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“Fun, Fearless Females”
Descriptions of the *Cosmo* Girl in the
Editorials of *Cosmopolitan* UK

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VASA UNIVERSITET**Humanistiska fakulteten****Institution:** Engelska institutionen**Författare:** Maj-Britt Höglund**Licentiatavhandling:** *“Fun, Fearless Females”*Descriptions of the “*Cosmo Girl*” in the Editorials of *Cosmopolitan UK***Examen:** Filosofie licentiat**Ämne:** Engelska**Årtal:** 2007**Handledare:** Sirkku Aaltonen

SAMMANFATTNING:

Ledaren i en tidskrift utgör ett forum där ledarskribenten för en personlig dialog med sin läsare först och främst om tidskriftens innehåll men också om livsåskådning. I en tidskrift för kvinnor konstrueras läsaren som skribentens vän och förtrogna, som delar attityder och värderingar. Skribenten använder sig av återkommande temata, repertoarer, för att beskriva åtråvärda egenskaper och beteendemönster hos kvinnan som tillhör tidskriftens vän- och läsarkrets. Läsaren/vännen är en konstruktion som bygger på marknadsundersökningar, hon är sinnebilden av den målgrupp som förläggare och annonsörer vill nå. I tidskriften *Cosmopolitan* är den här läsaren/vännen sammanfattad i uttrycket ”*Cosmo girl*”.

Cosmopolitan har som uppgift att nå kvinnor i åldersgruppen 20-35. Dessa “*fun, fearless females*”, eller “*Cosmo girls*”, som de beskrivs i tidningens slogan, är moderna ”nya” kvinnor som kan njuta av livet. Frågan är dock hur modern eller självständig en ”*Cosmo girl*” är.

Avsikten med denna avhandling är, att studera de repertoarer som används i ledarna i den brittiska utgåvan av *Cosmopolitan* under år 2004 för att beskriva läsaren/vännen ”*Cosmo girl*”. Ledarna granskas med hjälp av kritisk diskursanalys. Diskurserna ses i denna avhandling som skapare av identiteter, och repertoarerna som tematiska beskrivningar av egenskaper och beteenden som kännetecknar dessa identiteter. Till grund för analysen av repertoarerna ligger identifieringen av deras källor, och auktoriseringen av källorna som utgångspunkter för diskurser.

Analysen visar att idealkvinnan, ”*Cosmo girl*” framställs med kontroll över sitt liv. Hon skildras i en konstruerad verklighet som ger henne möjligheter att välja hur hon skall forma sin karriär, sitt privata liv – och sin kropp. Det oaktat är hon mycket lik tidigare generationers kvinnor. Hon riktar in sig på sitt utseende, och hennes handlingsfrihet är fortfarande beroende av utomstående faktorer. Skillnaden är att den nya kvinnans liv styrs av nya påverkare, bland annat i form av reklamen och marknadskrafterna.

NYCKELORD: Editorials in women's magazines, "new woman", critical discourse analysis of the "new woman", "*Cosmo* girl" as the ideal woman

1 INTRODUCTION

They are found at the newsagent's, in the supermarkets, at petrol stations, and in waiting rooms of any description; women's magazines are easily available. They are part of the daily lives and routines of women, and they have the potential to influence the lives of women by sheer numbers and by the regularity of their publication dates alone. Magazines will suggest to women how to look and how to perform, how to solve practical or personal problems, and how to relate to the challenges of personal and professional life. All over the world, women are instructed about how to become the ideal woman or how to behave like one.

The marketing of magazines is moving from established national markets into new global markets. Global marketing of branded women's magazines has become an important feature of our times as rising standards of living are increasing consumption also in previously deprived areas of the globe. These new growing markets provide new possibilities for expansion and have attracted the interest of advertisers and with them also the publishers of magazines. Magazines spread over national borders, continents and languages at an increasing pace, and their target groups are no longer confined to one country or the speakers of a particular language.

To be successful, a magazine needs to be flexible. It needs to adapt to changes in the surrounding society. *Cosmopolitan* is a good case in point of this development. It was first launched as a family magazine in the US in 1886. Originally it targeted readers of late 19th century fiction, while investigating journalism was added to its contents profile later. In the 1960's the magazine was successfully remodelled into a women's magazine and aimed at a new generation of modern female readers. This change made it also possible to export the concept of *Cosmopolitan* outside the US. The first target was another English-speaking country. The launching already in 1972 of the first international edition of *Cosmopolitan*, the UK edition, was a joint venture between Australian ACP and Hearst's The National Magazine Company. The high status of Anglo-American cultural products made the transfer into languages other than English easy. The possibility of attracting a brand-conscious readership worldwide enticed the

US parent company to found Hearst Magazines International in 1989. This was a global publishing company created to publish internationally, thus securing a share of the global advertising market for beauty and fashion products. Today, *Cosmopolitan* is published in several languages – French, Portuguese, Spanish, German, Greek, Dutch, Chinese, Japanese, as well as Finnish and Swedish – in both Europe and Asia. The launching of the 50th international edition of *Cosmopolitan* took place in Bulgaria in 2004.

As consumers have both more money and free time, magazine publishing has become a powerful industry both nationally and globally. Consumers have more money to spend on magazines and the products they advertise. Consumer expenditure on magazines, in the UK can be used to illustrate this. In 2005 consumer expenditure on magazines passed £ 2.157m¹. At the same time in the UK advertising expenditure in consumer magazines reached £ 827m². The majority of advertising expenditure in consumer magazines was display advertising, including brand advertising, which reached £ 661m. Thus one third of the revenue of consumer magazines came from advertising expenditure, mainly display and brand advertising. Consumer expenditure, on the other hand, represented over two thirds of the revenue. The proportion of the sales revenue in the turnover of magazines illustrates the importance of attracting and keeping readers.

While the market for magazines has grown, also the number of magazines has increased. Competition has become fierce for all magazines but also in the women's monthly lifestyle magazine sector. When a publishing house defines a target group in one country, they also need to ensure that it is compatible with the target groups of advertisers whose interest is to advertise their brands nationally and globally. Magazines compete for readers and a share of the advertising market, and publishers are forced to define their target groups with increasing accuracy. Target groups were long identified through market research based on demographics, using parameters

¹ <http://www.ppamarketing.net/cgi-bin/wms.pl/60> [cited 22nd Nov. 2006]. The sums for women's monthly magazines are not specified separately.

² <http://www.ppamarketing.net/cgi-bin/go.pl/data-trends/article.html?uid=167> [cited 21st Nov. 2006]. The sums for women's monthly magazines are not specified separately.

such as age, sex, income level and social standing. In the 1970s, the research developed into lifestyle research, and magazines and advertisers started promoting a lifestyle and the products to go with it. The spread of *Cosmopolitan* is due to the successful identification of target groups with an interest to purchase a women's magazine and the financial means to do so in many countries and cultures.

Successfully designed and conducted market research provides information that is encoded into editorial policy. This functions as a framework for the editors, and it is translated into contents in the production process. The interest of a target group relies, then, on the relevance to the readers of the magazine's contents which, in turn, is based on shared values. Readers may regard the magazine as relevant if it, for example, provides them with information which has practical value, or facilitates and improves their lives, as has been found by Hermes (1995: 143). Readers may also find relevance in advice (Santhakumaran 2004: 15). It is the responsibility of the editors to persuade their readers that their choice of the editorial content has been tailor-made for them. The readers of women's magazines need to identify with the kind of woman described in the magazine.

Discourses describing different ways of being a woman circulate in society, and they construct what it is to be a woman in a given context. Discourses describe, for example, what it means to be a mother or a career woman. Discourses of femaleness mirror their times and change with it. The discourse of being a mother and a housewife in the 1950's differs from the discourse of being a single self-supporting mother in contemporary society. Femininity in postmodern everyday life is realised in performances which are premeditated, planned, fitted for compatibility and rehearsed. Butler (1999: 177) has argued that femininity is not essential, but reveals itself as performance, in the actions of the individual. The individual has a choice of repertoires of femininities which she can perform within her own life. For a policewoman the institutionalised role of a police officer may be preferable to that of a carer, as McElhinny (1995: 238) has shown. She will adapt to the requirements of her profession and adopt the norm of her institution. The possibilities femininity in a female dominated profession, for example nursing, may differ considerably from the

femininities in male dominated professions. There are also professions where the performance of traditional “feminine” femininity is required or, at least, expected. A fashion model, for instance, may be expected to perform the scripted femininity of the fashion industry, where many fashion designers use androgynous femininities.

Women’s magazines provide descriptions of what it is to be a woman and how to be a woman in contemporary society. They circulate scripts and properties of femininities and they influence how women see themselves and construct their female identity. From the descriptions women will absorb some of the elements of their femininity, as suggested by Sutton (1999: 163) who describes female identity as a “mosaic made up of bits and pieces stolen from the media”. Women’s magazines also supply information and advice about the kind of skills women might need in order to perform a particular femininity. Talbot (1995: 144) has shown how commercially induced femininities place demands on women’s skills in various fields and particularly on their ability to do “beauty work”. Ultimately, however, the descriptions of femininity in women’s magazines derive from the commercial interests of the publisher which are in line with the interests of the beauty and fashion industry.

The editorial of a women’s magazine is a forum in which a magazine editor can indicate what they consider relevant and interesting to their readers. The editorial displays the interests of both publisher and advertiser and functions as a showcase for the contents. It is used to promote and highlight the content designed to appeal to readers defined as the magazine’s target group. Those readers are also, and above all, the target group of the advertisers of the magazine. The editorial is ideological in the sense that it makes explicit the stance of the magazine.

The editorial constructs the reader as an individual who shares the values and interests of the magazine as well as the lifestyle promoted by it. In promoting the content of the magazine, the editorial also builds on an “atmosphere of confidentiality” between the editors and their readers. The contents of the magazine are offered to the reader as must/should know knowledge of femininities shared between friends. Readers make meaning of what is on offer, that is recognise and comprehend it and give it a place in

their everyday life. However, the advice may also be rejected as shown by Santhakumaran (2004: 15-16) whose study revealed that readers of women's magazines are more inclined to accept advice on practical matters, whereas they are hesitant about accepting advice on personal matters.

The editorial of a magazine is the forum where the editor can address the reader directly, as if they were talking to each other in a world with which they are both familiar. The editor can create a discourse situation which resembles the conversations between women friends. The editor can choose a tone that is relaxed, even chatty, and address her reader directly. She can construct the reader as sharing her values and interests. The reader is an *ideal subject* (Fairclough 2001: 41) whom the magazine addresses as if they were not separated in time and space, and the editor is her friend. The ideal reader of *Cosmopolitan* is epitomized in the epithet "Cosmo girl".

The reader is invited to adopt the identity of the "Cosmo girl". As her attitudes are described the reader is *interpellated* (Althusser 2004: 699) and offered the subject position of a "Cosmo girl". The attitude of the "Cosmo girls" leads them to behave in a certain way. They share their knowledge and experiences; they are "sisters" who support each other. An imaginary community is created where the editor passes on advice to her reader-friend. This is an artificial construction of friendship, *synthetic sisterhood*, characterized by reciprocity and an atmosphere of confidentiality (Talbot 1995: 144). In the second half of 2005, there were 1,7 million females³ in the UK who responded to being *interpellated* by reading the magazine.

In the editorials of *Cosmopolitan*, the attitudes of the "Cosmo girl" are described in recurring discursive structures or repertoires. A repertoire may describe how a person relates to her environment, or how she behaves in a given situation. In this study, I propose to investigate what repertoires are used to construct the epithet and the ideal reader-friend. I will focus on how agency features in the repertoires to find out if she

³ http://magforum.com/glossies/womens_glossies.htm [cited 12th Oct. 2006]

has control over her life, how independent she is, and what is important in her life. As my material for the study I will use the statements in order to be able to classify and analyse the repertoires, and I will identify the sources which authorise the statements. The sources can be identified and defined as groups of women, and they give rise to the statements which form discursive structures, that is repertoires.

The material consists of the repertoires in the twelve editorials of the UK edition of *Cosmopolitan* 2004 which were written by three different editors, in January and February by Lorraine Candy, from March to September by Nina Ahmad and from October to December by Sam Baker. Although there are three editors whose editorials differ to some extent the occurrence of repertoires will be investigated across the twelve editorials. The editors are seen to represent the line of the magazine and not themselves as individuals. Comparison of the occurrence of repertoires between the texts of the individual editors is outside the scope of this thesis.

The theoretical framework of this thesis is critical discourse analysis. Discourse is seen as the construction of identities by means of systems of meaning interacting in and with social context (Foucault 1981, 2004; Mills 2004). Critical discourse analysis will be conducted in the form of repertoire analysis, previously applied in the study of the reception of women's magazines, for example, by Hermes (1995). The sources of the discursive statements forming the repertoires will be identified using the system of grammatical identification suggested by Martin & Rose (2003), combined with the identification of sources of statements as "self" or "other" on the interpersonal plane suggested by Hunston (2000). The authorisation of the sources of discursive statements will be discussed using the system of statement types which classifies statements according to their ability to reflect or create the world (Hunston 2000).

In what follows I will first discuss women's magazines as an advertising and marketing enterprise, with the editorial as a marketing tool. The editorial is seen as a showcase through which the magazine promotes its contents and stance. The content of the magazine is a translation of the magazine's editorial policy which, in turn, is the codification of information received through market research. Market research has

developed into lifestyle research, and it defines readers as target groups on a market which extends over national and cultural borders. The magazine produces descriptions of its reader-consumer and her lifestyle which relies on the consumption of the products of the advertisers. The development of a magazine and its use of market research are exemplified through the progress of *Cosmopolitan*. Similarly, the use of information received through market research is exemplified through the magazine's construction of their target group as the "*Cosmo* girl".

Chapter 3 will deal with critical discourse analysis as the theoretical framework of this thesis, and the methodology applied to the study of the editorials. Central concepts in the thesis are discourse, repertoires and sources. Discourse is seen as a construction of reality, and critical discourse analysis as a means to investigate what purposes the descriptions of the behaviours and attitudes of the "*Cosmo* girl" serve. The descriptions are repertoires which are formed by statements grouped around recurring themes. The statements derive from identifiable sources who authorise them. Chapter 3 will discuss a critical analysis of the repertoires, and present the model for the analysis. The model will, then, be used in Chapter 5 to identify the sources of the discursive statements, and the way in which they receive their authorisation.

Chapter 4 will analyse what repertoires describe the "*Cosmo* girl" in different life situations. Some of the repertoires may describe her attitude to life and outline desirable behaviour in the "*Cosmo* girl". Others may, however, relate to dangers and obstacles and outline the limits of her freedom.

Chapter 5 will present the findings of the linguistic analysis of the editorials. In the first instance the sources of discursive statements will be identified by means of pronominal address and nominal reference, and the sources classified as those of "self" or "other". These statements reflect the world and femininities of some women and create a world and an attitude which are suggested to other women.

In Chapter 6 I will summarize the findings and draw conclusions. I will also assess the contribution of this thesis to critical discourse analysis of media texts. In particular, I will assess the usefulness of the model outlined for the study of the repertoire construction and authorisation.

2 EDITORIALS AS A SHOWCASE

The editorials of a magazine function as a showcase through which the magazine promotes its contents and stance. They serve the interests of publishers and advertisers and indicate how the readers' interests are identified. The target group of readers is first identified through market research, and this information is encoded into editorial policy. Editorial decisions about the contents of the magazine are based on and shaped by editorial policy which functions as a guideline for the editorial staff both in matters of selection and those of stance.

The target group reader of a women's magazine today is defined by market research which in the past century has developed from demographic study into lifestyle research. The magazines themselves then reflect this change and produce descriptions of readers and their lifestyles. Market research originated in quantitative demographics (Brierley 1998: 39) at the turn of 1800-1900, and transformed into qualitative lifestyle research in the 1970s (Gough-Yates 2003: 62-63). Demographics classified the population according to occupation, income, sex and age and used this information to draw conclusions about spending habits. Lifestyle research, as it developed, began to classify people according to their subjective statements about beliefs and attitudes. Today readers of magazines are defined with accuracy and the reader of a magazine can even be epitomized, as is the case with *Cosmopolitan's* the "Cosmo girl". The publishers know what the "Cosmo girl" is, her age and what her hobbies are. She and her lifestyle remain the same regardless of the country, language or culture.

A women's magazine is a marketing and advertising enterprise with two sources of revenue, circulation and advertising. The magazine is in competition on two levels, it competes for its share of the readership market and the advertising market. The individual title, as for instance the *Cosmopolitan* UK edition, has a national market on which it competes with other titles for sales revenue and advertising revenue. It also competes in other markets internationally, for instance in Finland, for English readers or those who wish to read a magazine in English. The entire brand *Cosmopolitan* has

also an international market of readers, but above all it is an important market place for international brand advertising. Western, and specifically American, consumer cultures are spreading across the globe, and there is a contested move towards a “*common* global culture” (Allen 1995: 114). Global print media serve to promote lifestyles and advertise the products associated with a particular lifestyle.

The content of the magazine is created to address both the reader and advertiser. The editorials of the magazine also address both, and they are one of the marketing devices that can be used to promote the magazine’s contents. They function as the showcase through which the “*fun, fearless females*” who are the readers of *Cosmopolitan*, the “*Cosmo girls*”, are invited to see the content, and its propositions of a lifestyle and an identity. They are also the showcase where advertisers receive confirmation that their target group and the target group of the magazine are the same.

This chapter will deal with the magazine as a marketing enterprise and the use of the editorial as a marketing device. First I will discuss how the reader is defined at different points in time, and how the definition of the reader needs to be flexible as society and values change. The example used will be *Cosmopolitan*, and its origin and predecessor *The Cosmopolitan*. In this context I will discuss how the reader is identified by market research and, in the case of the *Cosmopolitan* example, epitomized into the “*Cosmo girl*”. Then I will discuss the present day market for women’s magazines in the UK, and the globalization of magazine publishing across national borders and languages. The “*Cosmo girl*” has to be recognisable over a wide market of readers. Finally I will discuss, still using the *Cosmopolitan* UK edition as an example, how the editorials of a magazine are used as a marketing device to promote the content through its epitome the “*Cosmo girl*”.

2.1 Identifying the Reader

The launching of a magazine begins with the publisher’s idea of who the readers of that magazine will be. The target group of readers is identified through market

research, and then redefined at regular intervals. Market research based on demographics was developed at the beginning of the 20th century to serve the manufacturers of consumer goods by identifying consumers of commodities. Target groups were identified in terms of occupational class, age, sex, and even by region (Brierley 1998: 39).

The interests of the identified target group of readers are encoded into the editorial policy and translated into the contents of the magazine. When *The Cosmopolitan* was first launched in the US in 1886 Paul Schlicht, one of the publishers, announced that it was a “first-class family magazine”. He declared that the magazine, among the general interest issues, would also have “a department devoted exclusively to the interests of women, with articles on fashions, on household decoration, on cooking, and the care and management of children”⁴. *The Cosmopolitan* reached a circulation of 25,000 copies which at the time was considered a moderate success. There is an indication that this may not have been satisfactory, as the magazine was taken over by E.D Walker three years later. He identified the readers of contemporary fiction as a specific target group, and turned the magazine into what was to become a leading forum for fiction. The magazine featured authors like Annie Besant, Ambrose Bierce, Theodore Dreiser, Rudyard Kipling, Jack London and Edith Wharton. The publisher’s redefinition of the magazine’s target group proved to be successful at that point in time, and by 1892 circulation had climbed to 75,000 copies.

If the target group of a magazine is redefined, the contents of the magazine need to be revised accordingly. Redefinition is necessary, for example, because target groups are subject to demographic change over time, and this, in turn, is both the cause and the result of social change and economic development. A growing economy will increase spending power and the number of people with money to spend on hobbies and activities. Prosperity causes people to redefine their social status and their interests, and they constitute a new target group of potential consumers. A recession will, on the

⁴ Background information about the history of *Cosmopolitan* in this chapter is based on <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAcosmopolitan.htm> [cited 13th Oct. 2007] and <http://www.magazinepromotion.com/articles/cosmomagazine.html> [cited 13th Oct. 2007]

other hand, restrict spending and reverse the process. Another reason for changes in the target groups is found in changes in the discourses in fields like culture, values or politics. For instance, in 1905 when W. Randolph Hearst bought *The Cosmopolitan* he identified a target group of readers interested in investigative journalism. His first measure, then, was to add an investigative journalist to the magazine's staff. Despite this, the target group of fiction readers was still regarded as important, and, therefore alongside with investigative reporting, the magazine retained its focus on fiction, as evidenced by the publication of writings by authors like Sinclair Lewis, David Graham Phillips, George Bernard Shaw, Upton Sinclair, and Ida Tarbell. The editorial mix of investigating journalism and fiction was successful for decades, and in the 1930s the magazine had achieved a circulation of 1.700.000 copies. The publisher had succeeded in identifying the readers who had the means to buy the magazine and to consume the products of the advertisers. At this point the magazine's advertising revenue rose to 5 million USD. During World War II the magazine's circulation reached 2 million copies. The mixture of articles, special features and fiction was, however, to change in the 1950s. At that time the readership started to decline, and new target groups had to be identified.

Magazines can adjust to changes in consumer habits in society either by redefining the interests of their original target group, or by finding new readers. An expanding market will allow the magazine to identify a new target group of readers, but in a declining market the magazine will need to redefine existing readers in order to retain them (Brierley 1998: 42). For example, the circulation of *Cosmopolitan* had started to decline in the 1950s, and by 1955 it was down by a half. At this point market research was employed to redefine the interests of the magazine's target group. The attempts at redefining were not successful, and the decline was to continue until Helen Gurley Brown, who was appointed chief editor in 1965, remodelled the magazine. Redefining existing readers was not enough, but it was also necessary to find new readers. In the economic expansion of the 1960s, this was possible. The readers came to consist of women with an education, a job outside the home and money of her own to spend

who the marketing jargon labelled as “the new ‘liberated’ woman”⁵. At this time the close-up cover photo of a woman who appears to be aware of fashion, but also of her sexuality made its appearance. The cover of the magazine has remained largely the same. By the end of the 1960s, *Cosmopolitan*’s transition into a women’s magazine had been completed, and the target group identified and epitomized into the “*Cosmo girl*”.

As economic and social structures change, new market research methods may be required to identify (new) consumer groups, and redefine them as target groups. The development of the western industrial economy in the mid 1900s increased the number of people with money to spend on consumer goods and leisure. In this new situation, different methods of market research were needed to define and redefine consumers, including readers. The consumer was no longer a statistical figure, but an individual who was asked to express beliefs to define her own subject position. In the 1970s traditional quantitative market research based on demographics was abandoned, and qualitative lifestyle research developed (Gough-Yates 2003: 62, Brierley 1998: 40). For example, the publisher of *Cosmopolitan* commissioned a survey of shifts in spending, work and childbearing trends in the UK in 1987. The findings were compared with those of the 1971 survey, which had preceded the launch of the UK edition of *Cosmopolitan*. It became clear that an increasing number of young women went into higher education, and the earning potential of women under 35 had increased by nearly a quarter. Also that the number of children in childcare had increased by 76 per cent, indicating a higher percentage of women in working life. The magazine was consequently calibrated to attract a target group of young independent women with money to spend. (Gough-Yates 2003: 111-112).

Calibration to the needs of a target group is an on-going process, and the magazine needs to be prepared to reassess its editorial policy flexibly. The flexibility to adjust to changes in the market is necessary in order to ensure the continued support of readers and advertisers. Some calibration processes succeed while others do not. An

⁵ <http://www.magforum.com/glossies/19.htm> [cited 12th Oct. 2006]

unsuccessful enterprise was the relaunch of *Honey* in the UK in 1980. The magazine had first been launched in 1960, but twenty years later the sales were dwindling. The relaunch was intended to keep the old readers as well as to attract new ones. The new *Honey* was targeting a specialist audience with its ‘more thinking’ editorial, and by adding political and feminist issues to its familiar lifestyle identity. However, both advertisers and readers rejected the new identity profile. The new editorial mix made important advertisers uncomfortable and insecure about how to address the reader-consumer. The lifestyle promoted by *Honey* appeared to work against the brand image of the products of the advertisers. The readers did not support the magazine either. Old readers could not recognise their magazine and it failed to attract new readers. *Honey* sales and advertising revenue continued to fall. The magazine was discontinued in 1986. (Gough-Yates 2003: 83-84).

The redesign of the UK edition of *Cosmopolitan* to address its target group in the late 1980’s was more successful. For the UK launch of *Cosmopolitan* in 1972, the target reader of the magazine, the “*Cosmo* girl”, had been identified as a woman doing “domestic work, beauty work, sex work” (Gough-Yates 2003: 110, 112). The 1987 market research identified the reader as more educated and with more money to spend and women’s main interest were identified as having shifted in less than two decades from domestic work to career issues. Consequently the target group of the magazine was redefined, and the contents offered to the readers refocused. In the 1980’s, ‘sex’ was substituted for the concept ‘relationships’ and the magazine emphasised individuality in its editorial material. A new interest in the form of popular psychology had been identified in the reader, in all areas of life and especially in career questions. Some aspect of the old profile were, however, still seen to apply and the reader’s interest in her body, health and fitness kept as part of the new one.

The target group the “*Cosmo* girl” can be identified across cultures, and the magazine is produced to reach her regardless of national, cultural or linguistic barriers. The “*Cosmo* girl” is a young professional woman with an interest in her health, beauty, career and relationships. The median age of the reader of *Cosmopolitan* UK edition is

28⁶. Electronic content pools have been made possible by modern prepress systems, and they can be accessed by the editorial staff of all the editions of the magazine regardless of geographical location. Editorial material from the content pool can be translated for use in local editions, with some modification (Sippola 2001: 64). The reader becomes a marketing option which is sold to advertisers nationally and internationally.

2.2 Identifying the Market

Globalization of media ownership has prepared for the globalization of the media including individual titles. Women's magazines are marketing and advertising enterprises acting on the national and international markets. This section will deal with the readers as a marketing option and the identification of the magazine market. Focus will be on the women's magazine market in the UK, and *Cosmopolitan* will be used as an example. It will also be used to illustrate the transition of one magazine from its national into the global market.

In the women's monthly lifestyle magazine market in the UK competition for readers and advertisers is fierce. Magazines compete to keep their readers or find new readers within their segment of an existing market. The support of advertisers depends not only on the circulation of a magazine, but on the number of estimated readers in the target group. Reader surveys are carried out in order to calculate whether one copy is read by two, three or four persons. Publishers are alert to a possible decline in copies sold which immediately is translated into a decline in the number of readers. The publication of a magazine is subject to the same mechanisms as those which rule advertising, as Barwise & Gordon (1998: 195) have theorised. In order for the magazine to keep its share of the advertising market, or even expand its share, it needs to keep its readers or increase their numbers.

⁶ <http://www.natmags.co.uk/students/demographic.asp> [cited 21st Nov. 2006]

Competition is between established titles striving to keep their market share, and new titles entering to claim a place on the market. Changes over time in the interests of a target group may open up possibilities for existing titles to increase their market share, or for new titles to move in. Publishers' definitions of a new target group may identify a market segment for the launching of new titles. New titles may target for instance specialized interests like entertainment electronics, health issues or rising sports. Publishers will launch a new title in order to preserve their share of the magazine market, or because they have been able to identify a new target group which will expand the market. New titles will target a specific new group of readers, or compete with existing titles for a target group. For instance, in the UK in 2005, the circulation of women's monthlies increased by one fifth during January to June⁷. To all appearances the market was expanding, although the increase was, in fact, due to the launch of two new titles, *Easy Living* and *Grazia*.

The changes on the UK market in 2005 were, on the one hand, partly due to expansion and, on the other, partly due to a redistribution of the market shares of individual magazines. Changes in magazine circulation are official figures published annually which gives a basis for year to year comparison. *Cosmopolitan*, for instance, saw a decline in circulation during the second half of 2005. Its circulation in July to December 2005 stopped at 461.610 copies. The magazine's adult readership during that same period was calculated as 1.921.000, and women readership was calculated separately as 1.719.000. That is, four people on an average read each copy of the *Cosmopolitan* UK edition in the latter half of 2005, and nearly all of them were women. In other words, other magazines were expanding at the expense of *Cosmopolitan*. The magazine's ability to reach its target group had changed due to shifts in the interests of its target group, or because other titles had managed to attract segments of the *Cosmopolitan* target group. In spite of this, the magazine still featured as number three on the UK list of top five women's monthlies. The first on the list, *Glamour*, saw a decline of - 5,5 % during the second half of the year, stopping at 585.984 copies. The second largest circulation was that of *Good Housekeeping*, with

⁷ http://magforum.com/glossies/womens_glossies.htm [cited 12th Oct. 2006]

468.579 copies and on the increase. *Cosmopolitan* was followed by *Yours* (421.438) and *Marie Claire* (371.444) of which the latter also saw a decline. The changes meant that the existing magazines aimed at young adult female target groups suffered losses in readership because of the appearance of the new titles. At the same time magazines like *Good Housekeeping* which were targeting the age group of 35 + were more successful in offering content that helped them retain, and even increase, their readership⁸.

The competition for revenue in the women's monthly lifestyle sector is best illustrated by the figures for consumer expenditure and advertising expenditure in the UK in 2005. During that year, consumer expenditure on magazines increased to pass £ 2.157m⁹ (some € 3.195m, exchange rate of 21st Nov. 2006). The increase in consumer expenditure occurred parallel to increased advertising expenditure which motivated publishers to compete for their share of the advertising market as well as the readership market. An example of the amount of money flowing through magazine advertising: Advertising expenditure in consumer magazines as a group in the UK in 2005 was £ 827m¹⁰ (some € 1.225m), while advertising expenditure in all main media together reached £ 13.446m (some € 19.920m). Furthermore, the value of display advertising is especially interesting to women's lifestyle magazines where brand advertising can be connected to the contents offered to the reader-consumer. Display advertising, including brand advertising, formed the largest part of the expenditure in consumer magazines in 2005, £ 661m (some € 979m), while £ 166m (some € 245m) were spent on classified advertising. Consequently, in the UK in 2005, advertising expenditure represented 27,7 per cent of the revenue of consumer magazines, while consumer expenditure, that is copy sales, represented just over two thirds.

The editorial policy and advertisements must speak with the same voice, and the content has to be designed to support the marketing propositions of the advertisers.

⁸ http://magforum.com/glossies/womens_glossies.htm [cited 12th Oct. 2006]

⁹ <http://www.ppamarketing.net/cgi-bin/wms.pl/60> [cited 22nd Nov. 2006]. The sums for women's monthly magazines are not specified separately.

¹⁰ <http://www.ppamarketing.net/cgi-bin/go.pl/data-trends/article.html?uid=167> [cited 21st Nov. 2006]. The sums for women's monthly magazines are not specified separately.

Advertisements are designed for the readership identified by market research as potential buyers of the magazine and the products advertised in it. A target group of potential consumers, identified on the basis of demographics also needs to be correctly identified ideologically as to their lifestyle, as Steinem (1990) has shown. Gloria Steinem was the co-founder and editor of the feminist *Ms. Magazine* who attempted to break the link between advertisements and editorial content, and simultaneously develop advertising to respect women. The magazine did not at first have any advertising, but later invited producers of merchandise used by both men and women (cars, insurance policies) to advertise in *Ms.* However, the majority of advertisers were not prepared to advertise in a magazine that appeared to work against their ideology and, indeed, against the ideology behind advertising as such. An effort was also made to persuade a (male) advertiser of cosmetics to invest in the magazine on the assumption that the target group of the magazine *Ms.* constituted an interesting market for their products (Steinem 1990: 11). The readers were active professionals and potential consumers of cosmetics both for leisure activities and in work related activities. The advertiser was not convinced. He identified the readers of *Ms.* as self-sustaining professional women, while his target group was the woman of leisure without money concerns. Because of the perceived difference in the lifestyles of the target groups, the advertisers withdrew their support and the magazine was discontinued.

In order to acquire advertising, the publisher needs to show the advertiser that the ideologies of the readers and advertiser are compatible, and work together. The ideal reader of a particular magazine needs to be a potential customer of that advertiser. For example, the target group of the “*Cosmo girls*” are identified with the slogan “*fun, fearless females*”, and the magazine shapes its editorial content to attract readers who fit this description. The slogan describes a reader who takes an interest in fashion, beauty and body work, and she is addressed as someone who will spend money to have fun and enjoy herself. She is also addressed as someone who is fearless in asserting herself in all life situations, and fearless in the performance of her femininity. The concept of the “*fun, fearless females*” is sold to the readers as

attractive role models for the ideal reader-consumer, and to advertisers as their target group of consumers willing to spend their money, and experiment with new products.

In the magazine, consumerism is promoted by editorial content and advertising, and linked to personal success. The editorial content of the magazine, and its editorials, interact with the advertisements to sell the reader a lifestyle which is built on the consumption of certain products. Advertorials and advertisements construct a lifestyle where certain beauty products and items of fashion are needed to perform beauty work and body work. The magazine's feature articles and advice columns promote a lifestyle where beauty work and body work are conditions for success. The editorials promote the feature articles and advice columns, and support the construction of a lifestyle based on body focus, and consumption. For example, the editorials of *Cosmopolitan* UK edition 2004 promote feature stories about making the correct life decisions (March 2004, May 2004) in order to be successful. Success is constructed as economic and professional success. Success is also constructed as physical perfection, beauty and the performance of one's identity. This takes place for instance in the promotion of advice columns about beauty work, body work and dieting (Feb. 2004, May 2004), and in advertorials on beauty products and fashion (March 2004, June 2004) which are the products and services needed to perform being a beautiful woman. The promotion of consumerism is an integral part of the editorial policy of *Cosmopolitan* magazine worldwide.

The foundation for the globalization of the media was laid as early as 1910, when Hearst set up his National Magazine Company¹¹ as a tool for controlling and marketing his diversified magazines to their separate target groups. One of his magazines at that time was *The Cosmopolitan*. It would, however, take six decades and a remodelling of the magazine for the domestic American market before *Cosmopolitan* was a women's magazine that could be launched abroad. Towards the end of the 20th century the pace of media globalization accelerated.

¹¹ <http://www.magforum.com/magpubs1.htm#nat> [cited 12th Oct. 2006]

The launching of the first international edition of *Cosmopolitan* was a result of multinational media ownership, and one of the first examples of the globalization of an individual women's magazine title. It was launched in the UK in 1972 by ACP-Nat Mags which was a joint venture between Australian ACP and Hearst's The National Magazine Company. The founding of Hearst Magazines International in 1989 heralded the continued launching of *Cosmopolitan* worldwide. The strategy of the US parent company was to publish titles internationally through the new company, and thus attract brand advertising worldwide. The strategy has been successful and today *Cosmopolitan* is published in more than 30 languages in over 100 countries¹². In addition to the US and UK editions, *Cosmopolitan* now publishes in for instance Australia, Brazil, France, Germany, Greece, Holland, Hong Kong, Japan, Latin America and South Africa. The launching of the 50th international edition of *Cosmopolitan* took place in 2004, in Bulgaria. "fun, fearless females" worldwide are invited to adopt the lifestyle of the "Cosmo girl" and join her community.

2.3 Reaching the Reader

Magazine editorials comment, discuss and take stance on issues regarded as important in the content. They serve to draw attention to particular discourses and exclude others. Editorials argue stances according to the editorial policy of the medium in which they are published. This section will deal with the way in which the editorial of a women's magazine like *Cosmopolitan* can be used to catch the attention of the reader.

The editorial policy of the magazine, which is based on information provided by market research, is translated into content in the production process. The editorial policy is expressed in editorial guidelines which function as a set of rules for the editorial staff about what to publish and how to communicate it. The guidelines specify the areas of interest of the magazine's target group, thus indicating the content

¹² <http://www.natmags.co.uk/students/demographic.asp> [Cited 6th March 2007]

areas. They also determine the standards expected from the content and guide how an issue is communicated to the readers. Ultimately, they determine the stance of the magazine. For example an issue presented with implicit stance is to be found, for instance, in the data of this study in a mention of an award given to *Cosmopolitan* (Feb. 2004, Appendix 1) for its rape stoppers campaign. The magazine's stance on women left to deal with their pain alone is implicit in the statement "We don't want that to happen anymore. *Cosmo* approached Rape Crisis" (Feb. 2004). The use of "we" in connection with "*Cosmo*" suggests that the editor represents the magazine, and she translates into her text the stance of the magazine, which is that women who have been victimized should not be left without support.

The owners/publishers of a magazine determine the editorial policy with a twofold purpose, to attract their target group of readers and ensure the support of advertisers. It is essential that the editorial policy is compatibility with market research which identified the target group. The reader's perception of relevance is a testing stone for the way in which editorial policy is translated into contents. The reader will buy and read the magazine only if she perceives that its contents have relevance for her in her life.

The reader will find the magazine relevant if it describes a lifestyle with which she identifies herself. She is addressed as a member of a particular community created by the use of personal pronouns like "you", "I", and "we". The example quoted above, for instance, also has a possible alternative reading. "We don't want that to happen anymore. *Cosmo* approached Rape Crisis" (Feb. 2004). The pronoun "we" can also be read as "you and I", or even "we women", in spite of the subsequent mention of "*Cosmo*". This interpretation supports the use of personal pronouns as one of the building blocks of the community of "*Cosmo* girls". The reader is invited to identify herself with the women of the statements.

The reader is also invited to identify herself ideologically with the community of the "*Cosmo* girl". The reader is addressed or *interpellated* (Althusser 2004: 699) by the magazine as somebody whose interests coincide with the contents of the magazine. In

the process of *interpellation* the addressee is offered a particular subject position which she is expected to accept. The reader is, for instance, expected to share the interests and values of that magazine. When she responds positively to the *interpellation* of the magazine, she sees herself as a member of its target group. She is then a reader who identifies herself with the women of the lifestyle promoted in the magazine.

In the editorials, the “*Cosmo* girl” is addressed as the ideal reader and the ideal consumer, and she is described with attitudes that make her a role model for 21st century females. The descriptions of her attitudes function as scripts for how to perform being “fun, fearless” and “female”. The discourse of femininities is further broken down to thematic statements about the lifestyle of the “*Cosmo* girl”. Ultimately the construction serves the interests of advertisers, not the readers, as they have the economic power to decide the future of the magazine. In what follows I will discuss discourse and critical discourse analysis as the theoretical framework for this thesis, and the methods that will be used to investigate the descriptions of the “*Cosmo* girl” and the sources of the statements which describe her.

3 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: FROM STATEMENT SOURCES TO REPERTOIRES

The theoretical framework for this thesis is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and its central concepts discourse and discursive structures or repertoires. Discourse in the thesis is seen as a construction of reality which is called into existence by it. The universe is formed by discourses. In line with Foucault (2004: 96) discourse is the “ordering of objects” according to systematic rules. The rules govern discursive practices which consist of groups of interrelated statements. On the linguistic level recurring statements are grouped around a theme to form repertoires. The repertoires represent “webs of practices” concerning how to construct a theme (Mills 2004: 44). On the cognitive level repertoires are underlying systems of meaning (Hermes 1995: 31) to which the themes refer. (This will be further discussed in Section 3.2.)

The “*Cosmo* girl”, created to launch the *Cosmopolitan* UK edition in 1972, serves as an identification marker. She is constructed as the reader but also the person whom the reader wants to be. Readers, in particular if they are paying for the magazine, are expected to embrace the “*Cosmo* girl” as a desirable role model and identify themselves as a potential “*Cosmo* girls”. The magazine’s descriptions of the attitudes of the “*Cosmo* girl” serve as scripts which can help the reader develop into one. The descriptions can be studied as statements, grouped around a theme to form discursive structures, or repertoires. (This will be further discussed in Section 3.3.)

A discourse is made up of several countable discourses which construct not one but several realities. In this thesis CDA will be used to investigate what kind of reality is constructed in the editorials of *Cosmopolitan*. The magazine has constructed an imaginary community around its epitome the “*Cosmo* girl” and created a lifestyle for her. CDA is concerned with the power structures embedded in language and the use of power through language (Fairclough 2001: 45). As opposed to descriptive analysis, CDA examines how language is used and to what purpose. The producer of the discourses, in this case the editors of the magazine, can choose how to construct

reality or provide different descriptions of it. They need to act in the perceived interest of those who provide the means which are both the readers and the advertisers.

In this thesis the editors are the immediate producers of discourses. They produce the texts, images and the layout which contain the discourses of the magazine. They are authorised by the editorial policy of the magazine to produce discourses. As discussed in Chapter 2, the editorial policy is an encoding of the knowledge about a target group which has been obtained through market research.

The discourses of a women's magazine like *Cosmopolitan* construct a particular kind of reality with a purpose. The purpose is to ensure the continuing support of its readership and of its advertisers. For the reader the magazine constructs an imaginary community through the simulation of friendship between editor and reader, as theorised by Talbot (1995:144). In this imaginary community the reader is *personalized* (Fairclough 2001:52) and addressed both as an individual and a member of the readership community of "Cosmo girls". The reader, thus, is offered a subject position or *interpellated* (Althusser 2004: 699). The attitudes of members of that community are constructed and *naturalized* by the producer of discourse. According to Fairclough (1995a: 28) *naturalization* takes place when propositions serving the interests of the producer of discourse are presented as the norm. The purpose of the descriptions of, for instance, the epitome of *Cosmopolitan* is to construct certain femininities and a certain lifestyle as the norm. (This will be discussed further in Section 3.4.)

The function of the discourses of the magazine is to provide models of femininities. The models are given in the form of descriptions of the attitudes of the "Cosmo girl", and they serve as scripts for performing the desirable femininities. The descriptions are discursive statements derived from identifiable sources authorising someone to represent a particular kind of "Cosmo girl". They are grouped around a theme, and they recur to form repertoires which reflect the world of the sources or create an ideal state of affairs. (This will be discussed further in Section 3.4.)

This chapter will deal with CDA which forms the theoretical framework of this thesis. First I will discuss discourse as a construction of reality, and the concepts of repertoires, meaning and sources which are central to the study. Then I will explore one possible method, the repertoire analysis of CDA as it will be carried out in Chapter 4. Finally I will discuss the identification and authorisation of sources of discourse and outline a model which will be used to investigate the sources of the discursive statements which form the repertoires.

3.1 Discourse as a Construction of Reality

A discourse constructs reality and communicates knowledge of it in a social context. It calls events and objects into existence by speaking of them, and discourses are “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault 2004: 96). Reality does not have meaning before it is organised and given meaning through discourse. Discourse, then, consists of individual discourses which, in turn, are spoken or written utterances and statements (Mills 2004: 10) grouped around themes in a specific social context. One such context is, for instance, a women’s magazine like *Cosmopolitan*. From the reading context the reader enters the context of the imaginary community created by the magazine.

A discourse is determined by its social context, but it also shapes its social context and contributes to its development. A discourse and its social context construct each other and develop in interaction. Producers of discourse use knowledge of previous discourses and their social contexts to develop new discourses. Indeed, discourse in itself is knowledge (Fairclough 1995b: 18) which producers of discourse can apply to construct discourses. An individual discourse can be seen as one, but not the only, version of reality. The notion that discourses exist in the plural, as multiple versions of reality is suggested by, for instance, Kress & van Leeuwen (2001: 4). It can be argued that there is not one reality, but subjective realities. For instance, the discourse of being a mother constructs one aspect of reality, and the discourse of being a student

constructs another. In order to construct the reality of being a mother as well as a student yet another discourse is needed.

A discourse is produced not only in written or spoken texts, but also through other semiotic practices such as photography and other forms of visual or audiovisual practices, and Fairclough (1995a: 131) has suggested that also non-verbal communication should be regarded as a text. In the case of *Cosmopolitan* the photographic illustrations are important elements, contributing to the discourse of the magazine. So are the advertisements and page layout. In this thesis, however, only the written texts of the editorials will be the object of study. The editorials communicate knowledge which is made significant by how the editors have chosen to organise the discourses.

Discourse is both knowledge of reality and the communication of knowledge. It draws on knowledge to construct reality in different ways, and it produces meaning by organising reality into individual discourses. A discourse consists of several discourses or constructions of reality, and they may overlap and support each other, or conflict. For instance, an individual discourse like that of motherhood is one version of knowledge of reality which does not exclude the existence of other discourses with a diverging knowledge of reality. For example, the producer of knowledge makes the choice of which version to communicate in order to construct a particular meaning. For instance the editors of *Cosmopolitan* can choose to communicate images of women with a career rather than housewives with small children.

As knowledge is communicated through the discourse, human beings also communicate their recognition of the nature of the discourse. They identify the social context of a particular discourse and the theme, and they perceive whether discourses support each other or conflict. They can identify individual discourses as compatible or non-compatible with their own construction of events and objects. For example, through discourses people can construct themselves as belonging to a specific group or being outside it. This is illustrated by the research of Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1995: 470, 474) of the discourses that high school students employed to define

themselves as “jocks” or “burnouts”, depending on their attitudes towards school and their future, their activities in school and society outside school, and their participation in social practices in school and outside. Similarly the readers of a magazine may or may not identify the discourses of the magazine as compatible with their own reality.

Discourses are created out of legitimised statements which are grouped thematically and governed by internal rules. A statement is the expression of an idea or a stance which may linguistically consist of several utterances or sentences, as Mills (2004: 54) has theorised. The statements are the primary building blocks of a discourse because of the way they are grouped around a theme or an issue in an institutional context. The statements are organised and governed by *rules of formation* (Foucault 2004: 94, 96) which are, in turn, governed by the social context in which a discourse is produced. The rules determine the form of a discourse. The discursive practices particular to a specific context render the form recognisable to those wanting to participate in that particular discourse. For instance the readers of a women’s magazine are expected to recognise the texts of the magazine as, for instance, an editorial, a feature story or an advertorial.

The creation of discourses presupposes legitimacy or the right to speak. Only when the producer of discourse has established her/his legitimacy can a discourse be activated and an object called into existence (Mills 2004: 46). The magazines have this legitimacy from the readers and advertisers. If they withdraw from a magazine it loses its right to speak and produce discourse.

Once the right to speak has been established, the producer of discourse defines the field in which her/his discourse is set. That field is defined by choices and the decision to include or exclude discourses. The purpose of exclusion is to gain control over the production of discourse (Foucault 1981: 52) by procedures that regulate what is said when, and by whom. For example *Cosmopolitan* produces discourses of femininities, while discourses of old age and disability are excluded. What is excluded from the discourse is equally important to what is included – it may even be more

significant. Exclusion is one of the most powerful methods of producing discourse and this, as Mills (2004: 60) has pointed out, is a paradox. The paradox is that a discourse may be shaped by that which is not present. She theorises that exclusion defines the boundaries of a field of discourse, while inclusion describes it. What is excluded does not exist, but its absence is also significant. So, for instance, discourses of consumption may not include a discourse of overspending or accumulating debts.

The creation of discourses also presupposes knowledge of existing discourses and the field where a particular discourse is produced. New discourses may be created to support, verify or contest existing discursive practices. The creation of a discourse which supports or verifies an existing discourse makes use of the knowledge about the discourse to which it refers. This process is what Foucault (1981: 59) calls the “principle of commentary”, and its function is to ensure that the original discourse is not distorted in repetition. Commentary repeats a discourse and preserves it. A new discourse comments on the existing one (Mills 2004: 60), thus circulating it. The discourses of the “*Cosmo* girl”, for instance, may be expected to support each other in the context of the magazine’s imaginary community. For example, the discourse of the “*Cosmo* girl” as a working girl supports the discourse of the “*Cosmo* girl” as a consumer. As the editions of the magazine draw on a global text pool, the discourses of the magazine create a “knowledge pool” about the values of the imaginary community of *Cosmopolitan*.

A field of discourse can be widened to produce a new discourse, and the new discourse can complement or compete with the existing discourse. Widening a field of discourse means challenging the boundaries of that discursive field in a process of delimitation, which, according to Mills (2004: 46) is the first step towards establishing a new discourse. The delimitation of a discursive field is a process which opens up the possibility for competing discourses to struggle for dominance in that field. When discourses compete with each other for domination, this struggle is grounded in relations of power and ideology (Fairclough 2001: 45). Such a struggle between competing discourses may be exemplified by, for instance, the discourse of

consumerism versus the discourse of sustainable development in the social context of *Cosmopolitan*.

Discourse has the power to construct reality by naming objects and ordering events in a process which produces meaning. Objects exist *per se* but cannot be understood until they are named and thus called into existence (Foucault 2004: 96, Mills 2004: 45). Similarly events and sequences take place, but they cannot be understood until they are organised by discourse. The ability of discourse to name and organise constructs reality in a way which makes sense. However, the reality constructed by one discourse may not be similar to that constructed by a competing discourse. For instance, a discourse of consumerism produced by an advertising agency will construct reality differently than the discourse of consumerism produced by a group of conservationists. Whether a discourse will be recognised as “truthful” depends on its cultural context. A particular culture will, according to Mills (2004: 48), recognise certain sets of discourses as real and significant.

The discourse produced by a magazine like *Cosmopolitan* is constructed as “true” in its cultural context. The discourse has a clearly defined institutionalised *author* (Foucault 1981: 58), that is, the magazine. The magazine’s discourse concerning say, acceptable femininities, environment, or education, is only one version of reality, and in that, it is clearly an ideologically induced artificial construction. Its values are derived, at least to some extent, from its commercial purposes and based on consumerism, and they are validated in its version of reality.

Discourses construct not only reality, but also identities which serve as subject positions in that reality. The discourse of a magazine is one context where publicly available gendered identities are created, and suggested to the readers as subject positions they can occupy. A magazine has the power to position its readers in certain subject positions, thus constructing subjectivity (McRobbie 1994: 180). The reader is *interpellated* as a particular subject, and her identity as a subject is called into existence through *interpellation*. For instance the reader of a magazine is called upon to read, and in reading identify herself with women described in the magazine.

The reader may, however, choose to resist the discourses constructed and offered by the magazine and choose instead to actively construct her own reality and identity. The reader may not be prepared to accept the editor's propositions of a *synthetic sisterhood* or the proposed subject position of a consumer of certain products, as Santhakumaran (2004: 15) has shown in her research. Even if the reader may be prepared to share the kind of friendship proposed by the editor, she will not unquestioningly accept the identities constructed for her and suggested to her. Instead, she will actively make her own interpretations and construct her own meanings, both as a friend and a consumer. She derives meaning from the discursive themes which recur and take on the form of repertoires.

3.2 Repertoires as Systems of Meaning

A useful tool for the analysis of repertoires, are the repertoires with which the discourses of the "Cosmo girl" are produced. Repertoires are discursive structures grouped around recurring themes or ideas. The themes refer to the repertoires which function as underlying systems of meaning (Hermes 1995: 31). On the linguistic level, themes intertwine to form repertoires. For instance, the idea of agency may recur in different descriptions of contemporary femininities and form a repertoire of agency as a pervading characteristic. On the cognitive level the repertoires are underlying systems of meaning to which the themes refer. For instance, in the descriptions of the "Cosmo girl" themes specify attitudes and form repertoires of the "Cosmo girl". These may, for example, describe the "Cosmo girl" in different situations in life. The themes recur, and in doing so, they form discursive structures which are meant to be understood as descriptions of how to perform being the "Cosmo girl". For instance, the theme of sexuality recurs to form a repertoire of how she relates to it.

The statements about the "Cosmo girl" may present facts about her life or assess her attitude and behaviour. They may deal with her education, profession or earnings, or assess her perseverance and performance. The statements may also make assumptions

about how she experiences life and give recommendations about how to behave. They may assume her emotions and reactions in a given situation, and give her advice about how to improve herself and her performance.

The organisation of knowledge of events and sequences and their meaning into narratives or sets of discursive structures is governed by certain rules. These sets of discursive structures can also, as Mills (2004: 44) has pointed out, be called “webs of practices”. Practices are ways of talking about an event which have been established in a specific context so that a practice makes meaning and sense in its context. For example, the practice of speaking about death in a discourse of bereavement differs from that of constructing death in, say, absurd drama. The *rules of formation* were seen by Foucault (2004: 94) as conditions under which the discursive structures exist and coexist, prevail, change and disappear. For instance, to elaborate on the previous example, death cannot be called into existence as an absurdity in the discourse of bereavement. Only through the regularity of the formative rules can objects be ordered and called into existence in discourse.

The conditions governing the formation of discourses in a discursive field change with alterations in that field and as a result of the interaction of discourses. Changes in the social or cultural context affect discursive structures, as does the competition between discourses. For example, the discourses of motherhood have changed over time. Moreover, the discursive rules are constantly being negotiated and renegotiated (Mills 2004: 88) by the producers of a particular discourse. As the discursive rules are renegotiated, so are the reality and the identities constructed in that discourse subject to change.

Narratives or sets of discursive structures are successful when they are capable of producing meaning which constructs reality and confirms a version of reality. They have the power to organise experience and memory, and to structure life events into meaningful segments (Bruner 1987: 15). Narratives tell a story where events cause the occurrence of other events and the sequence of events has a beginning, a middle where events unfold and an end. In narratives human beings interpret and reinterpret

their experiences and see their identities confirmed. Narratives are recognised as relevant and significant (Mills 2004: 48) when they confirm existing discourses which have previously been recognised as real. However, they do not only recount lives lived, they also construct the “possible lives” (Bruner 1987: 15) that exist in a culture. One such possible life is that of the “*Cosmo* girl”. The editorials construct narratives in which the repertoires describe the life of the “*Cosmo* girl”, and these repertoires are formed by recurring statements which are discursively structured around themes or topics.

Repertoires are knowledges which can be drawn on and referred to in the production of discourses, and recognised by other participants in the discourse. Hermes in her research found that the readers of women’s magazines referred to “common or shared knowledge” (1995: 203). The readers identified the way in which certain topics were spoken of in everyday life, and understood these practices as repertoires. They could recognise and refer to these repertoires. The number of shared sources of knowledge is limited, otherwise the repertoires would become unidentifiable and recognition would not take place. For instance the reader of a women’s magazine is expected to be familiar with the discourses of that magazine, and she is expected to make meaning of them. More precisely, she is expected to understand the repertoires describing a “*Cosmo* girl” and identify herself as one.

Repertoires help readers make meaning of knowledge offered in texts. Repertoires which in themselves are built around recurring topics and themes accumulate knowledge and build on it as they are repeated. The recurring repertoires of, for example, womanhood in a particular magazine became familiar to its readers as they occur regularly from one issue to another over a period of time. Recurrence supports the reader in learning to recognise and understand the meaning of the knowledge offered in the texts. Recurrence strengthens the understanding of the knowledge in the repertoires. In the same way, the repertoires are strengthened by the repetitions, and readers are provided with knowledge they can apply in their own lives.

The repertoires of a magazine help the reader to see herself living in one of the possible versions of reality. The reader can imagine herself in a fantasy where she has another life and another identity, living one of the “possible lives” of Bruner (1987: 15). The repertoires of a women’s magazine revolve around fantasies. According to Hermes (1995: 103, 39), for instance, the repertoire of practical knowledge provided the reader with fantasies of an ideal self in which she sees herself as the result of a sum of female skills. The reader of, for instance, *Cosmopolitan* may recognise that she is being *interpellated* by the magazine to fantasise. She imagines herself with the same attitudes and behaviours as those of the “*Cosmo* girl” before taking up that subject position. Indeed, the repertoires of a magazine like *Cosmopolitan* suggest alternatives and allow the reader to “try on” an identity and move between subject positions offered.

References between repertoires are examples of intertextuality at work. The term intertextuality, which was originally coined by Kristeva (Moi 1985: 156; Mills 2004: 137), has come to denote the manner in which texts relate to other existing texts. As repertoires constitute texts they can relate to each other in the same way as texts relate to each other. One repertoire can refer directly to another existing repertoire, and mention it explicitly. For instance the repertoire of career choices may refer to the repertoire of being a student (Oct. 2004). Reference can also be implicit or indirect and function by association. One way of referring to another repertoire by association is through the use of metaphors. A metaphor imports meaning from one repertoire to another. For instance, the metaphor “like modern day *Charlie’s Angels*” (April 2004) is imported from the repertoire of agentive performance on television and film into the repertoire of professionalism performance in the *Cosmopolitan* editors.

3.3 Identification of Repertoires

In discourse analysis, the repertoires as they rise out of the research material used for qualitative research are not self-evident. The discursive structures or repertoires are a result of discourse analysis, not a given element in the data of a study (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen 2004: 28). According to Hermes (1995: 46) repertoires are analytical constructions. They are the researcher's reading of the existence of recurring topics and themes in the data and the systems of meaning to which they refer.

Individual repertoires in the research material may be inferred from long statements or a single word. Repertoires may be explicit statements about a particular topic or theme and, linguistically, consist of several sentences or even paragraphs. For instance, an expression like "the joy of motherhood" may evoke a whole system of meaning. Equally, being a mother can be described at length. Repertoires may also be found in the form of metaphors which function as references to other repertoires the editors and readers are expected to be familiar with. For instance the expression a "girls' night out" (Aug. 2004, Appendix 2) referring to a repertoire of partying. A reference to a repertoire may also be found in the form of a mention of a single word or a concept which by association refers to another repertoire. For instance "flip-flop-induced" (Oct. 2004) where the mention of the summer footwear serves to refer to a repertoire of casual leisure fashion. Conclusions drawn from the editor's use of a single word or a metaphor would appear to be inconclusive. However, when individual examples can be linked to recurring themes these can be interpreted as references to repertoires, as suggested by Hermes (1995: 149). When the expression "flip-flop-induced" is contrasted with "meaningful relationship" it describes one theme in the repertoire of friendship between the editor and the reader.

The identification of the boundaries between individual repertoires in the research material is not self-evident either. It may be expected that repertoires will be found to intertwine and interact in the course of one text. A magazine editorial is written as a commentary on the issue it is attached to, and at the same time, promoting the values of the magazine. Themes in the editorial may illustrate the magazine's statements

about issues in its feature stories, and they can only be identified as references to repertoires in hindsight. For instance, in the case of the editorials of *Cosmopolitan* UK edition 2004 the editors may be found to move between several repertoires in the space of one short text. One editorial's discourse of what a "Cosmo girl" is like may start with statements about the pleasure of shopping. It may continue with statements about the importance of friends, before ending with statements about the pleasure of success (March 2004, Appendix 3). Another editorial may mix statements about sexual pleasure with statements about friendships and finish on statements about supporting rape victims (April 2004, Appendix 4).

The sources of the statements forming the repertoires used to describe the "Cosmo girl" can be identified and thus act as sources of repertoires. Sources can be identified with the help of personal pronouns or through the way in which they are named. For example, the pronouns "I", "we" and "you" have been shown to function as sources of common knowledge about a discourse. The editor of a magazine can construct editors and readers as groups as suggested by Talbot (1995: 154, 144) in her research into the construction of a femininity based on consumerism in an advertorial. The use of personal pronouns may identify, for instance, the editors and the readers as sources which are familiar to the reader and thus accepted by her. The reader may herself use similar sources in her everyday speech to recount her own experiences or refer to the experiences of friends or other women. The editor may draw on personal experience and function as her own source and use the experience of other women as a source in order to produce repertoires. In the editorials of *Cosmopolitan* the editor may construct the groups of editors and readers by pronominal address and use the groups as sources and their experiences as a point of reference to create repertoires. She can also construct other groups of women by nominal reference, either by naming them or distinguishing them as a group.

The reader to whom the editor addresses herself in the editorials may be constructed as a group, although addressed as an individual reader. The editor may construct her reader by direct address and the use of the personal pronoun *you* (Talbot 1995: 154). Although the pronoun *you* in English does not distinguish between the singular and

the plural, it has been suggested that mass media address readers as individuals (Fairclough 2001: 52) in spite of the fact that the readers constitute a mass audience. The illusion of friendship between the editor and each individual reader is not in conflict with the construction of the reader as part of a group of readers with similar interests. This group of readers can be addressed directly by the editor who may, for instance, encourage the readers to contact her by e-mail or letter in order to share their views and experiences with her. Consequently, when the readers follow this suggestion and communicate their experience, the editors may draw upon them as individuals. In the case of the readers, however, there may exist a need to distinguish between the actual experiences of the reader and the experiences of the ideal reader which are the constructions of the editor. The real reader is mentioned as she communicates her thoughts, ideas and suggestions to the editors in letters and telephone calls. The real reader communicating her actual experiences to the editor will in this thesis be considered a source. The constructed experiences of the ideal reader are, on the other hand, to be regarded as part of the repertoires describing the “*Cosmo* girl”.

The first step in the repertoire analysis conducted for this thesis will be to identify the repertoires used to describe the attitudes of the “*Cosmo* girl”. The analysis will be carried out according to grounded theory where the repertoires will be seen to rise out of the material after repeated readings as suggested, for example, by Hermes (1995: 177). The behaviours described in the “*Cosmo* girl” are expected to have regularities and follow a pattern. The attitudes may be, for instance, concern fashion, sexuality and ambition. Desirable or non-desirable behaviour is ascribed to women or groups of women functioning as sources in the research material. The repertoires collect together thematically similar statements about the “*Cosmo* girl”. For example, the repertoires may indirectly describe the “*Cosmo* girl” by describing the behaviour and attitudes of other women and groups of women as desirable.

The repertoires will be classified after their content. In this I also follow Hermes (1995: 67) who classified the repertoire of making meaning of women’s magazines into those of “practical knowledge” and “connected knowing”. The first repertoire

provided readers with the skills women need in their everyday life, while the second prepared them for misfortune. The evaluation of the repertoires will then be carried by critical discourse analysis in order to explore the implicit values in the descriptions of the “*Cosmo* girl” to see whose interest is served by them. Ultimately, what is the price of becoming a “*Cosmo* girl”.

3.4 Identification of Sources

In order to establish the sources of discourse statements it is first necessary to identify the statements introduced into the discourse of the “*Cosmo* girl”. The identification of the statements will identify the sources who authorise the discursive statements about the “*Cosmo* girl”. In theory, sources can be identified through pronominal address and nominal reference. Such identification, as Martin & Rose (2003: 145) propose, is concerned with “introducing people and things into discourse and keeping track of them once there”. People and groups of people are introduced and identified, for example, through pronominal address and nominal reference as the text unfolds (Martin & Rose 2003: 171). Pronominal address consists of the first and second person pronouns “I”, “we” and “you”, as well as the third person pronouns “he”, “she”, “they”, while nominal reference either explicitly names or determines through definition. These can be statements about a personal point of view or reported observations. For example, the statement “I’ve had a bit of a highbrow month” (Jan. 2004) derives from a pronominal source who gives rise to statements about the personal experience of intellectual debate. The statement “there isn’t a woman in the *Cosmo* office who couldn’t talk for hours on that subject” (Jan. 2004) derives from a defined source who can give rise to statements about the behaviour of women in general. Also the statement “chatting with Germaine Greer about sexy young men” (Jan. 2004) derives from a named source who can give rise to statements about interesting topics of conversation.

The second step of the repertoire analysis conducted for this thesis will be the identification of the sources of the statements forming the repertoires in the narratives.

The sources authorise the statements and give a face to the sources of knowledge. The source is to be understood in the journalistic sense as the source of a statement in the written text or its reported source in that text. It is not to be confused with Foucault's (1981: 58-59) author principle which, alongside with the commentary principle, is one of the two principles organising meaning. The author principle groups discourses and provides them with unity and coherence. The author is not an individual person who writes or speaks, but the requirements of, for instance, academic writing in English governing how the individual writes. The editor who structures the discourses of the editorials may be said to enact the author principle when she organises statements which are either her own or those of others. The source of the statements may also, of course, be the editors themselves, but it can also be someone else. The source of statement should not to be confused with the concept of the dual authorial voice either which, according to White (2001: 14) is both the institutionalised voice enacting the editorial policy of a magazine or a newspaper and the individual voice of the editor. Writing with a dual authorial voice means combining the institutionalised voice with that of the individual.

In this section I will introduce a possible model for the identification and authorisation of sources of discursive statements. This model will be used for the analysis in Chapter 5. I will first discuss the system of identification based on identification through pronominal address and nominal reference suggested by Martin & Rose (2003). This system of identification can be developed to combine with the identification of statements sources as "self" or "other" suggested by Hunston (2000). Then I will discuss the authorisation of sources of statements as reflecting the world or creating the world suggested by Hunston (2000). Finally I will present my synthesis in the form of the analysis model which consists of two stages (Figure 1).

The reader judges the source of statements as "self" or "other". The credibility of the sources gives the statements their status and authorises them. Readers understand the statements to position themselves in a particular way towards the world outside the text. Hunston (2000: 184-185) proposes that the status of a statement on the interactive plane "determines how a reader responds to any statement within a given

text”. All statements and clauses have their individual status based on the credibility of their sources. The reader decides whether a statement or a clause is based on the actual experience of the source, and responds to it accordingly. The reader judges the sources of statements as “self” or “other” (Hunston 2000: 190), and accordingly decides whether the source accepts responsibility for the statement, as with the source of “self”, or delegates responsibility, as with the source of “other”.

The sources of “self” or “other” have the authority to make discursive statements about the “*Cosmo* girl”. They receive their authorisation as sources of discursive statements from their ability to describe and reflect a world that exists, or through their ability to describe the world as it should be, the ideal imaginary community. The statements deriving from the sources are, according to Hunston (2000: 187-188) of several types. They are defined by their ability to either reflect the world, or create the world. The world is reflected through the presentation of facts, interpretations, and assessments. It is created by the presentation of assumptions and recommendations as well as hypothetical suggestions about that world.

The first two steps, the identification of sources of discursive statements through pronominal address and nominal address, and the identification of the sources as “self” and “other” will form the first stage of my analysis (Figure 1, Stage 1). The final step, the authorisation of sources of discursive statements forms the second stage of the analysis (Figure 1, Stage 2).

For example, in the editorials of *Cosmopolitan* the sources of discursive statements can be identified through pronominal address. The use of first person “I” and “we” can refer to both the group of editors or women as a source of community statements. For instance “I believe a decade ago, many of us may have felt guilty to admit that, actually, all we really wanted to do was travel the world or perhaps stay at home and bring up a family.” (Jan. 2004) In this example “I” and “we” function as sources of the discursive statements describing the emotions of the “*Cosmo* girl” faced with the choice of investing herself or in a family. The second person “you” can construct the group of readers as a source. For instance “you needed a quick, simple diet to help

you either lose weight or just feel healthier” (Feb. 2004) where the source of “you” produces discursive statements about the “*Cosmo* girl” worrying about her figure.

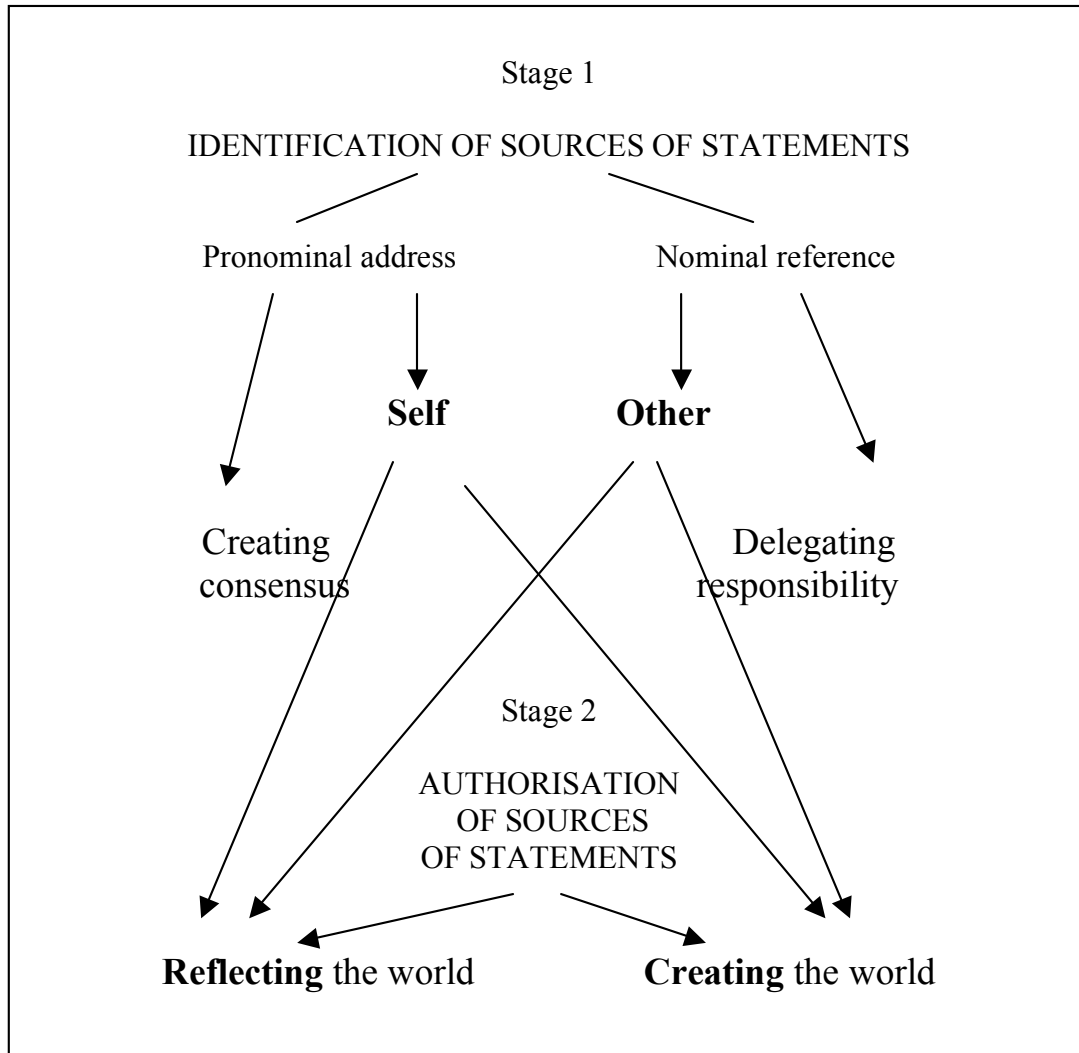


Figure 1. Identification and Authorisation of Sources. Based on Martin & Rose 2003 and Hunston 2000.

In addition to identification on the grammatical plane the sources can be identified as “self” or “other” on the interactive plane. The source is identified as “self” when the producer of discourse accepts responsibility for the credibility of the sources. “Self” is not to be understood exclusively as the individual “I” but more widely as the individual and the community of close friends for whom she vouches. As the producer

of the discourse accepts responsibility she positions herself, according to Hunston (2000: 191), as belonging to a like-minded group in which consensus is shared. For example, in the repertoires of the editorials the editor's reader-friend may be identified as a source of "self". In the examples above, both "I/we" and "you" can be identified as sources of "self" as the editor in her role of producer of discourse bases the statements on personal experience and the experience of trusted friends.

The way in which the producer of discourse positions herself intersubjectively is an indication of whether she accepts or delegates responsibility for statements from other sources. Through intersubjective positioning the editor can represent herself as committed to the propositions of a statements or prepared to challenge it (White 2002: 17). She may disclaim the propositions of the statements either through direct negation or, for instance, by presenting them in order to construct a counter-argument. She can also accept the statements as true and include them in her own argumentation. When she positions herself as committed to the propositions, she can attribute the statements to their sources by, for example, inserting them into her own statements or by presenting them as direct quotes.

The sources of discursive statements can also be identified through nominal reference. Women referred to as "women in general" and women defined as a group, as well as specific women mentioned by name, are introduced as sources of discursive statements. In addition to nominal reference women can also, of course, be represented through pronominal address by the use of "they". However, nominal reference is given precedence when it interacts with pronominal address. For example, "three women explain how they each realised a gap in their lives was making them unhappy and found different ways of working out how to turn the situation around" (May 2004). In this example "women" and "they" function as sources of a set of discursive statements about the ability of the "*Cosmo* girl" to recognise a problem and then find solutions. Specific women mentioned by name function as a source of statements about the attitudes of the "*Cosmo* girl" towards others. For instance "Oprah was really warm and approachable and she had the best comic timing of anyone I've ever met" (April 2004).

Women identified as sources of discursive statements through nominal reference on the grammatical plane constitute a source of “other” on the interactive plane. The construction of the source of “other” takes place when the producer of the discourse identifies the source of the discursive statements as one which is not the “self” of the like-minded group. Responsibility for the credibility of a statement is delegated when it is identified as deriving from a source of “other”, although it can also be reclaimed. For instance, responsibility is delegated for “women in general” in the example of the three women above, while it is reclaimed in the example of the named celebrity, Oprah Winfrey.

Responsibility can also be reclaimed through positive evaluation of the women mentioned by name. These women do not share the consensus of the sources of “self”, nor are they members of the shared imaginary community. They are a source of “other”. However, statements construct them as admirable and they are mythologized as ideal “*Cosmo* girls”, who can serve as role models for other women (April 2004, Appendix 4). Responsibility is reclaimed for the icons as a source as their attitudes and behaviours are evaluated as admirable.

The status of “self” or “other” enables the sources of discursive statements to authorise the statements according to type. One type of statement reflects the world constructed by a particular source, while another creates a hypothetical world. The ability of statements to reflect the world is based on their presentation of facts, interpretations and assessments. The group of editors and celebrities can be expected to function as a source of statements reflecting the world constructed by them, as well as its events, values and attitudes. For instance “we decided to sing the praises of the single life” (Nov. 2004), and “The lovely Lorraine Kelly [...] presided over all of us on her show *UK Today*” (July 2004). The first statement reflects the editors’ attitude to single life, the second reflects a world where celebrities are constructed as “lovely”.

The groups of readers and “women in general” can be expected to function as a source of statements creating the hypothetical ideal world through assumptions and

recommendations. For instance “letters and email [...] about how much your weight, in particular, has affected your confidence” (May 2004) which assumes that the reader has weight issues. Another example is “those special women who play such a big part in all our lives” (April 2004). It creates an ideal world where women are special and friends. Both these discursive statements refer to a particular attitude and behaviours which are *naturalized* (Fairclough 1995a: 28). They are represented as the norm which is common knowledge.

In what follows I will analyse the repertoires which describe the “*Cosmo* girl” and her behaviour in different life situations. I will first identify the discursive statements which are grouped thematically to form repertoires. Then I will classify the repertoires according to their descriptions of the “*Cosmo* girl’s” attitude to independence, pleasure, friendship and necessary knowledge.

4 HOW TO BECOME A “*COSMO GIRL*”

The purpose of this thesis has been to investigate what repertoires are used to describe the “*Cosmo girl*” in the editorials of *Cosmopolitan* and what their sources are. The magazine has created the “*Cosmo girl*” as an identity marker to describe the “*fun, fearless females*” who are its target group. “*Cosmo girls*” take an interest in looking good, wearing the right clothes, having fun and being able to choose the lifestyle that suits them. The method from critical discourse analysis was used to identify the repertoires used to describe the “*Cosmo girl*”. The repertoires are discursive structures which consist of statements grouped around a recurring theme. For instance the theme of friendship may recur to form a repertoire of the attitude of the “*Cosmo girl*” to friendship. The statements construct the behaviours and attitudes of women described in the magazine. The descriptions confirm the behaviours and attitudes of the women as features of the “*Cosmo girl*”.

The material of the study consisted of the discursive statements describing the “*Cosmo girl*” in the editorials of *Cosmopolitan* UK edition 2004. The twelve editorials were written by three editors. One editor was responsible for the editorials of January and February and her successor the acting editor was responsible for the seven editorials from March to September. A new editor was appointed from October and she was responsible for the last three editorials.

The method applied to the study of the repertoires derived from the analysis aimed at CDA in that I looked critically at the way the community of “*Cosmo girls*” was implicated. The first part consisted of examining repertoires in the manner of grounded theory. This meant that the repertoires rose out of the material after repeated readings. The second part consisted of the identification of the sources of the discursive statements which form the repertoires.

The discursive statements about the “*Cosmo girl*” fell into four repertoires. Some statements characterised the “*Cosmo girl*” by her independence; she is allowed to make choices and be in control of her life. They describe her living in a world of

equal opportunities where she only needs to make the correct choices to be successful. These statements created a world where she has control over her personal and professional life as well as over her body and sexuality, which is the result of having made the correct choices and decisions. Moreover, to be in control is a prerequisite for becoming successful. A typical statement in the repertoire of independence about who states the terms was “I’d always *wanted* the things that my first ever copy of *Cosmo* made me believe I could have [...] to live life *on your own terms* [...]. Whatever *felt right for you*.” (Example 1, Section 4.1).

In addition to the repertoire of independence, some statements described the “*Cosmo* girl” investing in herself. The repertoire of pleasure described how she finds pleasure in success and activities outside the workplace, and also how she derives pleasure from investing in her looks. She strives to gain body confidence by dieting and by consuming beauty products, clothes and accessories. A typical statement in this repertoire was “Read our advice on getting *beach body confidence*, so you can *enjoy your best* summer.” (Example 8, Section 4.2).

A third repertoire for describing the “*Cosmo* girl” was that of friendship. The statements painted the picture of the “*Cosmo* girl” involved with friends and relatives; she cares for them and receives support, and they support her in turn. Her friendships last throughout her life. A typical statement in this repertoire was “I was so moved by the stories of *against-the-odds friendships* that *have survived illness and huge tragedy* that it's only right *Cosmo* pay tribute to *those special women who play such a big part in all our lives*.” (Example 11, Section 4.3).

A fourth repertoire was that of connected knowledge. The statements referred to both emotional learning and connected knowing which were also identified by Hermes (1995: 41) in her study of the reasons for reading women’s magazines. The repertoire of connected knowledge included useful information about possible problems and misfortune and prepared the “*Cosmo* girl” for them. A typical statement in this repertoire was “I received *heartbreaking letters* from women *who'd been attacked* but *hadn't spoken to anyone* about it before.” (Example 14, Section 4.4).

The repertoires serve as scripts which can help the reader of *Cosmopolitan* to accept the attitudes of a “*Cosmo* girl” in order to be one or develop into one. The most prominent of the scripts was the repertoire of pleasure. Its three themes, those of personal pleasure, pleasure in looks and pleasure in success, appear eleven times in eight editorials. In three of the editorials there were two mentions of either of the themes. The repertoire of independence is also prominent in the sense that two editorials, those of January 2004 and October 2004 were built exclusively around it. Altogether the repertoire appears five times. The May 2004 editorial was built entirely around the repertoire of pleasure and the theme of personal contentment which was also an important topic in the feature stories of that issue. The repertoire of connected knowledge appeared six times and half of the February 2004 editorial was built around it. The repertoire of friendship also appears five times and the September 2004 editorial deals exclusively with friendship and also with love. Apart from the repertoires which dominate one editorial, two or more repertoires also appear in the space of one editorial. For instance, three repertoires appear in the March 2004, April 2004 and November 2004 editorials.

In what follows, I will discuss each of the repertoires in order of importance, starting with the repertoire of independence in which the themes of choice and control are central in the statements concerning the behaviours and attitudes of the “*Cosmo* girl”. I will then discuss the repertoire of pleasure where the themes are those of personal pleasure, pleasure in looks and pleasure in success. The repertoire to be discussed will be that of friendship which emphasises the importance of having both intimate friends and friends and colleagues. The last of the repertoires to be discussed will be that of connected knowledge offering information which the “*Cosmo* girl” will need in order to cope with difficulties she may face in life. Finally I will discuss how consumerism recurs as a thread inserted into the various repertoires, predominantly the repertoire of pleasure, to state the conditions under which the “*Cosmo* girl” obtains beauty, control and success. In the repertoire of pleasure the thread of consumerism suggests that the “*Cosmo* girl” gains beauty and success by adopting the lifestyle and consuming the

products promoted by the magazine. It is, therefore, closely linked to the function of the editorial as a marketing option for the magazine.

4.1 Repertoire of Independence

One of the two most prominent repertoires employed to describe the “Cosmo girl” is that of independence. The themes that independence evolves round are choice and control. A “*Cosmo* girl” has the choice of investing in her professional or personal life. Having a choice means to have control. Also, once she has made her (right) choice, she will have control of her life. She can be independent in her activities, and she can pursue them with agency. The theme of choice ascribes to the “*Cosmo* girl” the right to focus on herself. The following statements illustrate the repertoire of independence and the themes of both choice and control:

(1) I'd always wanted *the things that my first ever copy of Cosmo made me believe I could have* – not some success-crazed, unattainable version of life, *but to live life on your own terms* – whether that featured a career, a man, marriage, babies, or not. *Whatever felt right for you.* (Oct. 2004).

(2) However, I believe a decade ago, many of us may have felt guilty to admit that, actually, all we really wanted to do was travel the world or perhaps stay at home and bring up a family - we may have felt we'd let the feminists down by choosing either as a career option. *Today, feminism means 'choice'.* (Jan. 2004).

(3) But the advice - which said there was lots to be gained from jumping into a situation and *taking risks* - left a big impression on her. "*It actually helped me make my mind up,*" she told me, before revealing she had taken up the offer - and kept her man, too, since the relationship survived the six-month parting. (March 2004).

(4) That it [feminism] meant *we should strive to be at the top of our careers* and that more women should be in the big, decision-making jobs. But today, more and more women are in those jobs. Few of you would be surprised if we had another female prime minister, or a female president elected in the US. (Jan. 2004).

The repertoire of independence describes the determination and the stance of the “*Cosmo* girl”. It is evoked by expressions of will like “*the things that my first ever copy of Cosmo made me believe I could have*” (Example 1), “*It actually helped me make my mind up,*” (Example 3) and “*we should strive to be at the top of our careers*” (Example 4). She knows her own mind and she is not afraid to speak out. She is prepared to struggle to achieve the things she wants in life in a way illustrated by the October 2004 editorial (Appendix 5) which is built almost entirely on the repertoire of independence.

The options described as available to the “*Cosmo* girl” are, however, the traditional ones of family or work. Her choice is constructed as either a career or the responsibilities of a mother and housewife as in “whether that [which I could have] featured a career, a man, marriage, babies, or not.” (Example 1). The “*Cosmo* girl” would not attempt to combine the two. She may be a working girl but she will not be a working “Mum”. By comparison the working “Dad” is the norm, rather than the exception. The limitation of the choices is all the more surprising in a repertoire which describes independence and, indirectly, equality. Equality is suggested, for instance, in the statement “*but to live life on your own terms*” (Example 1).

The “*Cosmo* girl” can choose between investing in her personal life and her professional life. In her personal life she can choose between investing in herself by travelling or investing in a family which will require her to stay at home (Example 2). She can also choose to combine the two. She can pursue her career and still manage to maintain her relationship to her partner (Example 3) in spite of a long separation.

The possibility of a conflict between the professional sphere and the personal sphere is part of the theme of having choice. Women struggle to combine the two. The theme of choice sees all alternatives as equally valuable. Regardless of which choice a woman makes, the important thing is that she will be allowed to live life on her own terms (Example 1). The conclusion that can be drawn from these statements is that

there is no right or wrong in choices, but the choice should be whatever feels right for oneself (Example 1).

The theme of having a choice in life is restricted to the focus on oneself, one's own feelings and aspirations. Unlike her sister of a decade ago, the "*Cosmo* girl" of today does not need to feel guilty if she chooses to fulfil her own dreams instead of taking into account solidarity with other women. For example, "we may have felt we'd let the feminists down by choosing either as a career option" (Example 2). Previously, she might have felt guilty about making choices that were not in line with a feminist agenda. Now she has an argument with which to defend her choices; today feminism means 'choice' (Example 2). If the "*Cosmo* girl" chooses to invest in a career, she will strive to be at the top (Example 4). She has the capacity to get there and she is prepared to take risks (Example 3) to make sure she does.

The theme of choice is interwoven with that of control in the repertoire of independence. The "*Cosmo* girl" needs to struggle in order to gain control. The process is described in the October 2004 editorial (Example 5) in the form of a self-narrative (Bruner 1987: 13) where the narrator "I" encounters hardships on her way to her goal but succeeds in the end. A woman as the hero of her own narrative is a significant aspect in that it supports the theme of having control in life.

The self-narrative imitates male control and claims equal control for the woman. At the start of the self-narrative, the editor is described as having very little control. Her starting point is that of any young girl "*away from home for the first time, terrified and loving it at the same time*". The statements create a situation which the reader can identify with and relate to, regardless of whether she has gone away to university or moved away from home to start a job. The editor is aligned with any young girl who is venturing into the world alone, and who has only herself to rely on. In this reflection of the editor's world, the reader becomes her confidant and friend, in a recreation of the conversation of female friends as discussed by Coates (1996: 72). The editor's dreams for the future are created as options for the reader as well. When the editor meets with rejection by a London journalism college this only serves to

“*this very rejection would motivate me for years to come!*”. The struggle of the editor reflected in the self-narrative creates a world in which the reader too can persist in order to gain control in life. (Example 5).

The struggle to gain control is also the struggle to transform oneself from being an object acted upon to being the agentive subject. The statements about the editor’s development first describe her as *interpellated* by the articulation of the world of the modern liberated woman in *Cosmopolitan*. This was a world in which she would have the choice and control “*to live life on [her] own terms*” (Example 1). Accepting the subject position will transform her from an object to a subject. The necessity of taking control is further emphasised in the description of her as acted upon by the college of journalism which rejects her *despite* her previous efforts. This is the self-narrative of the editor:

(5) I have always been a Cosmo girl, ever since I picked up my first copy of *Cosmopolitan* as an 18-year-old student in Birmingham – *away from home for the first time, terrified and loving it all at the same time*. I’d always wanted the things that my first ever copy of *Cosmo* made me believe I could have – not some success-crazed, unattainable version of life, but to live life on your own terms – whether that featured a career, a man, marriage, babies, or not. Whatever felt right for you.

From the moment I first picked up a copy (or should I say fought over a copy with my flatmates) something clicked, and I began to believe my dream of becoming a journalist on a glossy magazine could come true. That dream had been shattered by a London journalism college, who told me I didn’t have what it took to make it in magazine journalism (not tough enough, apparently) and sent me packing with tears in my eyes. I didn’t know that *this very rejection would motivate me for years to come!*

It was *Cosmo* (and the many subsequent glossy magazines that have since emulated it) that made me believe I COULD.

I could leave that boyfriend, who had reduced my self-esteem to the size of a pea. I could learn to love (well, like) my ginger hair!

I could learn to type, move to London and con someone into actually employing me. Better still, I could summon the courage to throw in that job and join a temping agency, in the vain hope of landing a job – any job – on a

magazine. And when I got lucky – which by some miracle, I did – I could persuade the Editor to let me write the shopping page, just once, to show her I could do it.

She may have made the correct choices, but she is still not sufficiently in control. Only when she has accepted the subject position of a “*Cosmo* girl” does she become capable of realising her potential for agency. She begins her quest for control in life by making the correct career choices and pursuing them. Finally, she is appointed the editor of the *Cosmopolitan* UK edition.

The editor’s self-narrative is a modern day fairy tale reflecting the editor’s success and suggesting that the world of the reader holds equal opportunities of success. The propositions of the self-narrative serve a double purpose. Firstly, they reassure the reader that she, too, can be successful, regardless of training or background. Secondly, they function as a device for marketing the magazine and its ideology epitomized in the “*Cosmo* girl”. Statements in the October 2004 editorial propose that the “fun, fearless and unashamedly female approach” of the magazine can give an aspiring girl “more than any number of exams passes ever could” (Appendix 5). Thus the advice and the attitude of the magazine are constructed as more important than education. The editor’s narrative assures the reader that as a “*Cosmo* girl” she will be successful. The editor’s self-narrative is a fairy tale for the modern liberated Cinderella who strives to gain control in life with, or without, the help of professional training. Education has taken on the role of the supporting family in the old version of the fairy tale. While in the traditional fairy-tale the prize to be won is the prince, in the *Cosmopolitan* fairy tale, it is professional agency. In the end, she may even win her prince, as well.

The “*Cosmo* girl” gains control after making the right decisions. She makes up her mind about a career and manages to be in control of her personal life, as well (Example 3). Like other women she can reach a position, in business or politics, on a level where she has the responsibility to make important decisions (Example 4). With

this position of control comes the income which enables her to choose the lifestyle she wants.

4.2 Repertoire of Pleasure

The most prominent of the repertoires in the sense that it is the most frequent is that of pleasure. It describes the “*Cosmo* girl” deriving pleasure from her activities, from her looks and from success. The repertoire of pleasure supports the repertoire of independence in that it confirms the right of the “*Cosmo* girl” to focus on herself. It sanctions a lifestyle where selfishness is acceptable. It is evoked by expressions of emotion and, indirectly, by labelling. Expressions of emotion are, for instance, “you love” (Example 6), “happiness”, “content” (Example 7), “hurrah!” (Example 8), “enjoy”, “feel healthier” (Example 9) and “great experience” (Example 10). Indirectly, pleasure is also evoked through labelling which attributes certain characteristics to events or objects. For instance, “flattering party outfits”, “tricks for getting red carpet ready” (Example 6) and “our Happy Diet” (Example 9). The implication is that the clothes and the make-up methods will make her feel good by enabling her to present herself at her best. Also, the diet labelled “happy” will not – unlike other diets, of course – be a hardship but a pleasure for her. The themes forming the repertoire of pleasure are those of the “*Cosmo* girl’s” personal enjoyment of her life situation, her pleasure from looking good and working to achieve body confidence and pleasure derived from success.

4.2.1 Personal Pleasure

The “*Cosmo* girl” finds personal enjoyment in feeling good about herself and her life situation. She enjoys reading *Cosmopolitan* to find out how to improve herself and she finds pleasure in balance in life. The following statements illustrate the repertoire of pleasure and the theme of personal pleasure:

(6) [...] all the things you *love* about the party season, without a ‘pull a cracker’ insight! There are no turkeys or tinsel here – just the very best of the things you love *Cosmo* for. *Sexy, affordable and, most of all, flattering party outfits* for every budget and *body shape*; *five-minute after-work makeovers* you can do at your desk and *celebrity tips and tricks for getting red-carpet ready*; (Dec. 2004).

(7) [...] I have listened to friends, family, even people I've only just met, talking about *happiness*. Or, more specifically, *finding a balance in life* that makes them *truly content*. Don't worry, I'm not heading for the nearest forest to go and hug a tree, but I do think *there's currently a mood around* that makes us *stop and think about life* and wonder *whether we are getting the best out of it* that we possibly can. (May 2004).

The “*Cosmo* girl” loves her magazine because it makes her feel good about herself. It supplies her with information about the lifestyle of her choice and advice which helps her to improve herself. Also, she wants straightforward advice which does not confuse neither her nor the issue. For instance, “all the things you *love* about the party season, without a ‘pull a cracker’ insight! There are no turkeys or tinsel here – just the very best of the things you love *Cosmo* for.” (Example 6). She wants to choose clothes which enhance the body features of which she approves and disguise possible problems. Moreover, she wants these clothes at reasonable prices to suit her income level. Work is important to her, but she has the ability to switch completely and instantly from work mode to party mode. She will get ready to go out even before she has left her office desk. Now she needs the “tips and tricks” which celebrities use to look their best even when on a tight time schedule. For instance, “*Sexy, affordable and, most of all, flattering party outfits* for every budget and *body shape*; *five-minute after-work makeovers* you can do at your desk and *celebrity tips and tricks for getting red-carpet ready*;” (Example 6).

There are, however, times when the “*Cosmo* girl” will pause to ask herself if she is making the best of her life. She will listen to friends and family talk about happiness and she will recognise their questions about balance in life. She is aware that to some people balance in life might come from experiencing a bond with nature. Others may

find contentment by participating in environmental protection activities. However, instead of looking for contentment in the outside world she will turn inwards to scrutinise herself. For instance, “I have listened to friends, family, even people I've only just met, talking about *happiness*. Or, more specifically, *finding a balance in life* that makes them truly *content*. [...] I do think *there's currently a mood around* that makes us *stop and think about life* and wonder *whether we are getting the best out of it* that we possibly can.” (Example 7). When she examines herself, she may find that she derives pleasure, not only from altering her looks, but more profoundly so by changing her attitude to life.

4.2.2 Pleasure in Looks

The “*Cosmo girl*” finds pleasure in looking good and having body confidence. The body work and beauty work which she does to achieve body confidence is already a source of pleasure for her. She enjoys body work as a preparation for pleasure to come. Planning for the holidays gives her a sense of satisfaction. She enjoys thinking about dieting and imagining the bathing suits she would like to wear. She also enjoys imagining how she will look for a particular occasion. Only when she has achieved body confidence can she relax and enjoy her holiday. The following statements illustrate the theme of pleasure in looks:

(8) Finally, it's holiday time (hurrah!) so now's the chance to relax and *enjoy* one of the *highlights of the year*. Read our advice on *getting beach body confidence*, so you can *enjoy* your best summer. Plus, our fashion team has tried on just about *every swimsuit and bikini* on the high street, so there **WILL** be one to suit you - promise. (June 2004).

(9) I hope you *enjoy* the exclusive 28-day diet we've tailored to meet your individual needs (p69) with help from Champneys Health Resorts. You wrote and told us you needed a *quick, simple diet* to help you either lose weight or just *feel healthier*, so we came up with our *Happy Diet*. This *easy eating plan* should take you through the year without so much as having to count a single calorie and will give you *loads more energy*. I think we can

guarantee a *happier and sexier new you* in time for Valentine's Day [...] (Feb. 2004).

The “*Cosmo* girl” who invests in herself and her body confidence is an individualist. She will set goals for herself and is prepared to diet to increase her body confidence. But the initiative has to come from her and the eating plan has to be tailored to her individual needs. For instance, “You wrote and told us you needed a *quick, simple diet* to help you either lose weight or just *feel healthier*, so we came up with our *Happy Diet*.” (Example 9). To the magazine, giving advice about dieting can be a controversial issue at a time and in a society where weight consciousness has been polarised between, on the one hand, obesity and, on the other hand, eating problems like anorexia and bulimia. The “*Cosmo* girl” is aware of this and accepts the theme of dieting when constructed around the issue of confidence. She may not be prepared to commit to a serious scheme of losing weight, but she may try a, supposedly, tailor-made diet which is labelled “Happy”. The name suggests that it will bring her wellbeing and she is given a promise that she will have more energy and be “happier and sexier” by Valentine’s Day. For instance, “will give you *loads more energy*. I think we can guarantee a *happier and sexier new you* in time for Valentine's Day” (Example 9). Valentine’s Day can function as a deadline for her weight loss project, another deadline is set by the summer holidays.

To the “*Cosmo* girl” the summer holidays are one of the highlights of her year. It is a time when she can afford to relax and have fun. However, in order to be able to enjoy the holidays, she will need to acquire not only body confidence, but beach body confidence. For instance, “Finally, it's holiday time (hurrah!) so now's the chance to relax and *enjoy* one of the *highlights of the year*. Read our advice on *getting beach body confidence*, so you can *enjoy* your best summer. Plus, our fashion team has tried on just about *every swimsuit and bikini* on the high street, so there WILL be one to suit you - promise.” (Example 8). The expression beach body confidence suggests that her body, dressed only in a swimsuit or a bikini, should be able to live up to very close scrutiny indeed. The project of acquiring beach body confidence is therefore an

even more demanding task than acquiring the body confidence needed throughout the year. So, although she greets the holidays with a cheer, she will not be able to relax before she has performed the necessary work on her body.

4.2.3 Pleasure in Success

The greatest experience of pleasure for the “*Cosmo* girl” is that of success. She has worked hard to become a professional and also acquire the visual performance to highlight her looks and competence. Pleasure from success is exuberant and energising and luxuriously intoxicating. Pleasure from success is the pleasure of a dream fulfilled. The following statement illustrates the theme of pleasure in success:

(10) And our girls did a *super-impressive job*, each of them turned out in *sexy pinstripe suits*, looking like modern *day Charlie's Angels* delivering great advice for the whole of the US to hear. "It was a *great experience*, especially being picked up from the airport in *the stretchiest limo ever!*" Rachel (a *Cosmo* girl if ever I knew one) told me [...] (April 2004).

To the “*Cosmo* girl” professional competence is fused with the visual performance of control. She wants to show that she is in control of herself and the situation. She may do a “super-impressive job” but that is not enough. She needs to dress accordingly, perhaps in a pinstripe suit, and give a demonstration of body confidence. For instance, “our girls did a *super-impressive job*, each of them turned out in *sexy pinstripe suits*, looking like modern *day Charlie's Angels* delivering great advice for the whole of the US to hear.” (Example 10). Her appearance suggests the feminised version of power dressing. The pinstripe suit is a male attire, traditionally associated with business and, perhaps, more specifically with banking. The pinstripe suit has later on been imported into female fashion where it is now established not only for business use but also for festive occasions. Wearing a pinstripe suit does not diminish her traditional femininity. She is not a man in disguise. She does, however, claim control like a man.

To the “*Cosmo* girl” success is epitomised in the metaphor of the “modern day *Charlie's Angels*” (Example 10). The use of the metaphor draws on shared cultural knowledge about the television series or films *Charlie's Angels*¹³. Originally critics labelled the show “Tits and Ass Television”, since the three actresses were dressed in a provocative way, displaying their sexuality while solving their assignments. In the more recent films the three *Charlie's Angels* personify agency by displaying their capacity for violent action in a way established by the genre of (male) action films. They perform their tasks while maintaining their female characteristics in dress, attitude and speech.

The “*Cosmo* girl” greets success with youthful self-confidence and amazement. A job well done is “super-impressive” and the experience is “great”. If she is met by a limousine, the incarnation of luxury, it will certainly be the longest one ever. For instance, ““It was a *great experience*, especially being picked up from the airport in *the stretchiest limo ever!*”” (Example 10). She knows she has worked hard for success and she acknowledges her right to it in the words of the cosmetics advertisement slogan, “I’m worth it!”.

4.3 Repertoire of Friendship

The repertoire of friendship describes the “*Cosmo* girl” as very involved with friends and relatives and nurturing her personal and professional relationships. Her personal friendships are meaningful and long lasting. She is young and she still treasures the memories of her schools friends. At this time of her life she is in a transitory stage where she will make new friends with whom she shares new interests. She has moved away from her parents to live on her own, but she has not yet formed a lasting relationship with a partner or started a family of her own. At this stage, her intimate

¹³ The television series was broadcast on ABC Television Network from 1976 to 1981. The film *Charlie's Angels* was released in 2000, and its sequel *Charlie's Angels: Full Throttle* in 2003. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charlie's_Angels [cited 8th Dec. 2006]. See also the webpage of Charlie's Angels <http://www.charliesangels.com/> [cited 13th Oct. 2007].

friends are almost like a family to her. She knows some of them since school and if she loses contact with them for a while, she will still be able to reconnect with them when they meet. Her friendships with colleagues, on the other hand, are built on shared interests and a common code of behaviour. She experiences a feeling of professional togetherness with the women who are her colleagues.

4.3.1 Friends Supporting

The theme of intimate friends is evoked by expressions of affection and emotion. Friendship is “great” and “moving”, women are “understanding”, and friendships survive “against the odds” (Example 11). The following statement illustrates the repertoire of friendship and the theme of close friends supporting each other:

(11) I think *one of the great things* about being a woman is *our friendships*. I don't know what I'd do without *my own friends*, who I think are *the most understanding women in the world*, even when I don't call often enough and forget the occasional birthday (well, quite a few actually!). But I was so moved by the *stories of against-the-odds friendships that have survived illness and huge tragedy* that it's only right *Cosmo* pay tribute to *those special women who play such a big part in all our lives*. (April 2004).

The repertoire of friendships describes women's friendship as the mesh which binds them together in their everyday life. The “*Cosmo* girl” values being a woman and cherishes her friends because they understand her. She acknowledges who she is by admitting to her shortcomings. For instance, “I don't know what I'd do without *my own friends*, who I think are *the most understanding women in the world*, even when I don't call often enough and forget the occasional birthday (well, quite a few actually!).” (Example 11). Her friends understand that she is not perfect and they do not expect her to be. In this respect they function like a family, because support and forgive is what a family does unreservedly. They are her friends in spite of, and possible because of, her shortcomings. Friends understand and forgive and expect her

to do the same. They will be there for her during difficult periods of her life and their affection and solidarity will survive hardship. For instance, “I was so moved by the *stories of against-the-odds friendships that have survived illness and huge tragedy* that it's only right *Cosmo* pay tribute to *those special women who play such a big part in all our lives.*” (Example 11). In this respect the theme of personal friends differs from the theme of friends and colleagues where friendship depends on the current life situation and circumstances at work.

4.3.2 Friends Sharing

The theme of friends and colleagues sharing is evoked by expressions of amazement and togetherness. The affection expressed towards personal friends through the previous theme of how intimate friends behave is replaced by the theme of professional solidarity through a public display of friendship. It is “amazing” to catch up with an old school friend (Example 12), it is “an opportunity” to meet colleagues and, once acquainted, one can, for instance, turn a professional event into a “girls’ night out” (Example 13). In this the “Cosmo girls” make a public display of imitating the behaviour of friends having fun. The following statements illustrate the theme of friends and colleagues sharing:

(12) Recently, I bumped into *a school friend* I hadn't seen for years. Of course, it was *amazing catching up with her* after such a long time, but it was only when I told her I worked on *Cosmo* that *her face cracked into the biggest smile*. Immediately, she recited a piece of advice she'd read a while back in this magazine that had given her the confidence to accept the offer of a job abroad for six months. (March 04)

(13) It's an opportunity for us to come together with the *legendary Cosmo* founder Helen Gurley Brown, *to share news and views with each other, and swap advice, stories and ideas*. Inevitably, after three days together (in Manhattan, which was fab), *conversations started to get personal* and the whole event turned into *a massive girls' night out* – we talked about how we are constantly *organising our lives around work and relationships, friends and family, even though we wouldn't have it any other way!* (Aug. 2004).

The mesh of women's friendship binds the "Cosmo girl" and her friends together regardless of the passing of time. The "Cosmo girl" is prepared to reconnect to a school friend whenever they meet, even if they were never intimate friends or have not met for a long period of time. They will exchange news about their life situation and they will share good news. For instance, "it was *amazing catching up with her* after such a long time, but it was only when I told her I worked on *Cosmo* that *her face cracked into the biggest smile.*" (Example 12). The "Cosmo girl" enjoys her friend's tale of success, especially as it – in the example cited – is a compliment to her own work. They also enjoy each other's success because the "Cosmo girl" and her friend share the attitude that success comes from having made the correct choice, accepting the job offer, and from having gained control. For instance, "Immediately, she recited a piece of advice she'd read a while back in this magazine that had given her the confidence to accept the offer of a job abroad for six months." (Example 12). Naturally, the editor wants to share this piece of praise directed at the magazine with her reader-friend.

Women who are colleagues are linked together by their professional network which is fortified by the display of friendship and, at best, the emergence of a mesh of friendship. The "Cosmo girl" admires a successful older colleague and regards it a privilege to meet her and, perhaps, learn from her. For instance, "It's an opportunity for us to come together with the *legendary Cosmo* founder Helen Gurley Brown, *to share news and views with each other, and swap advice, stories and ideas.*" (Example 13). She is on equal footing with other colleagues and prepared to "talk shop" and exchange ideas with them. Her willingness to share ideas suggests that she rejects rivalry, she and her colleagues are all working together towards the goal set by their magazine. Even if the "Cosmo girl" is not prepared to invest in solidarity with women at large, as discussed in connection to the repertoire of independence (4.1), she admits to solidarity with her colleagues.

The "Cosmo girl's" solidarity towards her colleagues is strengthened by their public display of friendship. Colleagues will behave as if they were also personal friends. They acknowledge that they all struggle in the same way to organise their lives and

meet the expectations placed on them in their work environment and by family and friends. For instance, “Inevitably, after three days together (in Manhattan, which was fab), *conversations started to get personal* and the whole event turned into *a massive girls’ night out* – we talked about how we are constantly *organising our lives around work and relationships, friends and family, even though we wouldn’t have it any other way!*” (Example 13). The “*Cosmo* girl” understands the requirements which surround her colleagues-friends in their lives. They are the same demands which she struggles to meet in her own life. The colleagues will spend time together outside working hours and indulge in a public display of friendship, a “massive girls’ night out”.

The expression a “girls’ night out” can be found in literature and media texts. Coates (1996: 23), for instance, mentions Gilda O’Neill’s *A Night Out with the Girls* as an example of the aspect of women having fun as part of their friendship. A Google literature search gives several findings for books with similar names published both in the US and Great Britain. The expression has thus established itself in modern colloquial language, alongside the male equivalent a “lads’ night out”. It describes how the modern liberated “*Cosmo* girl” has fun going out with her friends in a context which was previously reserved only for a company of men.

4.4 Repertoire of Connected Knowledge

The repertoire of connected knowledge prepares the “*Cosmo* girl” for misfortune by allowing her to learn about problems and danger through the experiences of others. This repertoire is modelled on the repertoire of emotional learning and connected knowing identified by Hermes (1995: 41, 45). In her reader interviews she found that her respondents worried about events which might disrupt their lives. Reading about the problems and emotions of others helped them to prepare to cope with possible misfortune and they referred to emotional learning as a way to become less insecure. The *Cosmopolitan* repertoire of connected knowledge functions to meet this need in the reader.

One of the themes around which the repertoire of connected knowledge evolves is the knowledge needed to deal with rape and rape victims and how the “*Cosmo* girl” can help. Another theme is sexually transmitted illnesses (STIs) and the knowledge needed to avoid them. The repertoire of connected knowledge is evoked by expressions of strong emotion like “heartbreaking” (Example 14), “scary” and “shocked” (Example 15). Also by the use of the passive mode to construct woman as the subject acted upon. For instance “been attacked”, “never get referred” (Example 14) and the contested verb “get” in “*girls like us don’t get STIs*” (Example 15). The following statements illustrate the repertoire of connected knowledge:

(14) I received *heartbreaking letters* from women who'd been attacked but *hadn't spoken to anyone about it before*. As you know, *very few women go to the police* to report the crimes against them so *they never get referred to support networks*; they deal with the pain alone. *We don't want that to happen anymore*. *Cosmo* approached Rape Crisis and the Metropolitan Police's ground-breaking rape investigation squad Operation (formerly Project) Sapphire *to help us look into setting up a line*. (Feb. 2004).

(15) ‘It’s *really scary*,’ she said. ‘I’m so glad it doesn’t affect me.’ Her friends both nodded in agreement. ‘I know,’ one of them said. ‘Thank God *girls like us don’t get STIs*.’

I was *shocked*: Were they *virgins or one-man women* who had all married one-woman men? Or maybe *they had never, ever had unprotected sex, not even when they were drunk*. But no, it turned out, as the conversation continued, that their *perceived immunity came from being nice, ordinary women, with good jobs and fashionable clothes, who had notched up more than a football team between them, but were currently with men they trusted*. This, they agreed, meant they were STI-free. And it made me think, maybe that’s why the STI rates are soaring – *women like us believe STIs only affect other people*. (Nov. 2004).

The repertoire of connected knowledge deals with two themes of the kind of information which the “*Cosmo* girl” may need. One theme is the knowledge which the “*Cosmo* girl” needs to be able to cope with the issue of rape and to help and support victims of rape. The other is the knowledge which she needs in order to avoid sexually transmitted illnesses. The “*Cosmo* girl” needs to know that rape victims tend

to deal with their pain alone without seeking help and that the burden is too much for them to carry on their own. For instance, “I received *heartbreaking letters* from women who'd been attacked but *hadn't spoken to anyone about it before*. As you know, *very few women go to the police* to report the crimes against them so *they never get referred to support networks*; they deal with the pain alone.” (Example 14). She is expected to acknowledge that such a situation is unacceptable and take a firm stance on it. For instance, “*We don't want that to happen anymore.*” (Example 14). She is expected to transform her attitude into action. First by supporting the organising of a phone line for rape victims. Later, if she comes into contact with rape victims, by making sure that they are referred to the phone line to receive professional help.

The theme of knowledge about how to support rape victims constructs solidarity between women and support from authorities. The “*Cosmo girl*” learns that women should support each other in the way friends do, as discussed in connection with the repertoire of friendship (4.3). She also learns that the urgency of the issue is widely accepted. One indication of this is that the authorities, that is the police, are prepared to invest more in supporting rape victims. For instance, “*Cosmo approached Rape Crisis and the Metropolitan Police's ground-breaking rape investigation squad Operation (formerly Project) Sapphire to help us look into setting up a line.*” (Example 14). She does not, however, learn about rape prevention in the course of this discourse. Measures of rape prevention are excluded from the discourse of support to rape victims, possibly because it is a separate discourse and an extensive one, at that.

The theme of knowledge about STIs teaches the “*Cosmo girl*” to beware of the risks of attracting illnesses and not to disregard information. She learns that statistics show a high increase in STI cases and that anyone is exposed. For instance, “And it made me think, maybe that's why the STI rates are soaring – *women like us believe STIs only affect other people.*” (Example 15). Indeed, the attitude that illnesses only affect “other people” is one of the factors which contribute to spreading the illnesses. The “*Cosmo girl*” also learns that “perceived immunity” is a faulty, and dangerous, belief. Her present lifestyle with a good job, fashionable clothes and her relationship with a

reliable man is no guarantee that she will avoid infection. Lifestyle, or wearing the right trendy clothes, is not a method of protection against STIs. Also she may previously have followed other patterns of behaviour.

The “*Cosmo* girl” may be at risk because she exercises (or have exercised) her independence also in her sexual life. Her claims for equality in society include her right to be sexually liberated and pursue her relationships on her own terms. The metaphor of “notched up” carries with it associations from the field of predominantly male behaviour. For instance, “Were they *virgins or one-man women* who had all married one-woman men? Or maybe *they had never, ever had unprotected sex, not even when they were drunk*. But no, it turned out, as the conversation continued, that their *perceived immunity came from being nice, ordinary women, with good jobs and fashionable clothes, who had notched up more than a football team between them, but were currently with men they trusted.*” (Example 15). Hunters or soldiers, for example, have carved notches on the butts of their rifles to keep count of the number of prey or enemies taken down. The use of the metaphor suggests that the three ladies had kept count of their men in the same way, arriving at the amount of the players in a football team.

In the example above (Example 15) the repertoire of connected knowledge appears alongside the repertoire of independence and overrides it. The former cautions the “*Cosmo* girl” that the latter may put her at risk if she persists in wielding her independence. The bluntness of the metaphor suggests that it is used to shock her into caution. She needs to know that concern about her health should have priority over independence. Only by disregarding uninformed attitudes and facing facts, and by taking precautions, can she avoid danger.

The repertoire of connected knowledge points to the dangers of not having control. In this way, it functions as an indirect reference to the themes of choice and control in the repertoire of independence. Illnesses are outside the control of the “*Cosmo* girl”. She may take precautions to avoid them but there are no guarantees that she will be safe. The situation is constructed with the use of the ambiguous verb “get”, that is to

get a disease in the sense of attracting a disease. For instance, “‘It’s *really scary*,’ she said. ‘I’m so glad it doesn’t affect me.’ Her friends both nodded in agreement. ‘I know,’ one of them said. ‘Thank God *girls like us don’t get STIs*.’” (Example 15). Its meaning of actively acquiring something is, naturally, out of the question in this context where illness is to be avoided. One possible reading is that the verb is used to mean “be given” or “be inflicted by”. Thus the use of this transitive verb in the active voice function to imply the subject acted upon, without the use of the passive voice.

In the repertoire of connected knowledge women whose experiences supply the examples do not have control over what is inflicted on them. By the use of the passive voice they are constructed as subjects acted upon by outside forces. The rape victims have “been attacked” in a situation outside their control and they “never get referred” to networks of support. For instance, “*women who’d been attacked but hadn’t spoken to anyone about it before*. As you know, *very few women go to the police* to report the crimes against them so *they never get referred to support networks*; they deal with the pain alone.” (Example 14). The women reject the option offered, that is alerting the police, which would mean that they could take control of at least some aspect of their lives.

4.5 The *Fun, Fearless* Consumer

The attitudes of the “*Cosmo* girl” are constructed to support the lifestyle associated with the products advertised in the magazine. The “*Cosmo* girl” serves as an identity marker which guides the reader to recognise the attitudes and the lifestyle. The editorials support the function of this marker and serve as a marketing option for *Cosmopolitan* on two levels. On the one level, they promote the magazine to secure the continued interest of its readers. On the other they promote a lifestyle which depends on the products of its advertisers. Each issue of the UK edition of the magazine balances the amount of editorial material and advertisement slightly in favour of the former. A thumb rule in magazine publishing is to combine editorial material and advertising in the proportions 60 to 40. The January and December

issues 2004 are a good illustration of this point. For instance, in the January 2004 issue the advertising constitutes roughly 41 per cent. It consists of 220 pages, plus the four cover pages, and 93 of these pages hold advertisements. The December 2004 issue contains more than 49 per cent advertising which is to be expected, taking the Christmas shopping into account. It consists of 416 pages, plus the four cover pages, and the advertisements fill 209 pages. As a rule, the advertising in *Cosmopolitan* takes the form of full page display advertisements. They are placed facing a feature story or an advertorial on the same topic. For instance, an advertisement for perfume or an hairspray may face a feature story about the lifestyle of celebrities (Dec. 2004: 72-73).

The “*Cosmo* girl “ cannot choose not to be a consumer. She is the “*fun, fearless female*” of the *Cosmopolitan*’s target group and addressed as a consumer. The world around her is created as one of consumption. In fact, she is consuming for success. The thread of consumerism is given in the magazine’s discourse of readership, as was discussed in Chapter 2. It recurs in fragments throughout the editorials to state the conditions under which she can obtain independence and success. Therefore, it cannot be regarded as a theme forming one of the repertoires which describe the “*Cosmo* girl”. Firstly, the thread of consumerism is evoked by fragmented expressions which in themselves are not discursive statements. Secondly, these expressions do not refer to the “*Cosmo* girl” only, but to the world of commercialism in which she lives.

The thread of consumerism is closely integrated into the repertoire of pleasure. The themes of this repertoire appear eleven times in eight editorials and only the editorials of January, August, September and October 2004 do not contain a reference to pleasure. The following statements illustrate how consumerism is evoked. The first example is from the repertoire of pleasure (Example 6):

(6) [...] all the things you *love* about the party season, without a ‘pull a cracker’ insight! There are no turkeys or tinsel here – just the very best of the things you love *Cosmo* for. *Sexy, affordable and, most of all, flattering party outfits* for every budget and *body shape*; *five-minute after-work makeovers* you can

do at your desk and *celebrity tips and tricks for getting red-carpet ready*; (Dec. 2004).

(16) [...] ‘just a magazine’ – full of *fantastic advice* that really works on all areas of your life, *must-have shopping ideas, gorgeous beauty, and far more must-read features than any other women’s glossy*. But, I love *Cosmo* and I hope that over the coming months, you will too. (Oct. 2004).

The act of consuming as such gives the “*Cosmo* girl” pleasure and helps her to prepare for future pleasure. *Cosmopolitan* functions as a fashion shopping guide with a price guide attached. She loves the magazine and cannot do without the advice it offers. For instance, “full of *fantastic advice* that really works on all areas of your life, *must-have shopping ideas, gorgeous beauty, and far more must-read features than any other women’s glossy*.” (Example 16). It keeps her informed about developments in the world of fashion and gives suggestions about how to choose clothes which suit her body and also are in line with her income level. She shops for clothes to wear for work and in everyday life, but her foremost concerns are for her “party outfits”. These need to make her look her best when she goes out to enjoy herself. For instance, “*Sexy, affordable and, most of all, flattering party outfits for every budget and body shape; five-minute after-work makeovers you can do at your desk and celebrity tips and tricks for getting red-carpet ready*;” (Example 6). She consumes to feel beautiful and successful like the people in a celebrity feature or the advertisements in the glossies.

The thread of consumerism also occurs as fragmented expressions in the magazine’s discourse of readership and what the reader wants. The “*Cosmo* girl” is surrounded by temptations to consume and she takes consuming for granted. Shopping is a “must-have” when “gorgeous beauty” hovers within reach. For instance, “full of *fantastic advice* that really works on all areas of your life, *must-have shopping ideas, gorgeous beauty, and far more must-read features than any other women’s glossy*.” (Example 16). She is invited to think that she needs the beauty products and the clothes which will make her look like a celebrity entering the red carpet. The “*Cosmo* girl” is deprived of her own powers of decisions when it comes to consuming and it is as if

she had been locked in time on a never-ending shopping spree. The assumption of the magazine is that she will want the beauty, success and attention associated with celebrities and her fifteen minutes of fame, as well. It does not matter that everyday life for most women holds much less glamour, or that the glamour constructed on the screen may shatter at first contact with reality.

However, she is aware that there are other values like balance in life which cannot be purchased. The following statement illustrates non-commercial values from the repertoire of pleasure:

(7) [...] I have listened to friends, family, even people I've only just met, talking about *happiness*. Or, more specifically, *finding a balance in life* that makes them *truly content*. Don't worry, I'm not heading for the nearest forest to go and hug a tree, but I do think *there's currently a mood around* that makes us *stop and think about life* and wonder *whether we are getting the best out of it* that we possibly can. (May 2004).

One thing which cannot be bought is happiness and balance in life. The “*Cosmo* girl” may look to nature for tranquillity, but she may also try to find contentment by searching her own mind. For instance, “I have listened to friends, family, even people I've only just met, talking about *happiness*. Or, more specifically, *finding a balance in life* that makes them *truly content*.” (Example 7). She sees concern for the environment as one possible way of achieving balance in her life. But she will also pause to reflect over her life and the way she lives it and question whether she is making the best of it. For instance, “I do think *there's currently a mood around* that makes us *stop and think about life* and wonder *whether we are getting the best out of it* that we possibly can.” (Example 7). Her awareness of non-commercial values may possibly entice her to focus on issues outside herself and her own interests. At best, it may also help her to position herself more sceptically towards the carousel of consumption promoted in the magazine and in society.

In what follows, I will apply the analysis model presented in Chapter 3 (Figure 1) for the identification of women mentioned in the editorials of *Cosmopolitan* UK edition 2004 as sources of discursive statements. Then I will discuss how a particular source authorises the discursive statements which form each of the individual repertoires describing the “Cosmo girl”.

5 CONSTRUCTION OF SOURCES OF DISCOURSE

The purpose of this thesis has been to investigate what repertoires are used to describe the “*Cosmo* girl” in the editorials of *Cosmopolitan* and what is used as sources of the statements of her behaviour and attitudes. The magazine has created the “*Cosmo* girl” as an identity marker to describe the “*fun, fearless females*” who are its target group. “*Cosmo* girls” are described as being able to choose the lifestyle that suits them. They look good and find pleasure in wearing the right clothes and having fun. They cherish their friendships and they make new friends in the workplace. The “*Cosmo* girls” are successful but they also know that they may face problems, sorrow and illnesses in the course of their lives. In Chapter 4, the method from critical discourse analysis was used to identify the repertoires used to describe the “*Cosmo* girl”. The repertoires were discussed as discursive structures consisting of statements grouped around recurring themes. The discursive statements fell into four repertoires or those of independence, pleasure, friendship and connected knowledge. The repertoire of independence described the “*Cosmo* girl” as having a choice in life and, therefore, also control over her life. The repertoires of pleasure described her enjoying herself, her looks and success in life. The repertoire of friendship described how intimate friends support each other but also how friends and colleagues interact and support each other. The repertoire of connected knowledge, finally, prepared the “*Cosmo* girl” for misfortune by providing necessary knowledge. It also tells her that not everything is well with all women.

The second part of the research concerned the sources of the statements. The identification of the sources showed whose views are used for constructing the world of the “*Cosmo* girl”. The method applied to the study of the sources of the repertoires derived from the analysis model introduced in Chapter 3. The model was used to identify the sources of the discursive statements and infer what repertoires derive from which sources. The identification of the sources also show their credibility which allows them to authorise the statements. The credibility of the statements are subsequently transferred onto the repertoires. If the reader who wants to be the “*Cosmo* girl” regards the sources as reliable, it will help her to interpret the repertoires

as relevant to her. The success of the editorial as a marketing option and, ultimately, the success of the magazine, depend on the reliability of the sources and the credibility of the repertoires. This chapter will deal with the identification of the sources of the discursive statements which form each of the four repertoires.

The sources of the discursive statements fell into four groups of women mentioned in the editorials. They were identified through pronominal address, that is through the use of “I” and collective “we” and “you”, and nominal reference. Sources identified through pronominal address are the editor, the editors and the readers. The editor was identified through the first person personal pronoun “I” and she functions both as a source and a narrator referring to other sources. The reader was identified through the second person personal pronoun “you”. Nominal reference identified and personified the source as, for example, a group of women, the community of women in general and women who are mythologized as celebrities.

The editor makes references to all these sources of discursive statements when constructing her argumentation. She makes a statement to introduce a topic and she elaborates on it with statements of her own or statements derived from another source, for instance the reader or a friend. For instance, the editor “I” is a source of discursive statements in all repertoires, and she is present in nine of the fourteen examples which will be discussed in detail in the subsections of this chapter (Examples 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14). Occasionally she refers to statements in order to contest them which occurs with, for instance, statements from women in general disregarding the risks of attracting STIs (Example 14). When she shares the attitude expressed in the statements she includes them to support her own statements. The group of editors who share her experiences functions as an important source of statements of shared attitude.

Editors as a group were identified through a combination of pronominal address in the form of the first person personal pronoun “we” and nominal reference. They were referred to as “we” in “the exclusive 28-day diet *we’ve tailored*” (Example 7) or defined as “*our fashion team*” (Example 8). The editors function as a source, for

instance, in the repertoire of pleasure where they interact with the reader. A typical statement from that repertoire is “You wrote and told us you needed a quick, simple diet to help you either lose weight or just feel healthier, so *we* came up with our Happy Diet.” (Example 7).

Pronominal address in the form of “we” is also used to refer to women in general, including the editor. Moreover, women in general are identified by nominal reference and defined by attributes or placed in context as a specific group of women. For instance, as “*Three women* – your average twentysomething girls – were having a lunch-hour gossip at the table behind me.” (Example 14). Women in general are a source of discursive statements forming the repertoire of friendship and that of connected knowledge. A typical statement in the former is “the stories of against-the-odds friendships that have survived illness and huge tragedy that it's only right *Cosmo* pay tribute to *those special women who play such a big part* in all our lives.” (Example 9).

The group of celebrities is identified through the use of their proper names. They give rise to statements about the positive behaviour of celebrities in, for instance, the repertoire of friendship. In this example the editor reports the statements of a colleague: “Rachel (a *Cosmo* girl if ever I knew one) told me, “*Oprah* was really warm and approachable and had the best comic timing of anyone I have ever met!” (Example 12).

The individual editor or the editors function as sources of discursive statements in all four repertoires. They are the main source of statements about the choice and control of the “*Cosmo* girl” in the repertoire of independence. In the repertoire of pleasure the editors interact with the readers to describe the ways in which the reader can work to achieve body confidence and enjoy herself. In the repertoire of friendship the editors refer to their friends and women in general to describe what friendship means and what friends do. In the repertoire of connected knowledge the editors, once again, function as the main source and draw on the experiences of women in general to produce knowledge which the “*Cosmo* girl” will need to cope with problems.

The source most frequently referred to is that of the editors. In the twelve editorials, “I” the editor, “we” the editors or the nouns referring to staff or editors were mentioned 135 times. They function as sources of discursive statements in 52,7 per cent of the references. “You” the reader was mentioned in 25,3 per cent of the instances and the reader functions as a source in the repertoire of pleasure. “We” in the sense of women in general, together with the noun woman/women, functioned as sources in 16,7 per cent of the cases. Women in general function as a source of statements mainly in the repertoires of friendship and connected knowledge. References to celebrities were made in 5 per cent of the cases. Celebrities function as a source of statements about friendliness in the repertoire of friendship.

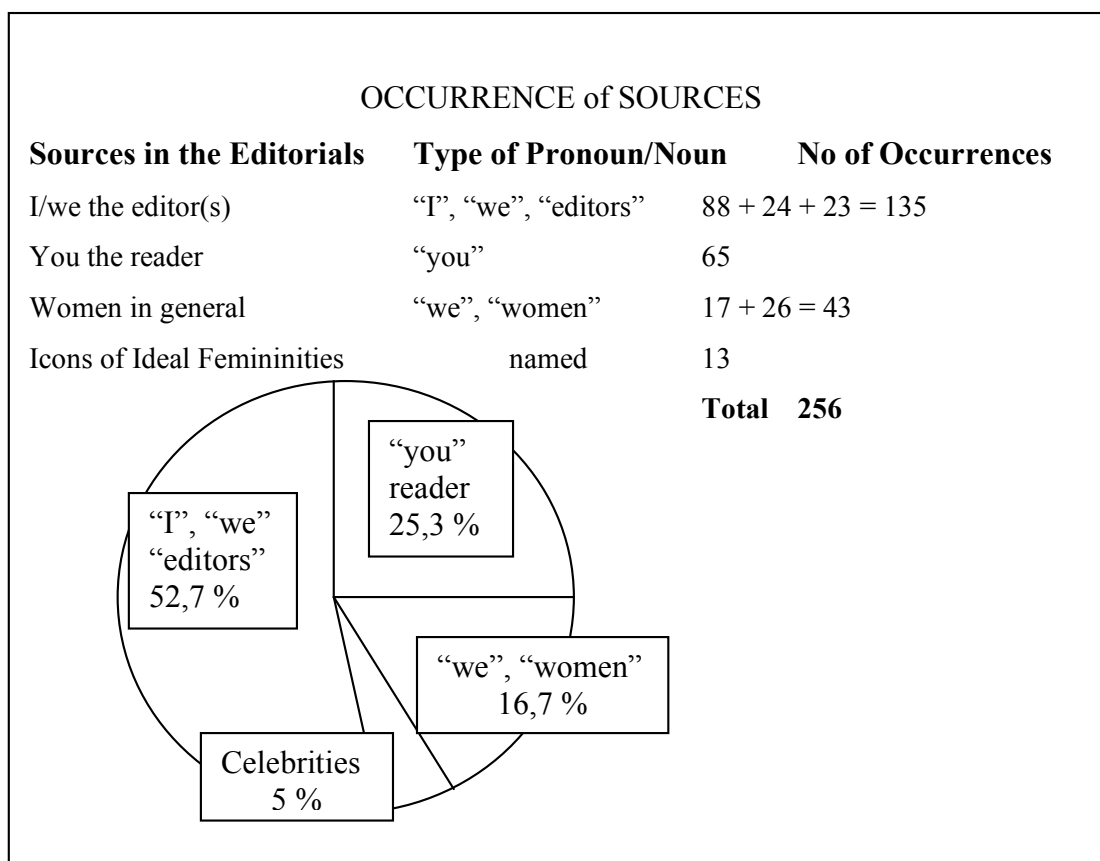


Figure 2. Occurrence of Sources in the Editorials of *Cosmopolitan* UK Edition 2004.

The editor was the main source of the discursive statements forming the repertoire of independence. She, her friends in the imaginary community and the community of women in general share feelings about independence and they give rise to the discursive statements of the repertoire of independence. The function of the repertoire of independence was to reflect the world of the editor who believes in control and choice. The sources of the repertoire of pleasure were the editors and the readers. The repertoire was found to focus on the reader and the editors interacting to bring pleasure to the reader. The editors provide advice which helps the reader enjoy her looks and lifestyle. The function of the repertoire of pleasure was to create a world where the reader can focus on herself. The repertoire of friendship was found to derive from the sources of the editors and their friends. It describes how friends support each other and how the community of women in general is bound together by friendship. It also described friendly behaviour in celebrities as a positive quality. The source of the repertoire of connected knowledge was identified as the group of editors but also “I” the editor and the community of women in general. The function of the repertoire of friendship was to reflect a world where friendship exists and where a woman can have control over her life by finding supporting friends. The repertoire of connected knowledge create a world of danger where women, notwithstanding, can control their lives by making use of their knowledge.

In what follows, I will discuss the four sources as they give rise to the repertoires of independence, pleasure, friendship and connected knowledge. The sequence will follow the order of importance of the repertoires from Chapter 4. Finally I will discuss the world of the “*Cosmo* girl” as it is constructed through the statements of the four groups of women mentioned in the editorials.

5.1 Our Independence

The repertoire of independence derives from sources who share the attitude to independence. It evolves round the themes of choice and control and describes the choices which are open to the “*Cosmo* girl” and how she gains control over her life.

The main source of this repertoire is the editor who supports her statements by references to her friends and the community of women in general. The discursive statements of the editor construct a world which reflects her experiences. In this world the “*Cosmo* girl” has choice and control and, through them, independence. The sources of the repertoire of independence can be identified through the following statements:

(1) *I'd* always wanted the things that my first ever copy of *Cosmo* made me believe I could have – not some success-crazed, unattainable version of life, but to live life on your own terms – whether that featured a career, a man, marriage, babies, or not. Whatever felt right for you. (Oct. 2004).

(2) But the advice - which said there was lots to be gained from jumping into a situation and taking risks - left a big impression on her [the editor's school friend]. "It actually helped me make my mind up," *she told me*, before revealing she had taken up the offer - and kept her man, too, since the relationship survived the six-month parting. (March 2004).

(3) However, *I* believe a decade ago, *many of us* may have felt guilty to admit that, actually, all *we* really wanted to do was travel the world or perhaps stay at home and bring up a family - *we* may have felt we'd let the feminists down by choosing either as a career option. Today, feminism means 'choice'. (Jan. 2004).

(4) That it [feminism] meant *we* should strive to be at the top of our careers and that more women should be in the big, decision-making jobs. But today, more and more women are in those jobs. *Few of you* would be surprised if *we* had another female prime minister, or a female president elected in the US. (Jan. 2004).

The discursive statements in the repertoire of independence derive from the personal experience of one main source, “I” the editor. In the magazine, the editor is personified with a picture and a signature which is often only her first name. She is a well-educated professional women and she proclaims her right to independence which is based on control and choice. She declares her intention to gain control in “*I'd* always wanted the things that my first ever copy of *Cosmo* made me believe I could have” (Example 1). What she wants and believes she can have is the option to live life

on her own terms. She expresses her admiration for *Cosmopolitan* which alerted her to the possibility of choice. She may choose a career or marriage, a husband and babies. Nevertheless, her choice is one between reasonable alternatives, since she does not yearn for success on a grand scale. Regardless of the choices she makes, the most important thing is that she is in control of the terms.

The editor's reference to her own experience constructs her as a reliable source and authorises her statements about independence. The attitudes of "I" are transmitted directly to the reader who understands them to be relevant. This gives credibility to her statements and, ultimately, the repertoire of independence. The editor speaks about her beliefs and aspirations. She had dreams of becoming an editor and she believed she could. She does not want to be drawn into a career frenzy, all she asks is to be able to make her own choices about her lifestyle. Also, she is aware that there may be a conflict between the demands placed by a career and a family. Her choice is to combine the two, although this increases pressure on her. She knows that other women can recognise themselves in this situation, and she also has concerns for women who have been victimised. Although the "Cosmo girl" to all appearances enjoys independence, the editor can identify problems below the surface.

The editor herself is a source of suggestions which restrict the independence of the "Cosmo girl". As a representative of the magazine, the editor has already identified the topics and areas of interest which she wants to bring to the attention of her reader. These are the areas where the reader can focus on herself and consume to invest in herself. The editor puts forth traditional lifestyle choices, those of travelling the world or staying at home to raise a family (Example 3). She does not construct alternative choices where the options would be, for example, for the reader to look outside herself and her own interests. The magazine expects the "Cosmo girl" to stay within the boundaries of that field of interest where she is a compliant reader and an accommodating consumer.

"I" the editor also supports her stance about control and choice by reference to the experience of her anonymous friend. She inserts the statement of her friend as a direct

quote, “*she* told me” (Example 2) and recounts how her friend had hesitated about a job offer. The advice of the magazine had, however, helped her friend to make up her mind. Together “I” and “she” share the same beliefs about the importance of choice and they also agree that a good choice will help them to gain, or retain, control.

The editor, her friends and also her reader-friend are reliable sources because they have a consensus about their attitude to independence. Their consensus makes them members of the imaginary community of the “*Cosmo* girl” and a source of “self”. Once the editor has established herself as a credible source, she can recommend credibility for other sources by the way in which she positions herself in regard to them. Friends who share the attitudes of the editor have the same credibility as sources. For instance, friends of the editor can make statements about taking a risk in order to advance one’s career (Example 2). A school friend can also make a statement about having confidence to accept a job abroad (Example 10). The editor accepts responsibility for her friend as a source and this gives her statements the same credibility as have those of the editor. As a source of “self”, they authorise the statements about choice and, consequently, also the attitude to choice.

Furthermore, the editor supports her attitudes on independence by reference to the community of women. In listing the choices previously available to women she speaks on their behalf, using “*I* believe” to make statements about an attitude which she attributes to women in general. The editor includes herself in the source of the statement. For instance, “*many of us* may have felt guilty to admit that, actually, all *we* really wanted to do was travel the world or perhaps stay at home and bring up a family – *we* may have felt we’d let the feminists down by choosing either as a career option. Today, feminism means ‘choice’.” (Example 3). She and women in general share the attitude that the “*Cosmo* girl” of the early 1990’s invested in herself in either of the ways suggested by the magazine. However, neither of the choices was at the top of the agenda of the feminist movement. She and women in general also share a sense of guilt for wanting to invest in themselves and thus be a disappointment to feminists. Currently, they all share the interpretation that feminism means ‘choice’.

Indeed, the community of the “*Cosmo* girl” has maintained its consensus, although the issue on which they agree has changed.

Although the editor refers to the community of women and includes herself, she delegates responsibility for the statements derived from them. Her use of “I believe” and “we may have felt” (Example 3) suggests hesitation, and she positions herself as not fully committed to the proposition. Her hesitation indicates that she does not accept full responsibility for this statement deriving from the sources of the community of women. Instead, she represents the proposition of the women as a probability. In this sense, her reference to the community of women in general differs from her reference to her friend where she used direct quote to indicate the credibility of her friend (Example 2).

The editor also supports her attitude to choice and control by reference to the community of women in a way to include herself or to the community of women and “you” to exclude herself. She uses “we” to refer to the community of women and include herself. For instance, “[feminism] meant *we* should strive to be at the top of our careers and that more women should be in the big, decision-making jobs.” (Example 4). The editor states a fact and, by including herself, she takes responsibility for the statement. The editor can also support her attitude to choice and control by reference to “you” in a way which excludes herself. She transfers to the use of “you” in, for instance, “*Few of you* would be surprised if *we* had another female prime minister, or a female president elected in the US.” (Example 4). She makes an assumption on behalf of the reader in a hypothetical situation; she is constructing a dialogue. In this example she then reverts to using “we” when assessing the possibility of a female prime minister or president. The effect is that she include herself in a community which is larger than the imaginary community where she, her friends and readers enjoy membership.

5.2 Your Pleasure

The repertoire of pleasure evolves round the reader and her pleasure. It describes who feels pleasure and what makes her feel pleasure. The statements of the repertoire of pleasure derive from the sources of “I” the editor and the reader who is constructed as a source through direct address, that is “you”. Supporting statements derive from the sources of “we” the editors but also “we” in the sense of women in general. This repertoire describes how the editor and the group of editors provide advice which helps the reader and the community of women to experience pleasure and enjoy themselves. The sources of the repertoire of pleasure can be identified through the following statements:

(5) [...] *I have listened to friends, family, even people I've only just met, talking about happiness. Or, more specifically, finding a balance in life that makes them truly content. Don't worry, I'm not heading for the nearest forest to go and hug a tree, but I do think there's currently a mood around that makes us stop and think about life and wonder whether we are getting the best out of it that we possibly can.* (May 2004).

(6) Finally, it's holiday time (hurrah!) so now's the chance to relax and enjoy one of the highlights of the year. *Read our advice on getting beach body confidence, so you can enjoy your best summer.* Plus, *our fashion team* has tried on just about every swimsuit and bikini on the high street, so there WILL be *one to suit you* - promise. (June 2004).

(7) *I hope you enjoy the exclusive 28-day diet we've tailored to meet your individual needs* (p69) with help from Champneys Health Resorts. *You wrote and told us you needed a quick, simple diet to help you either lose weight or just feel healthier, so we came up with our Happy Diet.* This easy eating plan should take you through the year without so much as having to count a single calorie and will give you loads more energy. *I think we can guarantee a happier and sexier new you* in time for Valentine's Day [...] (Feb. 2004).

(8) And *our girls* did a super-impressive job, *each of them* turned out in sexy pinstripe suits, looking like modern day *Charlie's Angels* delivering great advice for the whole of the US to hear. "It was a great experience, especially being picked up from the airport in the stretchiest limo ever!" Rachel (a *Cosmo* girl if ever I knew one) told me [...] (April 2004).

In the repertoire of pleasure the editor and her colleagues all work together to give the reader the best possible suggestions about ways to enjoy herself. The whole editorial staff functions as a source of statements about how to feel good about oneself. The editor, for one, gathers statements about happiness which she shares with her reader-friend. For instance, “I have listened to *friends, family, even people I've only just met*, talking about happiness. Or, more specifically, *finding a balance in life that makes them truly content*.” (Example 5). She refers to the attitudes of friends, family and casual acquaintances who all seek happiness. In forwarding this information to her reader, she also includes herself in the community of women in general who want to achieve balance in life. Inclusive “we” is used in this way, for instance, in “there's currently a mood around that makes *us* stop and think about life and wonder whether *we* are getting the best out of it that *we* possibly can.” (Example 5).

Statements construct the editor and her reader-friend the “*Cosmo* girl” talking to each other about the importance of body confidences and how it enables the reader to enjoy her very best summer. The editor is constructing a dialogue with her reader-friend involving “you” the reader and “we” the editors. She addresses her reader directly with statements intended to draw the reader’s attention to advice which will help her to gain confidence. She is For instance, “*Read our advice* on getting beach body confidence, so *you can enjoy your best summer*. Plus, *our fashion team* has tried on just about every swimsuit and bikini on the high street, so there WILL be *one to suit you* - promise.” (Example 6). Beach body confidence is a prerequisite for the reader to enjoy her summer. The swim suit and bikini are the necessary accessories to emphasise body confidence.

The editor addresses her reader-friend directly with her statements to assure her that the suggestions of the editors will help her to perform body confidence and enjoy herself. The editors have done the necessary field work by touring the shops and they have come up with suggestions which will help her. The editor supports her by referring to her colleagues on the fashion team. They are described as sharing the reader’s interest in body work and beauty work and the accessories which she needs

to prepare her body for performing confidence. They have investigated the supply of bathing suits in the shops and saved the reader time and effort. Finally, the editor supports her advice with statements of encouragement which culminate in an explicit promise: “Plus, *our fashion team* has tried on just about every swimsuit and bikini on the high street, so there WILL be *one to suit you* - promise.” (Example 6).

In her dialogue with her reader, the editor constructs her as a source of statements about how the “*Cosmo girl*” takes action and is prepared to struggle to achieve body confidence and feel good about herself. She will approach the magazine to ensure that she is supplied with the information she needs about, for instance, dieting. In offering her the advice, the editor emphasises that the initiative came from her, the reader, and that the editors have taken action on her demand. The editors have, once more, investigated an issue to be able to provide the reader with useful suggestions. “We” the editors work to keep “you” content. For instance “*You wrote and told us you needed a quick, simple diet to help you either lose weight or just feel healthier, so we came up with our Happy Diet.*” (Example 7). The diet is labelled “happy” presumable because it will make the reader feel happy. She will be happy while on the diet and she will be happy when she sees the result. The editor avoids suggesting that the reader needs to loose weight which would be rude even among intimate friends. Instead, she constructs two alternative reasons for dieting to indicate that the decision about dieting is the reader’s.

In order to achieve the body confidence of the “*Cosmo girl*”, the reader may have to follow an eating plan resulting in a change to her body. The editor acknowledges that dieting may not be easy and she wants to encourage her reader-friend. She also encourages her reader by setting a specific time limit, Valentine’s Day, which is 4 to 6 weeks from when the February issue with the “Happy Diet” is available to readers. The reader can see dieting as a short term project which is feasible, not an indefinite period of suffering which holds the possibility of failure. The support of the editor is extended (almost) to a guarantee. For example, “This easy eating plan should take *you* through the year without so much as having to count a single calorie and will give *you* loads more energy. *I think we can guarantee a happier and sexier new you* in time for

Valentine's Day” (Example 7). However, the editor uses “I think” to delegate responsibility for the guarantee away from herself to the anonymous group of editors in “we can guarantee”. In spite of this, the reader wants to believe the promise of her friend the editor that she will become a new person who is “happier and sexier” and more successful.

The editor uses the experience of other editors to make statements about the pleasure of success. She recounts how three of Cosmopolitan’s sex editors were invited to participate in the Oprah Winfrey talk show on American television. She refers to “our girls” and describes the editors with positive attributes before supporting her statement with a direct quote from one of the “girls”. For instance “And *our girls* did a super-impressive job, *each of them* turned out in sexy pinstripe suits, looking like modern day *Charlie's Angels* delivering great advice for the whole of the US to hear.” (Example 8). The use of “our girls” includes the editor herself and bestows some of the credit for an impressive performance on her, as well. It also indicates that she is proud of her colleagues and this is confirmed by the description which follows. The three editors as a group and “each of them” are included in positive description of their behaviour and attitude.

Through positive evaluation the editor takes responsibility for the three editors as a source for statements about the attitude of the “*Cosmo* girl”. Their pinstripe suits are labelled “sexy” and the look is transferred to the three editors themselves and they each look “sexy”. The metaphor of *Charlie's Angels* functions to describe them as a group doing professional team work. Each member of the group is an individual combining beauty and agency and together they are a statement of power and control.

The editor uses a direct quote from one of the three editors to describe their attitude to power and success. First she certifies her colleague Rachel as having all the right attitudes to professionalism and success expected of a “*Cosmo* girl”. Rachel then displays her enjoyment of success in the expression “great experience” and her fascination with the symbols of success in her mention of the “stretchiest limo ever”. For instance, “It was a great experience, especially being picked up from the airport

in the stretchiest limo ever!" Rachel (a *Cosmo* girl if ever I knew one) told me [...]’ (Example 8). The limousine as a symbol of success also becomes the symbol of the editors’ enjoyment of success. The editor shares the success of her colleagues, which is also her success, with her reader-friend and invites her to enjoy their success, as friends would rejoice at each other’s good fortune.

5.3 All Our Friendships

The repertoire of friendship deals with who friends are and why they are necessary. It also describes with the friendly behaviour of celebrities. The editor and her friend serve as sources of statements about long lasting intimate friendship where friends support each other through hardships. Editors and their friends, women in general and celebrities serve as sources of statements about the importance of making friends and being friendly with colleagues. The sources of the repertoire of friendship can be identified through the following statements:

(9) *I think one of the great things about being a woman is our friendships. I don't know what I'd do without my own friends, who I think are the most understanding women in the world, even when I don't call often enough and forget the occasional birthday (well, quite a few actually!). But I was so moved by the stories of against-the-odds friendships that have survived illness and huge tragedy that it's only right Cosmo pay tribute to those special women who play such a big part in all our lives. (April 2004).*

(10) *Recently, I bumped into a school friend I hadn't seen for years. Of course, it was amazing catching up with her after such a long time, but it was only when I told her I worked on Cosmo that her face cracked into the biggest smile. Immediately, she recited a piece of advice she'd read a while back in this magazine that had given her the confidence to accept the offer of a job abroad for six months. (March 04)*

(11) *It's an opportunity for us to come together with the legendary Cosmo founder Helen Gurley Brown, to share news and views with each other, and swap advice, stories and ideas. Inevitably, after three days together (in Manhattan, which was fab), conversations started to get personal and the whole event turned into a massive girls' night out – we talked about how we*

are constantly organising our lives around work and relationships, friends and family, even though *we* wouldn't have it any other way! (Aug. 2004).

(12) *Rachel* (a *Cosmo* girl if ever I knew one) told *me*, “*Oprah* was really warm and approachable and had the best comic timing of anyone I have ever met!” (April 2004).

The editor makes statements describing the attitude to friendship and what one expects from one's intimate friends. She uses herself and her friends as a source and supports her statements by referring to the community of women in general. She claims that friendships are one of the advantages of being a woman, implying that there are other advantages as well and known to the reader. To support her statement, she refers to her own friends and their attitude to friendship. For instance “*I* think one of the great things about being a woman is *our friendships*. *I* don't know what *I'd* do without *my own friends*, *who I think* are the most understanding women in the world, even when *I* don't call often enough and forget the occasional birthday (well, quite a few actually!).” (Example 9). Her repetitive use of “*I*” foregrounds her own needs and suggests that her friends are there for her. She identifies them by speaking of them as “*my own friends*” but later distances herself from them by identifying them in the category of women in general, “the most understanding women in the world”. Indeed, the editor finally confesses that she, in turn, may not always be there to support her friends. Friends should remember birthdays and call each other occasionally but she does not. However, she trusts them to understand and remain her friends although she is not one of the women who actively uphold friendships.

The quality of friendship is described with positive attributes and the women who hold friendships together are evaluated positively. The source of the statements is “*I*” the editor who shares her appreciation of friendship with the reader whom she is addressing. She is “moved” by stories of friendship and friendships survive against the odds. For instance “But *I* was so moved by the stories of against-the-odds friendships that have survived illness and huge tragedy that it's only right *Cosmo* pay tribute to *those special women who play such a big part* in all our lives.” (Example 9).

Friendships survive because of “those special women” but the editor does not include herself in this group to whom tribute is due.

The editor also describes how friends behave towards each other when they have known each other for a long time, although not as intimate friends. This attitude is described in statements derived from the encounter of the editor and her old school friend. Although they have not met for some years, they are enthusiastic about seeing each other and immediately start exchanging news. For instance, “Recently, *I* bumped into *a school friend I* hadn't seen for years. Of course, it was amazing catching up with her after such a long time, but it was only when *I told her I* worked on *Cosmo* that her face cracked into the biggest smile. Immediately, *she recited a piece of advice she'd read* a while back in this magazine that had given her the confidence to accept the offer of a job abroad for six months.” (Example 10). The statements of the editor and her school friends construct their meeting as “amazing” and an opportunity to indulge in their behaviour of “catching up”. They interact by offering pieces of information about themselves and reacting to the information provided by the opposite party, as in “it was only when *I told her I* worked on *Cosmo* that her face cracked into the biggest smile.” Reacting to the information offered in the way the editor and her school friend do is a display of friendliness and an important part of the behaviour associated with friendship.

Friends and colleagues make a public display of friendship in their work environment. This is described in statements derived from a narrative about the editors of *Cosmopolitan* worldwide at their biannual conference. The sources are “I” the editor and “we” the editors in a narrative which is a description of how friends are expected to behave regardless of whether they are close friends or, as in this example, colleagues and acquaintances. The statements describe the friends as they “share” and “swap”, be it ideas for a feature story at work or cooking recipes at home. The editors are the sources of statements which describe how friends and colleagues “share news and views” with each other and “swap advice, stories and ideas”. The conference is also an opportunity to learn from an authority “the legendary *Cosmo* founder”. For instance, “It’s an opportunity for *us* to come together with the *legendary Cosmo*

founder Helen Gurley Brown, to share news and views with each other, and swap advice, stories and ideas.” (Example 11). There is no mention of rivalry between friends and colleagues. Indeed, the order of hierarchy is upheld through the reference to the *Cosmopolitan* icon Helen Gurley Brown.

Statements derived from the editors describe them making friends at the conference and their transition from exchange of knowledge on the professional level to exchange of personal attitudes. They describe how the conversations of the editors “started to get personal” and how the editors started to feel at ease with each other and have fun together. For instance, “Inevitably, after three days together (in Manhattan, which was fab), conversations started to get personal and the whole event turned into a massive girls’ night out – *we* talked about how *we* are constantly organising our lives around work and relationships, friends and family, even though *we* wouldn’t have it any other way!” (Example 11).

Editors and women in general are also sources of statements about behaviour which is *naturalized* to include the reader also. Statements describe how the editors behave through the use of the inclusive “we” and women in general are aligned with them. This alignment can also be understood as a description of a normative behaviour which the reader also shares. In Example 11 there is a transition in the source denoted by the pronoun “we”. It is used three times and, strictly grammatically, it refers to the editors. However, it gives rise to statements which function to describe how women in general, not only editors, struggle to combine their professional and personal lives and their attitude to this effort. The first “we” in “*we* talked about how *we* are constantly organising our lives around work and relationships, friends and family, even though *we* wouldn’t have it any other way!” (Example 11) clearly refers to the editors as a source of the statement. The second mention of “we” widens the meaning so that it can be understood as a reference, not only to the editors, but the community of women in general including the editors. The third mention appears to widen the reference further by describing a *naturalized* behaviour so that the source “we” means not only women in general, including the editors, but also invites the reader to share this attitude.

The public display of friendship is described in statements about friendliness derived from the source of celebrities. The narrative of the three *Cosmopolitan* editors who were invited to appear on the Oprah Winfrey television show describes how she has “an audience of staggering 23 million” (April 2004, Appendix 4). One of the editors functions as the source of the statement describing how approachable Oprah Winfrey is, in spite of her status as a megastar television host. For instance, “*Rachel* (a *Cosmo* girl if ever I knew one) told *me*, “*Oprah* was really warm and approachable and had the best comic timing of anyone I have ever met!” (Example 12). The editor functioning as narrator quotes her colleague directly and takes responsibility for the credibility of the statement. From this the “*Cosmo* girl” learns that even if she were to become a celebrity, it is a good idea to treat people she meets in a friendly manner because they will evaluate her behaviour and attitude to them.

5.4 What We Need to Know

The repertoire of connected knowledge deals with information which the “*Cosmo* girl” needs in order to cope with problems and hardship. This repertoire describes how the “*Cosmo* girl” relates to rape victims and how she can support them. It also deals with how she can protect herself from sexually transmitted illnesses by being observant and having the correct information. Its statements derive from the sources of the editor, editors and women in general. The sources of the repertoire of connected knowledge can be identified through the following statements:

(13) *I* received heartbreaking letters from *women who'd been attacked* but hadn't spoken to anyone about it before. As *you* know, very few women go to the police to report the crimes against them so they never get referred to support networks; they deal with the pain alone. *We* don't want that to happen anymore. *Cosmo* approached Rape Crisis and the Metropolitan Police's ground-breaking rape investigation squad Operation (formerly Project) Sapphire to help *us* look into setting up a line. (Feb. 2004).

(14) Sitting in a cafe the other day, *I* overheard a conversation that really made me think. New government statistics about soaring STI rates had just been published, and you couldn't open a newspaper without concluding we were all riddled with infection. *Three women* – your average twentysomething girls – were having a lunch-hour gossip at the table behind me. As always, they talked about men (how crap/great they are), sex (how crap/great that can be) and then one of them mentioned 'all the fuss' about STIs. 'It's really scary,' *she* said. 'I'm so glad it doesn't affect me.' *Her friends* both nodded in agreement. 'I know,' one of them said. 'Thank God girls like us don't get STIs.'

I was shocked: Were they virgins or one-man women who had all married one-woman men? Or maybe they had never, ever had unprotected sex, not even when they were drunk. But no, it turned out, as the conversation continued, that their perceived immunity came from being nice, ordinary women, with good jobs and fashionable clothes, who had notched up more than a football team between them, but were currently with men they trusted. This, they agreed, meant they were STI-free. And it made *me* think, maybe that's why the STI rates are soaring – *women like us* believe STIs only affect other people. (Nov. 2004).

The editor is the main source of her own statements about the heartbreaking situation of rape victims left to deal with their pain alone. She receives information in the form of letters from women who have been attacked. The editor refers to them and their letters as a source of statements about anguish and dealing with pain alone. She also calls upon the understanding of the reader by addressing her directly as "you". For instance, "*I* received heartbreaking letters from *women who'd been attacked* but hadn't spoken to anyone about it before. As *you* know, very few women go to the police to report the crimes against them so they never get referred to support networks; they deal with the pain alone." (Example 13). The editor's reference to the heartbreaking letters and dealing with pain alone prepares the reader for her statement to come about the necessity of taking action. The reader will support her stance about not to leave victims of sexual assault without proper counselling.

The editors are the source of statements about what is being done to support rape victims. The editor explicitly states that a situation where women are left to deal with pain alone after being attacked is unacceptable. The source of her statement is

specifically “we” the editors, although the editor could also be speaking for the whole community of women. However, in the following sentence she states that the magazine has approached the authorities in order to help “us”, the editors, to arrange for a telephone line for victims of rape. For instance, “*We* don't want that to happen anymore. *Cosmo* approached Rape Crisis and the Metropolitan Police's groundbreaking rape investigation squad Operation (formerly Project) Sapphire to help *us* look into setting up a [24-hour phone] line.” (Example 13).

The editor and the community of women are the sources of statements about the danger of STIs. The editor recounts how she overheard the conversation of a group of three women discussing, among other issues, STIs. Her narrative serves to highlight the issue and gives her an opportunity to provide the “*Cosmo* girl” with knowledge about the dangers of catching STIs. What she hears makes her take a firm attitude to faulty assumptions about the illnesses. For instance, “Sitting in a cafe the other day, *I* overheard a conversation that really made me think. [...] *I* was shocked:” (Example 14).

A group of three women display a negligent attitude to the danger of catching STIs and the editor wants to warn the “*Cosmo* girl” reader not to adopt the same attitude. The women function as the source of misconceptions which puts the reader at risk. They are women in general and regard concerns about the illnesses as “fuss”. Their misconception is that statistics about illnesses do not concern the average girl. The editor refers to them and uses direct quotes in order to be able to question their attitude in her own argument. For instance, “*Three women* – your average twentysomething girls – were having a lunch-hour gossip at the table behind me. As always, they talked about men (how crap/great they are), sex (how crap/great that can be) and then one of them mentioned ‘all the fuss’ about STIs. ‘It’s really scary,’ *she* said. ‘I’m so glad it doesn’t affect me.’ *Her friends* both nodded in agreement. ‘I know,’ one of them said. ‘Thank God girls like us don’t get STIs.’” (Example 14).

The editor argues for the “*Cosmo* girl” to be observant of both the illnesses and the misconceptions about them. In fact, it is the misconceptions which facilitate the

spread of the illnesses. The editor contradicts the argumentation of her sources. She contrasts their present behaviour with their previous activities and calls in question whether “good jobs and fashionable clothes” provide immunity in the medical sense. For instance, “But no, it turned out, as the conversation continued, that their perceived immunity came from being nice, ordinary women, with good jobs and fashionable clothes, who had notched up more than a football team between them, but were currently with men they trusted. This, they agreed, meant they were STI-free. And it made *me* think, maybe that’s why the STI rates are soaring – *women like us* believe STIs only affect other people.” (Example 14).

Finally, she draws the conclusion that misconceptions about STIs are one of the factors which help to spread the disease. The source of this conclusion is her own thinking, “it made *me* think”. In her conclusion she includes herself in the group of women in general and *interpellates* the reader to identify herself as one of these “*women like us*”. They are the “*Cosmo girl*” with a professional career, a decent income and a choice of sexual partners. The editor wants the reader to know, however, not to adopt their attitude to the dangers of STIs.

5.5 What We Are Like

The statements about the “*Cosmo girl*” position her in the imaginary community constructed by the magazine where she expects the sources to share her attitudes. The statements derived from the editors, readers, women in general and celebrities reflect and create the world in which she exists. They describe the attitude of the sources and invite the reader to be like them or one of them. The repertoires formed by the statements function as propositions to the reader about how to acquire the attitude of the “*Cosmo girl*” and how to perform it. The repertoire of independence reflects the attitude of its main source the editor towards choice and control. The repertoire of pleasure creates a world where the reader can focus on herself and feeling pleasure. It also connects the “*Cosmo girl*” to consumerism and illustrates the use of the editorial as a marketing option. The repertoire of friendship reflects a world where friends help

and support each other, but it also creates a world where the reader can make decisions about making friends. The repertoire of connected knowledge creates a world where the reader can use knowledge to influence her own life.

The function of the repertoire of independence is to reflect the world of the editor who believes in control and choice. The editor is a source of statements about a world where all women have equal opportunities. The editor constructs her world by stating facts or by assessing and interpreting them. For instance, it is a fact that “today, more and more women are in those [big, decision-making jobs] jobs.” (Example 4). She interprets the ambition of a “*Cosmo* girl” as the option “to live life on your own terms”. (Example 1). She also interprets the relevance of feminism in “Today, feminism means ‘choice’.” (Example 3). Furthermore, she assesses the ambition of the “*Cosmo* girl” to live life on her own terms as reasonable in “not some success-crazed, unattainable version of life, but to live life on your own terms”. (Example 1). It is a world where the “*Cosmo* girl” is at liberty to focus on herself and her pleasure.

The function of the repertoire of pleasure is to create a world where the reader can focus on herself. It creates a world where the “*Cosmo* girl” is encouraged to consume to feel good. The editor and the editorial staff as sources authorise statements which connect pleasure to consumerism. The statements creating the “*Cosmo* girl’s” world of consumerism have the form of assumptions or recommendations. There is only one direct recommendation in Example 6 and that has the form of the invitation “*Read our advice*”. All other recommendations are indirect and have the form of assumptions. The editor assumes that the reader sees the summer holiday as “one of the highlights of the year” and that she is intent on acquiring “beach body confidence”(Example 6). The editor also makes the assumption that the reader wants to be part of the world of consumerism, as she already is part of the imaginary community of the “*Cosmo* girl”.

This repertoire illustrates the use of the editorial as a marketing option. The editor is the source of statements about the products and the skills which the “*Cosmo* girl” needs to make her feel good about her body and her lifestyle. Statements promoting beauty products, beauty advice and fashion are found in the following examples:

(15) *Sexy, affordable and, most of all, flattering party outfits* for every budget and *body shape; five-minute after-work makeovers* you can do at your desk and *celebrity tips and tricks for getting red-carpet ready*; (Dec. 2004).

(16) PS If you can't get enough of *Cosmo* this month, then grab a copy of the *Cosmopolitan Book Of Love - For "fun, fearless females"*. It's just £4.99 and is on sale exclusively in WHSmith. Find it next to the latest issue of your favourite magazine for the answer to all your dating and relating questions in one go. (Feb. 2004).

(17) Next, our fashion team has been busy putting together our great new section, *Cosmo Shops* (p152), which brings you the best high-street buys to suit your body and budget. (March 2004).

The statements derived from the editor promote the properties and the skills which the reader needs to perform body confidence. The editor by making assumptions about the wishes of the reader constructs her as a source of statements about expectations of pleasure. She can acquire the "*flattering party outfits*" and the products for "*five-minute after-work makeovers*" (Example 15) in the shops. The statements of the editor also promote the magazine itself. The reader can obtain the "*celebrity tips and tricks for getting red-carpet ready*" (Example 15) which are provided by *Cosmopolitan*. Equally, the reader may wish to purchase another of the publisher's products, the *Cosmopolitan Book Of Love - For "fun, fearless females"* (Example 16). The reader will want to continue reading the magazine because of the information compiled in, for instance, *Cosmo Shops* (Example 17). The magazine staff has done the preliminary work to give her an overview of what is on offer and at what price. She can stay informed without having to visit the shops if that is her wish.

The function of the repertoire of friendship is to reflect a world where friendship is important and create a world where women can control their lives by making friends and supporting each other. The source of the editor reflects her world in her assessment of the value of being a woman. For instance, "I think one of the great things about being a woman is our friendships." (Example 9). She states it as a fact that friendships can survive illness and tragedy. For instance, "stories of against-the-

odds friendships that have survived illness and huge tragedy” (Example 9). Furthermore, the editors as a source reflect their world in the narrative of how their conference developed. It is the editor’s interpretation of the situation that the conversations moved on to a more personal level. For instance, “conversations started to get personal and the whole event turned into a massive girls’ night out” (Example 11).

This repertoire also creates a world where the “*Cosmo* girl” has the option of benefiting from keeping in touch with her friends and behaving in a friendly manner. She may decide to follow the example of the source of “we”, the editors, who try to arrange their lives both to meet professional demands and accommodate family and friends. For instance, “we are constantly organising our lives around work and relationships, friends and family, even though we wouldn’t have it any other way!” (Example 11). The editor who is included in the source of “we” assumes, or perhaps even recommends, that the reader wants to adopt this pattern of behaviour. It is also the editor’s assumption that the reader may want to adopt a friendly attitude towards people she meets. A celebrity is evaluated positively to serve as a model for friendly behaviour. This is the case with, for instance, Oprah Winfrey who is given the attributes of “really warm and approachable” (Example 12).

The function of the repertoire of connected knowledge is to create a world where women can reject danger by having knowledge and using it. The editor as a source of statements assumes that the reader has information about the situation of rape victims and that she shares the attitude that support measures must be taken. For instance, “As you know, very few women go to the police to report the crimes against them so they never get referred to support networks; they deal with the pain alone. We don’t want that to happen anymore.” (Example 13). The editors recommend support measures, a phone line, and they are working with the authorities to achieve it. For instance, “*Cosmo* approached Rape Crisis and the Metropolitan Police’s ground-breaking rape investigation squad Operation (formerly Project) Sapphire to help us look into setting up a line.” (Example 13). The reader is invited to share the attitude of the editors and improve her world by using her knowledge.

The reader is also invited to resist danger in the form of STIs by rejecting misconceptions about the illnesses. The editor inserts or quotes statements from a defined group of women in order to contest them. The reader lives in a world where there is no immunity to those particular illnesses. However, she can make use of the knowledge she has, facts and statistics, which will help her to realise the danger and avoid it. If more women were to follow the recommendations, there might be fewer new cases of STI patients. For instance, “their perceived immunity came from being nice, ordinary women, with good jobs and fashionable clothes, who had notched up more than a football team between them, but were currently with men they trusted. This, they agreed, meant they were STI-free. And it made me think, maybe that’s why the STI rates are soaring – women like us believe STIs only affect other people.” (Example 14). The world created for the reader is one where she has the option of avoiding STIs, if she uses available knowledge.

In what follows, I will sum up my findings and draw my conclusions based on them. The chapter will be divided into two parts. The first part will deal with the contribution of this thesis to methodology within discourse analysis and, in particular, the identification of sources of discursive statements. The second part will deal with its contribution to the knowledge about the identity of the “Cosmo girl”.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this thesis was to investigate what repertoires are used to describe the “*Cosmo* girl” in the editorials of *Cosmopolitan* and what their sources are. The repertoires were formed from discursive statements grouped around a recurring theme. The statements were messages about the behaviours and attitudes of the women described in the magazine. The descriptions accept the behaviours and attitudes of the women as features of the “*Cosmo* girl”.

The material was the discursive statements describing the behaviour and attitudes of the “*Cosmo* girl” in the editorials of *Cosmopolitan* UK edition 2004. The method was CDA in that I looked critically at the way the community of “*Cosmo* girls” is implicated. The first step was repertoire analysis according to grounded theory. The second step was the identification of the sources of the discursive statements which form the repertoires.

The discursive statements about the “*Cosmo* girl” fell into four repertoires. These were the repertoires of independence, the repertoire of pleasure, the repertoire of friendship and the repertoire of connected knowledge. Each repertoire evolved round several themes. The repertoire of pleasure, for instance, evolved round personal enjoyment, pleasure in looks and pleasure in success. Two of the repertoires were more prominent than the others. One was the repertoire of independence around which two whole editorials were built. The other was the repertoire of pleasure which appeared eleven times in eight editorials.

The sources of the discursive statements fell into four groups. The main source of statements was identified as “I” the editor who functions as the narrator and supports her argumentation with statements from other sources. Her sources are “you” the reader, “we” editors and women in general, and women mythologized as celebrities. “I” the editor-narrator authorises the statements and constructs them as true. This constructs the “*Cosmo* girl” of the repertoires as credible and the discourses of the magazine as meaningful to the reader.

The repertoire of independence where the editor is the main source of statements reflects the world of the editor and her colleagues. The repertoire of pleasure creates a world where the reader can invest in herself and her own pleasure. It evolves round the reader and the editor(s) and the work of the editors to provide advice which helps the reader to enjoy herself and feel pleasure.

The repertoire of friendship derives from the sources of the editor and editors and their friends, as well as from the source of women in general. This repertoire reflects the world of the editors where friendship is important. It also creates a world where the reader can chose to adopt the editors' attitude to friendship and decide to make friends who will support her and expects her to do the same for them.

The repertoire of connected knowledge derives from the source of the editor, the editors and the community of women in general. It creates a world where the reader can reject danger by having knowledge and choosing to use it. With her knowledge, the reader can be a support to rape victims. She can also avoid the risk of contracting STIs if she chooses to act according to knowledge about the illnesses.

In what follows, I will sum up my findings about the descriptions of the "*Cosmo* girl" and the sources of these descriptions. I will first deal with the methodological aspect and the contribution of this thesis to the knowledge about the identification of sources of discourse. From this I will proceed to discuss my findings about the identity of the "*Cosmo* girl", and her attitudes, and draw my conclusions based on these findings. Finally I will assess critically the outcome of my research, and outline options for further research.

The descriptions of the behaviours and attitudes of the "*Cosmo* girl" derive from the experiences of women mentioned in the editorials. They consist of discursive statements the sources of which can be traced and identified. In this thesis, the identification of the groups of women was based on pronominal address and nominal reference. Pronominal address indicated the identification of "I" the editor and "we" the groups of editors and also "you" the reader. The groups of editors and readers

shared consensus about attitudes, values and interests in the imaginary community of the “*Cosmo* girl” and they constituted sources of “self”. Nominal reference indicated the identification of the groups of women in general and celebrities. These were constructed as sources of “other” for whom responsibility could be delegated, but also reclaimed.

The editor-narrator functions as the main source of discursive statements in the editorials and supports her claims by using, or referring to, statements from one or several of the other sources. For instance, she can refer to the sources as “us” editors or “my friends” or name a celebrity. She may choose to give an account of the statements of other sources or insert them as direct quotes into her text. She can do this to support her own argumentation as she does, for instance, in the repertoire of friendship. She can also choose to made use of the sources in her argumentation to contradict them. This is found, for instance, in the repertoire of connected knowledge dealing with the theme of misconceptions about STIs.

The editor-narrator as the main source takes responsibility for her statements and this gives credibility to her attitude. She first establishes her own credibility in statements which refer to her own personal experience. She can then choose to take responsibility for the statements derived from other sources. She accepts responsibility for statements derived from “you” the reader and friends and editors as a source. This occurs when she uses their statements to support her own argumentation. They are all part of the imaginary community and they share the same attitudes to independence, pleasure and friendship. By accepting responsibility for the statements the editor verifies an attitude as a desirable one in the “*Cosmo* girl”.

When the editor-narrator refers to sources in order to contradict their statements she indicates that the attitudes of those sources are not desirable. She rejects statements which construct non-desirable attitudes and disclaim responsibility for them. An attitude is non-desirable in the “*Cosmo* girl” if, for instance, it places her in danger as is the case with the misconceptions about STIs. Consequently, the descriptions of the “*Cosmo* girl” not only indicate what she is but also what she is not.

The statements derived from the identified sources were grouped around themes related to the “*Cosmo* girl” to form repertoires which described her behaviours and attitudes. The discursive statements describing the “*Cosmo* girl” were built around nine themes which formed four repertoires. These were the repertoires of independence evolving round the themes of control and choice, that of pleasure evolving around the themes of personal pleasure, pleasure from looks and pleasure from success. A third repertoire was that of friendship which evolved round the themes of friends supporting and friends sharing and, finally, connected knowledge evolving round the themes of rape victims and illnesses. A thread of consumerism recurred in the repertoire of pleasure.

The repertoire of the “*Cosmo* girl’s” independence is formed by the theme of having choice in life and the theme of having control in life. The themes of choice and control recur intermingled with other repertoires as well. The “*Cosmo* girl” is described as agentive in all fields of life. She has the choice of the profession, the career and lifestyle she wants. She has control of her body and her performance of her identity, or works to gain control over it, by doing body work and beauty work, and by consuming. Consumption is at the basis of her behaviour and consuming is constructed as a condition for achieving control.

The descriptions of the “*Cosmo* girl” as a consumer also indicate the limits to her independence. The recurring thread of consumerism in the repertoire of pleasure describes how the “*Cosmo* girl” invests in pleasure, in herself and in the lifestyle of her choice by consuming. She is constructed as a consumer and addressed as one, and she does not have the choice of not consuming. Consuming to create her lifestyle is *normalized* as a pattern of behaviour, and her only choice as a consumer is between products. She cannot not consume. In this respect her independence is limited by advertising, marketing and the production of consumer goods. Consequently, the independence of the self-confident, outgoing “*Cosmo* girl” is restricted by the agenda of consumerism expressed in the magazine and supported by its advertisers. The agenda of consumerism restricts her behaviour and attitudes and makes her focus on

the lifestyle promoted by the magazine. In this respect, the contemporary 'new woman' is as much a prisoner of her commercial times as was the 19th century wife of her family.

The themes of choice and control describe how the "*Cosmo* girl" is focused on herself, and the descriptions accept her self-centeredness. The reader who is, or would like to be, a "*Cosmo* girl" is offered suggestions and advice which instruct her to concentrate on her own needs and her own satisfaction. The editorials tell her to be the best she can, be happy in herself, and enjoy herself. Satisfaction may derive from having body confidence, working successfully to achieve body confidence, fulfilling shopping urges, and having balance in life, as well as sexual satisfaction. Friends and partners are mentioned, and there is a repertoire of nurturing relationships, but other people are constructed almost as supporting actors and theatrical props, while the limelight is on the "*Cosmo* girl".

The self-centeredness of the "*Cosmo* girl" is also accepted by statements which emphasise the individual and diminish solidarity between women. The "*Cosmo* girl" claims equality in professional and personal life, and she is aware that equality today may be the result of feminist struggle in the past. However, feminism is no longer constructed as the collective concept of solidarity, but as a 'choice' which can be expressed in terms of individual action. The "*Cosmo* girl" is at liberty to make the choice of investing in herself in order to enjoy herself. To make choices is to be in control, to make choices is empowering.

The "*Cosmo* girl's" exercise of her independence is, however, subject to limitations both on the level of personal behaviour, and on the level of conditions set by society. On the personal level there are themes of warning about attitudes from men and emotional issues which may restrict her agency. Statements suggest that being too agentive may make her less attractive to male partners. Men in general are constructed with an inability to relate to capable women, possibly because they may find it more difficult to understand or control these women. In this respect the advice given to the "*Cosmo* girl" of the 21st century is no different than advice to her sisters thirty or fifty

years ago. In the same way the emotional issue of love is constructed as having the same effect on a woman as during previous generations, love stills makes the “*Cosmo* girl” swoon. Love is a matter that defies scientific analysis, it is outside the understanding and control of human beings.

The limitations imposed on the independence of the “*Cosmo* girl” by society come in the form of implicit norms of behaviour and explicit dangers. Her behaviour is restricted by norms based on traditional values of female identity which still govern the editorial policy of the magazine. The dangers facing her in society are described in the repertoire of connected knowledge which prepares her for misfortune and teaches her to avoid dangers. The repertoire of connected knowledge explicitly describes the situations where a woman does not have control, for instance, as victims of rape or illnesses and constructs individual examples of women as being acted upon. The descriptions of women being acted upon highlight the importance of having control and making choices which do not lead to situations where control is lost.

This licentiate thesis is an intermediate report on research which is to be developed onwards to the level of doctoral research. It has not, for instance, taken the intersubjective positioning of the three editors into detailed account. The use of those resources from the Appraisal theory framework might have supplied more information about how the editor relates to various propositions in the statements. However, as this thesis has dealt with an imaginary community like that of the “*Cosmo* girl” a framework generally applied to news stories may not be relevant throughout the study. A possible area for further research would be to investigate the feature stories of *Cosmopolitan* UK edition 2004 to which the editorials referred. These feature stories appear, for instance, in the sections labelled *CosmoRealLife* and *CosmoInvestigation*. They are stories about the life experiences of individual women and their format is a narrative. The feature stories can be approached through critical discourse analysis and their evaluative and attitudinal stance investigated in a way suggested by the Appraisal theory framework. In such a context the resources of intersubjective positioning may prove useful. In the feature stories, it is to be expected that repertoires rise which describe the woman interviewed. The purpose of this line

of research would primarily be to investigate what repertoires are used to describe the young 'new woman' in contemporary society. Secondly, such a study would also yield information as to whether the descriptions of the "*Cosmo* girl" in the editorials are supported by descriptions of female identities elsewhere in the content of the magazine.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1.

Editorial of *Cosmopolitan* UK Edition February 2004

Isn't it great to start the New Year on a positive note? Here at *Cosmo* we've been lucky enough to begin 2004 clasping a new award - and one which you've played an integral part in us winning. *Cosmo* has just scooped the British Society of Magazine Editors Innovation of the Year award for the unique Rape Stoppers campaign. Readers' letters prompted me to start this campaign to set up a 24-hour phone line for women who have been raped or sexually abused.

I received heartbreaking letters from women who'd been attacked but hadn't spoken to anyone about it before. As you know, very few women go to the police to report the crimes against them so they never get referred to support networks; they deal with the pain alone. We don't want that to happen anymore. *Cosmo* approached Rape Crisis and the Metropolitan Police's ground-breaking rape investigation squad Operation (formerly Project) Sapphire to help us look into setting up a line. Now, after a meeting with Home Secretary David Blunkett, the Government has pledged support for the line and is conducting research into setting it up.

We will be presenting our findings to a Home Office committee this month and will continue to apply pressure on them to fund such a line as soon as possible. We had so much support from you for Rape Stoppers, it was brilliant. We need you even more this year - and if you know any multi-millionaire businesses who'd like to help us achieve the dream of getting the line running in the next six months, then I'd love to hear from you.

(We also won International Magazine of the Year at the ACE publishing awards - congratulations to our Head of Newstrade Marketing Jennifer Caughey for that.)

I can only hope 2004 continues in such an optimistic and cheerful way, as we've got lots of new plans for *Cosmo* that will make your lives better and brighter. I hope you enjoy the exclusive 28-day diet we've tailored to meet your individual needs (p69) with help from Champneys Health Resorts. You wrote and told us you needed a quick, simple diet to help you either lose weight or just feel healthier, so we came up with our Happy Diet. This easy eating plan should take you through the year without so much as having to count a single calorie and will give you loads more energy. I think we can guarantee a happier and sexier new you in time for Valentine's Day and don't forget this year is a leap year, so if you fancy popping the question, now's the time. Write and let us know how it goes. Good luck!

Lorraine Candy, Editor

PS If you can't get enough of *Cosmo* this month, then grab a copy of the *Cosmopolitan Book Of Love - For "fun, fearless females"*. It's just £4.99 and is on sale exclusively in WHSmith. Find it next to the latest issue of your favourite magazine for the answer to all your dating and relating questions in one go.

Appendix 2.

Editorial of *Cosmopolitan* UK Edition August 2004

Every two years, Cosmo performs an amazing feat by gathering the editors of all the *Cosmopolitan* magazines around the world (that's 52 editions, reaching 47million women) and holding an international conference. It's an opportunity for us to come together with the legendary Cosmo founder Helen Gurley Brown, to share news and views with each other, and swap advice, stories and ideas. Inevitably, after three days together (in Manhattan, which was fab), conversations started to get personal and the whole event turned into a massive girls' night out – we talked about how we are constantly organising our lives around work and relationships, friends and family, even though we wouldn't have it any other way!

There are so many choices available to us and, although this can be really demanding, it was fascinating to hear how different women survive and thrive. There were also lots of cocktails, lots of dancing and lots of lively debate on love, lust and just how we fit everything we need to do into one day! It really is inspirational to hear so many "fun, fearless females" (and they truly are) talk about what affects their lives in their own countries and what are the hot topics for their own editions of Cosmo.

For all of us, however, our relationships and being the best we can be are of paramount importance, which is why I hope you'll enjoy Cosmo's Be The Best Special on p66. We spoke to nine fun, sexy and intelligent women who are from all over the UK, but from different ethnic backgrounds, to see the positive effect this has had on their lives.

I hope you enjoy reading this, and the rest of the issue – let me know what you think.

Nina

Appendix 3.

Editorial of *Cosmopolitan* UK Edition March 2004

Phew! There are so many things to tell you this month. First of all, Editor Lorraine Candy is on maternity leave. She's just given birth to a baby girl (Grace), the reason I'm standing in for the next few months. Next, our fashion team has been busy putting together our great new section, *Cosmo Shops* (p152), which brings you the best high-street buys to suit your body and budget. What's more, we've started a fantastic new page, *Your Sixth Sense* (p63), in response to letters and emails about your interest in the spiritual world. Each month, experienced *Cosmo* journalist and newly appointed Spirituality Editor Hannah Borno will be looking at everything, from tapping into your intuition and boosting your self-esteem, to consulting psychics and astrologers.

Which brings me on to one final thing I want to share. Recently, I bumped into a school friend I hadn't seen for years. Of course, it was amazing catching up with her after such a long time, but it was only when I told her I worked on *Cosmo* that her face cracked into the biggest smile. Immediately, she recited a piece of advice she'd read a while back in this magazine that had given her the confidence to accept the offer of a job abroad for six months. She was hesitant because she'd started a new relationship at the time and was worried it would be too much of an upheaval. But the advice - which said there was lots to be gained from jumping into a situation and taking risks - left a big impression on her. "It actually helped me make my mind up," she told me, before revealing she had taken up the offer - and kept her man, too, since the relationship survived the six-month parting.

Afterwards, I started thinking about the power of the advice given in *Cosmo*. This month I've found the feature *How To Bounce Back From Everything* (p89) extraordinarily touching and memorable. The mix of inspiration, knowledge, empathy and encouragement is what fuels those memorable '*Cosmo* moments'. So I asked around the office to find out which *Cosmo* moments had left a big impression on the staff - here's what they had to say...

- "I remember reading a Cosmo article called *Be True To Yourself* and that message really changed my life. For I'd been convinced I'd become a doctor but, around the time I was filling in my application, I read the article, looked into my heart and decided I couldn't go through with it. I had no idea what I would end up doing, but was prepared to have trust in the future - little did I know I'd actually end up working for *Cosmo* itself!"

Hannah Borno, Spirituality Editor

- "Bonnie Greer's words in *Why Young Love Makes You Stronger* (January) - 'no one can truly love till they love themselves' - made a huge impression on me. When you're happy in a relationship, as I am, it's easy to channel all your energy into your partner's happiness. Bonnie's words reminded me it's crucial to make time for my needs and desires if we're to live happy ever after."

Helen Daly, Assistant Editor

- "Dr Linda recently gave out five tips on how to love your body - remembering them always helps to make me feel positive if I ever have negative thoughts about my body."

Elle Iannaccone, Art Editor

I hope you enjoy this month's issue. Do write in to tell me about your own Cosmo moments - or you can email cosmo.mail@natmags.com.

Nina Ahmad, Acting Editor

Appendix 4.

Editorial of *Cosmopolitan* UK Edition April 2004

As you know all of us at *Cosmo* are really proud of the fact that our magazine is packed with intimate advice on how you can have a happier healthier sex life. We're especially thrilled to have the best authorities on the subject of sex and relationships writing for *Cosmo* - our Sex Editors Rachel Morris, Dr Sarah Humphery and Sarah Hedley. So, you can imagine how we all felt when the trio were invited to the US by Oprah Winfrey - yep Oprah, to give the benefit of their experience. She wanted our Sex Editors to guest on one of her shows, entitled *Is Your Sex Life Normal?* I also learned that the Oprah Winfrey show has an audience of a staggering 23 million. And our girls did a super-impressive job, each of them turned out in sexy pinstripe suits, looking like modern day Charlie's Angels delivering great advice for the whole of the US to hear. "It was a great experience, especially being picked up from the airport in the stretchiest limo ever!" Rachel (a *Cosmo* girl if ever I knew one) told me, "Oprah was really warm and approachable and had the best comic timing of anyone I've ever met!" Unfortunately the show won't be transmitted in the UK, but you can catch up with how the girls got on by logging on to www.oprah.com and of course they're giving advice and inspiration in our *Passion Package* (p137).

Obviously I know you'll enjoy the rest of the magazine. Please make sure to read *You + Your Friends* (p95). I think one of the great things about being a woman is our friendships. I don't know what I'd do without my own friends, who I think are the most understanding women in the world, even when I don't call often enough and forget the occasional birthday (well, quite a few actually!). But I was so moved by the stories of against-the-odds friendships that have survived illness and huge tragedy that it's only right *Cosmo* pay tribute to those special women who play such a big part in all our lives.

Also, check our *RapeStoppers Campaign* update on p66. As you know, we have been running this since the start of last year to help raise money for a national helpline for

survivors of rape. But never has it been more needed than now. In November last year we received a call at the *Cosmo* offices from a distraught woman who said she had been drug-raped and needed help. We aren't trained counsellors, yet she thought we were her only source of help at the time. It's a shocking situation that needs your support, so please turn to p70 to find out how to help.

I hope you enjoy this issue - we're here to entertain and inform, so let me know your thoughts by writing in, or you can email mail@natmags.com.

Nina Ahmad, Acting Editor

Appendix 5.

Editorial of *Cosmopolitan* UK Edition October 2004

I have always been a Cosmo girl, ever since I picked up my first copy of *Cosmopolitan* as an 18-year-old student in Birmingham – away from home for the first time, terrified and loving it all at the same time. I'd always wanted the things that my first ever copy of *Cosmo* made me believe I could have – not some success-crazed, unattainable version of life, but to live life on your own terms – whether that featured a career, a man, marriage, babies, or not. Whatever felt right for you.

From the moment I first picked up a copy (or should I say fought over a copy with my flatmates) something clicked, and I began to believe my dream of becoming a journalist on a glossy magazine could come true. That dream had been shattered by a London journalism college, who told me I didn't have what it took to make it in magazine journalism (not tough enough, apparently) and sent me packing with tears in my eyes. I didn't know that this very rejection would motivate me for years to come!

It was *Cosmo* (and the many subsequent glossy magazines that have since emulated it) that made me believe I COULD.

I could leave that boyfriend, who had reduced my self-esteem to the size of a pea. I could learn to love (well, like) my ginger hair!

I could learn to type, move to London and con someone into actually employing me. Better still, I could summon the courage to throw in that job and join a temping agency, in the vain hope of landing a job – any job – on a magazine. And when I got lucky – which by some miracle, I did – I could persuade the Editor to let me write the shopping page, just once, to show her I could do it.

I confess I harboured fantasies of one day becoming a magazine editor – the fact that one day that magazine might be Cosmo, was a bit outlandish even for me! So when I answered my mobile three months ago, to be offered the editorship of Cosmo, it was a bit like being told you could choose between Brad Pitt and Orlando Bloom, and then dump them both for Johnny Depp. The ultimate Cosmo moment, and the realisation of a secret ambition I would never have had the courage to nurture, if it wasn't for Cosmo in the first place.

Cosmo's fun, fearless and unashamedly female approach gave me more than any number of exam passes ever could. Yes, Cosmo is 'just a magazine' – full of fantastic advice that really works on all areas of your life, must-have shopping ideas, gorgeous beauty, and far more must-read features than any other women's glossy. But, I love Cosmo and I hope that over the coming months, you will too.

You'll see a few changes and I'd love to know what you think, so email me at cosmo.editor@natmags.co.uk. I hope it will be the start, if not of a meaningful relationship, at least more than a flip-flop-induced one-month stand.

Sam

Appendix 6.

Editorial of *Cosmopolitan* UK Edition November 2004

Sitting in a cafe the other day, I overheard a conversation that really made me think. New government statistics about soaring STI rates had just been published, and you couldn't open a newspaper without concluding we were all riddled with infection. Three women – your average twentysomething girls – were having a lunch-hour gossip at the table behind me. As always, they talked about men (how crap/great they are), sex (how crap/great that can be) and then one of them mentioned 'all the fuss' about STIs. 'It's really scary,' she said. 'I'm so glad it doesn't affect me.' Her friends both nodded in agreement. 'I know,' one of them said. 'Thank God girls like us don't get STIs.'

I was shocked: Were they virgins or one-man women who had all married one-woman men? Or maybe they had never, ever had unprotected sex, not even when they were drunk. But no, it turned out, as the conversation continued, that their perceived immunity came from being nice, ordinary women, with good jobs and fashionable clothes, who had notched up more than a football team between them, but were currently with men they trusted. This, they agreed, meant they were STI-free. And it made me think, maybe that's why the STI rates are soaring – women like us believe STIs only affect other people. So, we're reintroducing Cosmo's Passion Roulette Campaign: our seven page section is the most authoritative STI myth-busting guide you'll ever read.

This month also sees the return of Cosmo's Sex & The Single Girl column. With more women than ever living life on their own terms, and loving it, we decided to sing the praises of the single life. So, whether you're between boyfriends, multi-dating or just too busy (or even just nostalgic for your single days!), we're sure Victoria Coren's insightful and entertaining look at why men can't cope with multi-faceted modern women will strike a chord.

There's so much more I want to tell you about, but here are just a few things I'd hate you to miss: the heart-rending story of Chantal McCorkle, incarcerated in a US jail for 24 years, for a crime that isn't even a crime in the UK; our inspiring Be The Best section, where our favourite celebs share the tragedies that made them the women they are today, and Darius speaks exclusively to Cosmo about the trauma of his father's cancer. As for the rest, you'll just have to buy the November issue and start reading...

Sam