is also significant, as is the relationship identified between the ideology conveyed and the commercial structure of the local industry. There are many opportunities for further research which could advance the conclusions of this study or use them as a point from which to launch complementary research.

Overview of Research Findings

The Secret Life of Girls Environment

The feature SLOG from radio station ZM provides a data sample where gender is “being done”, and this has been explored using CDA. The linguistic analysis of the data as text established cohesive findings across the samples. SLOG is set up as a friendly, intimate, female-only environment, and, although much of this is artificial, it comes across as a genuine and engaging feature. Polly, the principal broadcaster, uses humour to maintain the structure and content of SLOG in a manner that evokes “girl power”. This is important because it is in this intimate and engaging environment and through this intimate and engaging discourse that the ideological messages of postfeminism, patriarchy and neoliberalism are shared. The enthusiasm of the women

involved and the normalisation of mainstream popular femininity to the exclusion of all else contribute to the hegemonic nature of the ideology present. This stereotypical femininity is expressed while discussing and promoting consumption, showing a clear relationship between femininity, (hetero)sexuality, and shopping. The feature focuses on consumable goods and services, despite the fact that in the New Zealand commercial radio industry SLOG is considered an editorial feature independent of advertising (C. Boston, personal communication, 15 August 2013).

Postfeminism and Patriarchy

A central theme at all three levels of the discourse analysis and a core finding of this thesis is the presence of postfeminism within the gender identities enacted and encouraged in SLOG. Postfeminism is found in the language and ideology of SLOG and also in the structure of the feature itself, whereby the women “kick out the boys” and use this female space to talk about superficial topics such as grooming. The stereotypical feminine behaviours identified in SLOG include self-surveillance, hypersexuality, and overt consumption, all of which are generally viewed by feminists as involving patriarchal ideology rather than genuine feminism (Gill, 2007b). The postfeminism of SLOG looks little like traditional patriarchy because the “for women, by women” style superficially promotes autonomy and empowerment. SLOG also involves moments of genuine female autonomy as well as irony and humour, which come together to create ambiguous discourse that, according to Gill (2007a, 2007b), can be difficult to analyse for both the audience and the researcher. Such ambiguity is seen to mask any underlying patriarchy and encourage hegemonic acceptance of the behaviours and ideology communicated (Genz, 2009; Gill, 2007b; Stuart & Donaghue, 2012). CDA proved to be a valuable method for investigating this complex postfeminist discourse and identifying its presence in the construction of gender within SLOG.

Consumption as Feminine

A further key finding of this research is that there is a strong message that consumption serves as an important norm and a pleasure for women. Although SLOG is an entertainment feature said to be free of advertising, it was full of discourse that

promoted consumption in general terms and the negative aspects of consumption were never discussed. The feature is named for “girls” secrets, and a feminine environment is established, but it is more realistically a vehicle for talking about shopping. The language of advertising and the discourses of neoliberal capitalism were identified throughout the discussion of Discourse as Text, as were “scripts” which reproduced key messages from the advertising world. SLOG constructs women as young, sexy, and heterosexual, which reflects the preferred femininity of the advertising world (Gill, 2007a; Michelle, 2012; N. Mitchell, 2007). The construction of femininity is further tied to consumption when the female body and heterosexual relationships are discussed in relation to the benefits of goods and services, for example in the samples “SmartBalls”, “Tongue”, and “Shoes”. In SLOG self-surveillance and hypersexualisation were related to consumption, but the strong relationship between womanhood and shopping is a feminist concern on its own (M. R. Andrews & Talbot, 2000; McRobbie, 2008; Stuart & Donaghue, 2012).

The Synthetic Friendship of Secret Life of Girls

Postfeminist discourse exists alongside synthetic personalisation to recreate the like-mindedness, warmth and intimacy of genuine feminine friendship (Fairclough, 1992; Talbot, 1995, 2005a, 2010). In this study the term “synthetic friendship” is used as a reference to Talbot’s (1995, 2007) work on synthetic sisterhood and Fairclough’s (1992) linguistic term synthetic personalisation. In the “SmartBalls” contribution this intimate and confidential facade is challenged when faced with a genuine issue pertaining to women, proving that it is inauthentic. Much theory on radio talk and contemporary broadcasting chat sees this synthetic friendship as a key part of broadcasting, and for some writers on women and radio this intimacy is interpreted as distinctly feminine (Ames, 2012; Scannell, 1991, 2007; Tolson, 1991). In SLOG this synthetic friendship communicates the commercial and postfeminist messages in a subtle, hegemonic manner which reproduces the talk of the audience. Talbot identifies such talk as likely to be accepted by the target audience, and as a critical researcher it is a concern that a distinctly female intimacy is exploited to promote messages that do not benefit women.

Inequalities of Power in New Zealand Radio

In identifying this postfeminist, patriarchal, and consumer-centric construction of gender this research brings together the concerns of both the political economy of media and feminist media studies. The treatment of gender identity and gendered ideology throughout SLOG suggests inequalities of power are present. The patriarchal and capitalist ideology prominent in the stereotypical “girly” femininity and the normalisation of consumption for women depoliticises and disadvantages women (Berger, 2011; Goldman et al., 1991; McRobbie, 1997, 2004, 2008; Mendes & Carter, 2008). It is a further concern that this hegemonic ideology is present in a prominent radio feature on a radio station popular with woman, particularly because of the subtle, postfeminist nature of the content. The study of radio and gender is underdeveloped, but the findings of this study suggest that the historical practice of radio “befriending” the female listener in order to sell both patriarchy and products may still exist, only now in a more insidious manner (M. Andrews, 2012; Lacey, 2004). This practice is not, however, an innate quality of the medium itself, and it would be encouraging to see the intimacy and engagement of SLOG used in a less commercial manner.

This female identity not only privileges both the patriarchal system and the neoliberal capitalist environment, but it also masks this privilege. In SLOG commercial messaging takes place within a radio feature designed to be entertainment and which the ZM Programme Director Christian Boston (personal communication, July 15, 2013) says has editorial independence. This analysis, however, identifies a number of incidences where the content appears to be constrained by commercial demands (for example in “Neon”), and overall the message is highly commercial and reinforces neoliberal capitalist ideology. It is a concern, if not a surprise, that such one-sided commercial messaging is considered independent by the media producers. This concern reinforces those expressed by New Zealand media scholars (Hope, 2004; Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010) about the hyper-commercial private radio environment found in New Zealand.

This Study in Academe

For Fairclough (1992) the study of media discourse is important because it is seen to both reflect and shape society. Feminist scholars have also been interested in the representations of gender in popular and mass media for similar reasons (Gill, 2007a, 2007b, 2011; Mendes & Carter, 2008). Commercial radio, like much commercial media worldwide, is seen to display a tension between the highly formulaic, commercial content that has become standard in mainstream radio and the intimacy and authenticity that is considered a requirement for good radio broadcasting (Hendy, 2000). In SLOG this tension occurs through postfeminism and synthetically friendly discourse which obscures the dominant patriarchal and neoliberal ideology present. The presence of hegemonic ideology and highly commercial content within an allegedly independent radio product has relevance to many areas of political economy, whether gender is considered relevant or not. The highly commercial nature of New Zealand radio has led to it being referred to anecdotally as the “canary in the cage” for global media, and, therefore, any findings about the industry could be of interest to critical media scholars (Mollgaard & Rosenberg, 2010; Watts, 2010). This study contributes to the growing body of research on postfeminism in contemporary media and in doing so incorporates the idea that consumption can be relevant to the postfeminist sensibility.

Limitations of Research and Further Research

Limitations of CDA

Overall this study occurred as planned, but limitations were present and some of these present opportunities for further research. The most pertinent issue results from applying Fairclough’s (1992) approach to CDA, because this method produces results which are specific but limited. This method is not designed to extrapolate out results beyond the specific sample that is analysed. Any discussion about *ZM*, *The Radio Network*, or New Zealand commercial radio must be informed by other scholarship and made carefully. By and large, though, this in-depth methodology served the complexity of the postfeminist discourse present well.

Further Research

The findings of this study could be used as a starting point from which to grow the knowledge regarding gender in New Zealand radio. CDA of content from a selection of other radio stations could be undertaken, as could quantitative research across ZM or across the industry. Such quantitative research could draw on the findings of this study to investigate issues such as the amount of broadcasting about consumption by women, or the presence of postfeminism in radio stations that target women. A key critical concern of Fairclough's (1992) CDA is that of identifying discursive change and investigating how this relates to social change. Although this study has been able to draw on other resources on gender, language, and radio to address this issue, the discussion has been kept limited. CDA of radio from last century could provide an interesting comparison to the findings of study and would likely give some insight into the social changes in relation to media constructions of women gender. In New Zealand the work of the most famous female broadcaster, Aunt Daisy, could provide an ideal body of data for such a study.

It is a limitation of CDA that in isolation it gives little insight into the consumption of discourse. The literature review chapter discussed the degree to which CDA can be used to facilitate analysis of discourse effects, with Talbot (1995, 2007) arguing that some inferences about audience reception can be drawn. This study has been cautious when drawing any conclusions about how the media outputs have been received, and, while some informed assumptions have been made, I acknowledge that these assumptions are contestable and would benefit from further research involving audiences. Similarly, it might be interesting to interview the women of SLOG for their insights into the content of the feature, particularly their thoughts on any of the top-down influences that this study has identified.

Limitations in the Study of Consumption

The role of commercial discourse and the veneration of consumption within non-advertising media became central to the findings of this thesis, but the feminist and political economy texts consulted gave this only limited attention. The postfeminist literature which came to be prominent in this study (Gill, 2003, 2007b, 2009; Gill &

Scharff, 2011; McRobbie, 2004; Mendes, 2012; Stuart & Donaghue, 2012) showed more concern for the self-surveillance and objectification of women within this commercial environment rather than the hyper-commercial environment itself. Further analysis of the SLOG data using literature which related more specifically to the intersection of gender, consumption, and media might be useful. This could involve the theories of consumer culture and promotional culture (Berger, 2011; Ewen, 2001; Otnes & Tuncay-Zayer, 2012).

Opportunities beyond Gender

A second area in which the attention of this study is limited is in regard to social issues and identities other than female gender. For Fairclough (1992), class is a prominent issue, and, while the social strata of New Zealand is different to that of United Kingdom, it is an important issue in any critical study (Golding & Murdock, 1997; McRobbie, 1997; Rossouw & Dye, 2012). Similarly, issues of ethnicity, race, and age have all been identified as important in contemporary feminism and I acknowledge that this study has given these subjects little attention (Gill & Scharff, 2011; Holmes & Marra, 2010; Jenny, 2009). A final area that might yield an opportunity for further research is that of the construction of male gender within New Zealand commercial radio. The “boys” of ZM host a feature called “Testosterzone” which could be studied autonomously or in comparison to SLOG. The findings of this study suggest that it might be rewarding to investigate if and how masculinities are exploited in a hyper-commercial environment that is increasingly selling to men (Douglas & McNeill, 2011).

Concluding Thoughts

This study has investigated the construction of gender within New Zealand commercial radio. In doing so it has established some clear findings regarding the postfeminist, commercial, and ultimately patriarchal nature of the gendered messages within the radio feature being analysed. While some of the more specific findings cannot be extrapolated far in regard to the entire radio industry, it does build on the local body of research into the highly commercial nature of the deregulated radio environment. CDA proved to be a successful method and contributed to the two findings in this

study that build on established feminist theory. These are the presence of what Talbot (1995, 2007) identifies as “synthetic sisterhood” and what I have called “synthetic friendship”, and also the dominance of Gill’s (2007a, 2007b, 2010) postfeminist sensibility throughout the feature. Both of these theories deal with the complexity of the messages that the contemporary media convey to their audiences and the subtle sexism that such complexity can obscure. Fairclough’s methodology also allowed for a critical perspective that incorporated the social analysis valuable to the feminist and political economy schools. It can be said that the construction of gender within SLOG does not encourage the advancement of *ZM*’s female audience nor women in society, and this reflects the dominance of commercial imperatives within the radio industry.

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Appendix A: Transcriptions

An audio CD also accompanies this document.

Transcription symbols:

Short pause: full stop .

Longer pause: dash –

Overlapping speech: Square brackets []

Unclear material: round brackets ()

23 May 2012: “Therapy”, “Hair”, and “Therapy Outro”

Therapy (segue)

Keisha has just finished talking about a group counselling session at a hen’s night.

Polly: Wow . I feel so normal right now . my thing is so normal [- OK um] I’m just .

All: [laughter]

Hair (contribution)

Directly continues from “Therapy”

P: I’m probably the last person on earth to discover Kiehl’s . ah which is the most fantastic product . and you can get it . you can get Kiehl’s in I know in Christchurch Wellington and Auckland . K. I. E. H. L. S. (letters spelt out) . it’s worth it . Their products are fantastic but especially (emphasis) their heat protective silk straightening cream . So you wash your hair . you rub some of this through your hair now there are

so many products that are actually crap . this (emphasis) would be the best hair product I have used in years . it makes your hair really silky it makes it smooth and it protects it and makes it really super glossy . so it's the heat protective silk straightening cream from Kiehl's .

Therapy Outro (outro)

Directly continues from "Hair"

P: and that was the secret life of girls with me Polly

Anna: Me Anna

Kate: Me Kate

Keisha: And me Keisha

P: Keisha thank you so much for coming [in -] and you are welcome back you

Keisha: [Thank you]

P: crazy group therapy [girl anytime you like – alright]

All: [laughter]

SLOG content from this date not in sample: Introduction and contributions from Kate, Anna, and special guest, NZ actress Keisha Castle-Hughes.

16 August 2012: "Get Out" and "Locker Room"

Get Out (introduction)

Grant finishes speaking on another topic

Polly: OK [. Right].

Grant: [Bye]

P: Now get out of the studio it's time for us

G: Seeya

Pre-recorded audio: Secret Life of Girls

P: It is the secret life of girls with me Polly

Anna: Me Anna

Kate: And me Kate

P: OK . Anna . you go first today

Anna begins her contribution

Locker Room (contribution, but off-topic)

Polly predicts the music line-up at an upcoming concert and asks Anna what she thinks.

P: [laughter]

A: I don't know . I have no idea . no one knows.

G (off microphone): Anna you're usually the [one that's in the] know

P: [Yeah] . you know

G: You're usually the one

A: [laughter]

P: [laughter] You know

G: C'mon, you got all the contacts

P: Grant would you get out of the locker room [we're naked]

G: [I'] - I'm not [in here]

P: [OK]

G: I'm shouting outside the [door]

P: [OK] . On the subject of getting naked

SLOG content from this date not in sample: Contributions from Kate and Polly, some of Anna's contribution, and outro.

27 September 2012: "Saucy", "SmartBalls", "Miss SmartBall", "Tongue", and "Tongue Outro"

Saucy (intro)

Pre-recorded audio: Secret Life of Girls

Polly: The sau.cy edition . Okay so just a warning that this is a little saucier than normal . this is the saucy edition of secret life of girls . And I'm Polly

Anna: I'm Anna

Kate: And I'm Kate

P: Okay . hmm . who to go first . Um I'm going to get mine over and done with (laughs) sorry [girls]

K or A: [(You're the sauciest)]

P: I'm the I . I'm just going to start the sauce . it's like I'm putting the base in for the jus

SmartBalls (contribution)

Directly follows "Saucy"

P: Okay. Ah um . I got sent this and I was like what the hell is that and then I read about it it is a SmartBall . it's to be inserted in the nyeng-nyeng - and [what it]

A or K: [Yeah]

P: is is um it's haha pelvic floor dot co dot en zed now your pelvic floors are important for girls for lots of reasons. um it's so that when you're older you don't go ah wizzles in your pizzles um it's um it holds everything in there . basically . it's a it holds everything in all your internals . and um when it comes to relation.ships it's much better if you have strong pelvic floor muscles ooh yeahyuh. So this is a SmartBall and um you wear it ah for fifteen to thirty minutes a day . in the place where you'd wear it (laughter) and um it makes you a lot stronger in the ah in the ah important places where you need to be strong . It's called a SmartBall and I say that al. every woman needs SmartBalls . and I have one . and girls . you'll be pleased before you leave the studio today . you will also have one each .

K: (laughter) [Oooh]

A: [Oooh]

K: [I'm picturing] like tennis ball size (laugh) when I [(first hear the name of them)]

P: [No have a look at it] right here . see it's the size of a small egg.

K: (laughing) [yeah]

P: like a little wood pigeon egg . and it's like wrapped like a gimp in a purple rubber suit . with a . long attachment . so anyway and there's everything you need um to go along with that um (laughter) so that it makes putting in your smart ball easy. If you want to know more about this cause apparently ah women are reporting everywhere very go.od . pelvic floor dot co dot enzed . you need SmartBalls too

Miss SmartBall (segue)

Directly follows "SmartBalls"

Polly: An.d . here she is .Miss SmartBall 2012 An.na

A: [laughter]

Tongue (contribution)

Kate has been talking about an Indian tongue scraper as part of her contribution

K: So it's perfect to keep in your handbag y'know for those one . [nighters .]

P: [ongoing laughter]

K: [when you wake up in the morning] and you don't want to talk to the [boy
because it tastes like (poos) in your] mouth

P: [laughing] Hold on a second . So you're telling me that you hook up with some
[random . you go in to his bathroom .] and you start scraping your [tongue?]

K & A: [laughter]

K: [Scrape] all
the grossness off .

P: [Okay]

K: [and you] can go back through [and .]

P: [Wow]

K: they'll probably marry you

P: [You know what Ka]

A: [You'll go through his drawers] first

P: (laughing) Yeah . nobody's going to let you in their house from now on Kate
Britten . Um . P S um . I think that's about the most unsexy thing (laughing) you've ever
(said in [your life])

K: [I know] it's pretty unsexy but it does . I mean it could help you get some
morning action if you've scraped your tongue

P: Okay

K: Possibly

Tongue Outro (outro)

Directly follows “Tongue”

P: That was the saucy tongue edition of the secret life of girls with me Polly

A: Me Anna

K: And me Kate

SLOG content from this date not in sample: Anna’s contribution and Kate’s contribution prior to “Tongue”.

2 December 2012: “Wrestler”, “Blackcurrent”, “Courgettes”, “Neon”, “Shoes”, and “Succinct”

This is the entire SLOG feature, each sample directly follows the one previous.

Wrestler (intro)

The announcers have been talking about the Beijing Olympics, including that Kate is the same height and weight as a male Olympic wrestler from Guinea.

Grant: Okay in the meantime I’m a I’m out of here seeya

Polly: Boys out

Pre-recorded audio: Secret Life of Girls

P: Yeah it is . um and I’m Polly

Anna: I’m Anna

Kate : And I’m Kate . [the wrestler]

P: [Okay Ka] Okay Kate . the Guinean wrestler what have you got [for us today]

K: (laughter)

Blackcurrant (contribution)

Kate: Well I frequent my local health store just so I can keep us up to date with the lo . latest in hippy things

P: Yes

K: or like health related products . You know last season it was all about the a.cai berry . spelt like a.kai

P: Oh yeah I [thought it was] Ak.ai berry

K: [(It tasted)]

K: A.kai, well, [o] [er I dunno]

A: [A.kasey]

Indistinguishable: [(Oh, Er, I dunno)(I dunno)]

P: Yeah wot.eva

K: That red stuff that tastes yucky but it's really good for you . the latest super-food to hit the store is blackcurrant powder . which sounds a bit more basic and not so exotic but it's amazing in antioxidants and it tastes really good

P: Yeah it would

K: and it's about thirty-eight dollars if you can have a teaspoon um every day . so thirty-eight dollars a month

P: Wow

K: Which is kinda an investment but amazing for your health

Courgettes (segue)

P: Cheaper than courgettes . cheaper than courgettes Kate

K: True

Neon (contribution)

P: Hey . um . the big thing when we were (over) in New York in April the big thing . everything was neon . So everything spring summer in the in the Northern hemisphere was neon . It was li(ke) everything everything was neon . you couldn't buy anything that wasn't neon . and that's slowly slipping in here . you know you go to Glassons or anything things are starting to neon up . but sometimes you just want to do a touch of neon you know like going (laughs) full on neon y'know at four o'clock in the morning can be quite harsh on the people [at the Caltex when you stop for your coffee]

K & A: [laughter]

P: So um . I went yesterday in search of neon just little neon bits and pieces . I found some really cool neon bangles at Cotton On . Um

K or A: [(oh.. that's good)]

P: [(So that's)] you can neon up with being like waaaaaa . and I also found a neon singlet in Cotton On . now the only place I.I went everywhere looking for a neon singlet . the only place I actually found them was Cotton On . Ah Glassons has neon leggings and neon everything else but no neon singlets and it's actually I think . quite a cool thing to be able to do .

G (off microphone): You got a jersey with the word neon [written on the front]

P: [I've got I've got a] jersey .
this is from Glassons actually [. it's a]

G [(okay)]

P: navy blue jersey and then in neon it's got neon written on it

G: Hmmm

P: So what I'm doing is I'm just doing little bits and pieces of neon . but if anyone knows where you can buy neon singlets other than Cotton On let me know .

Shoes (contribution)

P: Anna!

A: Um . the best invention ever . solving all the world problems one shoe at a time . high top sneakers with a hidden wedge inside .

P & K: [(snigger/laughter)]

A: [They're called] - the hidden wedge sneaker

P, K & G: [laughter]

A: [Great name]

P: Wow . yeah

A: So . um . you get height perky bum long legs . but you look casual cool in your high tops

P: That's freakin' brilliant

A: From Wild Pair

Succinct (outro)

P: Wooow . and that was the secret life of girls with me Polly

A: Me Anna

K: And me Kate

G: Wow that was surprisingly quick this morning

P: [laughing] we [we can be]

G: [(Aue) . I didn't] (have time [to do] anything]

P: [you know] what. We can be
succinct

G: Oh that's good I'm really pleased

P: That's all I have to say

G: Seeya girls seeya next week

P: Seeya guys

All: [Bye]

[bye]

G: Seeya

Appendix B: Personal Communication

Email from Christian Boston, ZM Programme Director

From: Christian Boston [ChristianBoston@radionetwork.co.nz]

Sent: 15 July 2013 10:45

To: Stephanie Mearns

Subject: RE: Query re. Secret Life of Girls for academic research

Hi Steph

Nah those segments are not for sale (bet you would have never seen it offered at the TRB).

Yes clients send things in, and yes these sometimes make it onto the segment, but that is at the total discretion of the person it's been sent to. If they think it's good enough they may choose to put it on. I have never seen it in a prop, so no \$\$ changing hands that I can think of.

The editorial control of the bit has always been protected to my knowledge.

Hope that answers the question.

Cheers

Christian

From: Stephanie Mearns [mailto:stephanie.mearns@aut.ac.nz]

Sent: Monday, 15 July 2013 7:56 AM

To: Christian Boston

Subject: Query re. Secret Life of Girls for academic research

Hi Bosto,

I hope you are well.

I'm now in the School of Communications at AUT doing some research on women's radio in NZ. I have a quick question for you which is for my research purposes only, I no longer work at TRB or anywhere else in radio or media.

My query is regarding The Secret Life of Girls from the Polly & Grant breakfast show, and I'm referring to both the on-air content and the website content that corresponds to the feature.

Could you please confirm whether or not The Secret Life of Girls includes sponsorship, promotion, adlibs, or paid for content of any kind? I know that Polly sometimes talks about things that she has been sent, but I would not include anything received for free but unsolicited as a commercial transaction.

I would appreciate your help with this very much. If you would like to speak to me about this you can call me on _____.

Kind Regards,
Steph Mearns

Gender in Commercial Radio in New Zealand: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the “Secret Life of Girls”

Stephanie Mearns

Audio CD of Radio Broadcast Data Samples

Track Samples

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | 23 May 2013: “Therapy”, “Hair”, “Therapy Outro” |
| 2 | 16 August 2013: “Get Out”, “Locker Room” |
| 3 | 27 September 2013: “Saucy”, “SmartBalls”, “Miss SmartBall”, “Tongue”, “Tongue
Outro” |
| 4 | 2 December 2012: “Wrestler”, “Blackcurrent”, “Courgettes”, “Neon”, “Shoes”,
“Succinct” |

N.B. This is a data CD. It will play on any PC but may not play on a standard CD player.