

Not that Innocent

The discursive construction of girls' sexuality in *Dolly* magazine

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Abstract

This study examines the discursive construction of girls' sexuality in the teen magazine, *Dolly*. It uses *Dolly* to illustrate the ambiguity surrounding girls' sexuality in the media which render it simultaneously problematic and a source of entertainment. This focus was inspired by recent publicity surrounding teen sexual practices in New Zealand, where various media and governmental debates have rendered teen, and in particular girls' sexuality a "sex crisis" (The New Zealand Listener: 14-20 May 2005) with which New Zealand is faced. The study uses a multi-modal approach, combining ethnographic research and textual analysis. The former consists of a questionnaire with one hundred and nineteen respondents from two socio-demographically different secondary schools and supports previous research that demonstrates the important role of magazines in the lives of young women. The latter involves an examination of fifteen issues of *Dolly* and suggests that the identities of the reader, subject and author are discursively constructed through the prevalent discourses in the magazine. The often contradictory discourses upon which this study focuses are confession, victimisation, epidemic, medicine, desire and girl power. The identities constructed are equally contradictory and include a naïve, knowledgeable, deviant or normal but always heterosexually desiring and desirable reader. In general, the study provides an insight into the ambiguity surrounding girls' sexuality in popular culture, and into the potential implications of this on girls' sexual, personal and social development and identity.

General Introduction

Overview

This study explores the discursive construction of girls' sexuality in the young women's magazine, *Dolly*. In particular, it considers the ambiguity surrounding the representation of girls' sexuality in the magazine. Despite sexuality being central to humanity, the concept is difficult to define and takes on many forms beyond that of sexual intercourse. Thus the study is conducted from a Foucauldian perspective that considers sexualities rather than sexuality (Foucault 1980) and takes into consideration various sexual acts, gender issues, attitudes and behaviours. The concept of ambiguity is based on the definitions "unclearness by virtue of having more than one meaning" (Wordnet 2006) and "the existence of several possible meanings, including conflicting attitudes or feelings" (Cumberland College 2006). The study also suggests that the ambiguity is not exclusive to *Dolly* but rather a reflection of broader popular culture whereby girls are "barraged with an ever more confusing and contradictory set of guidelines for how they should manage their developing sexuality" (Tolman 2002: 8).

Background

The focus of this study was inspired by recent publicity surrounding teen sexual practices in New Zealand. Within five months there had been television documentaries ("Expose: Teen Sex" (video recording) channel 1: 28 April 2005) current affairs items and interviews (Campbell Live: (video recording) channel 3: 26 April 2005), magazine features (The New Zealand Listener: "Is your child getting too much sex?" 19-25 March 2005 and "Virgin Territory" 14-20 May 2005) and newspaper articles (The Christchurch Press: "Headlong dash into adulthood" March 19 2005) concerning teen and pre-teen sexuality. This journalism was of a moralist nature, rendering teen and pre-teen sexuality and sexualisation a problem, a "sex crisis" (The New Zealand Listener 14-20 May 2005) with which New Zealand is faced. That these issues were addressed from this perspective, whilst using the same media that promote and use youth sexuality as a marketing tool (Pipher 1994: 71; Gough-Yates 2003: 138), is indicative of the ambiguity surrounding the subject.

The media attention dedicated to teen sexuality in New Zealand followed a nation-wide debate surrounding the Government's proposal to decriminalise consensual under-age sex, if the age difference between the two parties did not exceed two years. As articulated by Tom Frewen of MediaWatch (2004), the controversy from radio talk back to newspaper editorials developed along three lines: that the Government was promoting teenage promiscuity, that it was out of touch, and that it was up to no good given the lack of publicity and media attention surrounding the change when it was introduced six months prior. The Government claimed that it was not committed to new legislation which critics such as National MP and justice spokesman, Tony Ryall, said would make it legal for children as young as twelve to have consenting sex (The New Zealand Herald 2004). It also claimed that decriminalising sexual conduct between young people under the age of sixteen did not mean lowering the age of consent. Another change proposed by the government was the removal of the 'arbitrary' age limit of 21 for someone claiming that they had a 'reasonable belief' that an under-age sexual partner was over 16, with the new bill simply requiring a person to have taken 'reasonable steps' to ascertain the person was over the age of consent. How, in practice, differentiation can be made between the terms 'decriminalisation' and 'legalisation' seems as ambivalent as the ability to define 'reasonable steps', with regard to ascertaining that a sexual partner is over the age of consent, and then to prove that such steps have been taken. The ambiguity surrounding teen sexuality in New Zealand media and legislative contexts is epitomised by the controversy created by Destiny Church leader and MP, Brian Tamaki regarding his aim to get virginity pledges and abstinence education in every state school. Highly critical of liberal sex education, his abstinence movement mentions condoms only in the context of their failure rate, a view that contradicts safe sex campaigns such as the well-publicised "Hubba hubba" one, which encourages condom use among young people (The New Zealand Listener 14-20 May 2005).

If in legislative, news media and popular cultural contexts youth sexuality is characterised by ambiguity it is unsurprising that this also seems to be the case in the sexual practices and attitudes of young people. This is reflected in information presented in a recent Ministry of Health media statement, which described New Zealand's comparatively high and increasing rates of unwanted pregnancies, abortions and sexually transmitted infections among young

people. The report also indicated that the age for first sexual intercourse is decreasing and that 30-40% of teenagers under the legal age of sixteen are sexually active (The New Zealand Ministry of Health 2005: 4). These observations are consistent with those of Roy Nash, from Massey University College of Education, who stated that the age of first sexual intercourse is dropping with nearly 7% of girls under the age of 13 having sex and 22.6% of 14-15-year-olds. Further, Nash says sex is “no longer the preserve of the alienated and disenchanted; sexual activity among girls with high self-esteem is becoming increasingly common” (The New Zealand Listener 14-20 May 2005). Not surprisingly, it seems that there is also ambiguity surrounding young people and sexuality in an educational context. The article in which Nash was quoted states that “what we have to get real about is the anomaly that a child of any age can have access to contraceptives and may, in fact, have an abortion without her parents knowing, and yet a school board may still deny that child the right to sexuality education at school” (The New Zealand Listener 14-20 May 2005). This view is reflected in The New Zealand Ministry of Health report which stated that whilst school, friends and parents are the main sources of sex information for youth, few schools offer comprehensive sexuality education, and many young people feel unable to discuss sex with their parents and vice versa. More significantly though, was the report’s proclamation that magazines are the next main source of sex information for young people (The New Zealand Ministry of Health 2005: 2). Based on personal observations and previous research, it appears that the messages about sexuality within and between magazines are contradictory and epitomise the ambiguity surrounding girls’ sexuality. Thus, combined with the fact that magazines are an important source of sex information for young people and that during adolescence girls become vulnerable, fragmented and “full of contradictions” (Pipher 1994: 21-2), the discursive and ambiguous construction of girls’ sexuality in this media form is an issue worthy of investigation.

To this end, the choice was made to explore the discursive construction of girls’ sexuality in the girls’ magazine, *Dolly*. There were several reasons for this choice:

- 1) An Australian Consolidated Press publication targeting the 13 –21 age group, *Dolly* is the highest selling magazine of its nature in Australia and New Zealand and has been

around since 1970 (Kang 2000). In addition, it was the winner of the Magazine Publishers Association “Magazine of the Year” award 2005 and also received a general excellence award for lifestyle (FIPP 2005).

- 2) The fact that *Dolly* is not unrepresentative of magazines targeting the Western youth market, particularly with regard to the way in which it strongly sexualises most of its written and visual material (Schirato & Yell 2000: 98).
- 3) The incorporation of young women’s magazines of advertising and popular music, television and film content whilst also claiming to provide advice and information.
- 4) The initiative taken by *Dolly* to develop a corresponding website and thus compete with the occupation of girls’ time by new media.
- 5) The important cultural and sociological positions occupied by magazines, particularly in the lives of young girls’ and women (The New Zealand Ministry of Health 2005: 2; McRobbie 1991: 83; Frazer 1987; Hermes 1995; Durham 1998; Kang 2000; Tyler 2004).

The principal research method used in this study is a textual analysis of *Dolly*. However, to substantiate this, an ethnographic analysis of the views and opinions of readers and non-readers of the magazine is included. This information was obtained in the form of questionnaires conducted at two local but socio-demographically diverse secondary schools. The attempt was made to contact the editor of *Dolly* in order to interview her and thus further substantiate the study but no response was received. The general aim, through an exploration of a popular girls’ magazine and its constructed and actual readers, is to highlight issues that may arise from the ambiguity surrounding girls’ sexuality in popular culture and open new avenues for more specific study in these areas. On a more ambitious level, the study attempts to determine whether such ambiguity appears to encourage the adoption or strengthening of particular attitudes and/or behaviours and to investigate the potential implications of this for girls’ sexual, personal and social development and identity.

Literature Review

Much of the existing literature surrounding young people and the media tends to place emphasis or is based on visual media and in particular television and its effects (Kaplan 1976 & 1982; Palmer & Dorr 1980; Freedman 1984, 1986, 1991, 1994, 2002; Gauntlett 1995; Buckingham 1996; Giroux 1997; Goldstein 1998; Anderson 2001). A similar situation is apparent in popular culture studies, where the music industry is also a focal point (Bennett 2000, 2001; Green 2003). Thematically, the most prevalent and recurring themes are violence (Larson 1968; Howitt & Cumberbatch 1975; Palmer & Dorr c1980; Kaplan 1982; Freedman 1984, 1986, 1991, 1994, 2002; Goldstein 1998; Potter c1999; Carter & Weaver 2003) race (Giroux 1996, 1996, c1997; Bennett c2000, 2001; Green c2003) or, more recently, body image and appearance (Wolf c1991; Bordo c1993; Davis 1997; Frost 2001; Schiebinger 2000) which are resulting in an increasing emphasis on sexuality (Wolf 1997; Tolman 2002). Alongside the development of the latter theme and in particular its relevance to young women, the status of girls' magazines as a site for media attention, criticism and investigation is rising. However, in these contexts girls' sexuality is usually portrayed in negative terms, clustered with problem behaviours such as smoking and drinking. Inevitably, research reflects this making it difficult for girls' to develop a mature sense of themselves as sexual beings by the time they have reached adulthood (Tolman 2002: 4). The work of Angela McRobbie (1983, 1994, 1996) and Elizabeth Frazer (1987) to which will be returned, whose work on the 1960s girls' magazine *Jackie* created a foundation for work on girls' magazines, particularly with regard to the socially privileged position of magazines in the lives of girls.

Content analysis approach

Historically, the majority of previous literature on magazines has focused on women's magazines and have been conducted from a feminist perspective (Friedan 1963; White 1970; Ferguson 1983; Winship 1987; Ballaster et. al 1991; Hermes 1995; Beetham 1996) whilst drawing on cultural studies, media studies and sociology. Studies often used chronological, case-study-based content analyses of mainly British magazines to explore the extent to which they reflected and reinforced the current social processes and climate (Beetham 1996) and in particular the women's movements before and after the war years (White 1970). As noted by

White, social influences “directly affect the role which women’s magazines are called upon to play” (278). More specifically, these studies investigated the way in which women’s magazines remained anti-feminist, despite the changes that occurred in women’s societal position as a result of the women’s movements. This was achieved through observation of the dominant themes of the fiction stories, advice sections, domestic and beauty tips and advertising, which critics generally agreed maintained and reinforced the patriarchal gender roles of the time. However, as Gough-Yates (2003) suggested, this approach effectively rendered magazines little more than agents in service of patriarchal capitalism and thus assumed readers to be passive (9).

Textual analysis approach

Another approach, often combined with the above, was textual analysis which drew on Gramscian notions of hegemony (McRobbie 1991; Winship 1987; Durham 1998), Althusserian notions of ideology (McRobbie 1991), Barthes and Saussures’ theories on semiotics (Winship 1987; McRobbie 1991; McCracken 1993) and, in a post-structuralist vein, Foucault’s theories on discourse (Frazer 1987; Ballaster 1991; Illouz 1991; McRobbie 1991 & 1996; Kehily 1998: 78). These theoretical frameworks were used to describe the way in which, despite the possibility of multiple readings of a text, women’s magazines attempt to maintain and reinforce particular ideologies of womanhood and femininity. Critics such as Frazer (1987) and Ballaster et. al (1991) were concerned with the contradictory messages being delivered within and between magazines as a result of the multiple discourses used and how this resulted in the adoption of particular vocabularies and knowledge being available for use in particular contexts by readers. This was illustrated through investigation of the prevalent discourses in magazine editorial and advertising, readers’ letters and problem pages which were seen by critics to be highly normative and prescriptive. As expressed by Ballaster et. al (1991: 9), critics often referred to the consistently intimate tone of voice used to address readers (Ferguson 1983: 84; McRobbie 1991: 90) or to the normative and regulative nature of the problem pages (Ferguson 1983: 41; McRobbie 1991: 163). This reflected Foucault’s notion of using experts to legitimate information (Illouz 1991: 240). Critics such as Frazer (1987) found that readers’ letters indicated that they had adopted the magazines’ ways of discussing and thinking about particular issues in order to interact with the magazine staff

and be part of the magazine content. It was this notion that brought to the attention of theorists, the role of the reader in the production and consumption of magazine content.

Ethnographic approach

Ethnographic and interpretative approaches shifted the emphasis from the text to the reader by addressing the pleasure obtained from reading magazines and then through discussions, interviews, questionnaires and surveys with readers, investigating their reading habits, opinions, attitudes and perspectives (Ballaster et. al 1991; Winship 1987; Frazer 1987; Hermes 1995; Benwell 2005: 151). These critics usually referred to Janice Radway's study of women reading romances (1984) in which she conducted questionnaires and interviews with romance readers to find out why they read them and what they think is "getting said" through reading them (8-9). She combined this with an analysis of "standard language" and "narrative discourse" and concluded that "literary meaning is not something to be found *in* a text. Rather, it is an entity produced by a reader in conjunction with the text's verbal structure" (11). Joke Hermes (1995) expressed that although post-structuralism, psychoanalysis and postmodernism had led to "the acknowledgment that pleasure was an important aspect of the study of popular culture in its own right" (2), analyses were still mainly textual, concerned with the polysemic character of texts rather than readers' views, and showed feminist concern rather than respect (3). To counter this, from a self-reflexive, postmodern feminist perspective, she attempted to "reconstruct...women's magazines and how they become meaningful exclusively through the perception of their readers" (6). She also discussed the tendency for researchers to succumb to a "fallacy of meaningfulness" and acknowledged that reading women's magazines can be a virtually meaningless or at least secondary activity (15). In addition, she realised through the interview process itself that the texts are not meaningful if analysed outside the contexts of readers' everyday lives (13), a view shared by Ballaster et. al (1991) who noted that the researcher of women's magazines must be aware of the different meanings that will emerge from any one title or text dependent on the conditions under which it is 'read'..." (39).

Production approach

In addition to representation and consumption, another aspect (neglected by the majority of studies) was the production of women's magazines. Exceptions to this are Ferguson's study (1983) based on her ten years work experience in the industry, which examined the promulgation of messages sacred to cult of femininity by women's magazines (5). Another exception is McCracken's study (1993) which used a semiotic analysis to substantiate her notion that magazines are a business enterprise and thus editorial and advertising are inseparable. More recently, Gough-Yates (2003) acknowledged the lack of attention previously given to this, and focused on women's magazine publishing, markets and readerships. This approach concerned the economic and cultural changes of the magazine industry, the role of fordism, post- and neo-fordism, and the consequent rise of a more "pronounced and self-conscious strategy" to construct the identity of readers and the "personality" of texts (21). She used a multi-modal discourse analytic approach which considered the concept of branding and the impact of commercial as well as social pressures on the construction of identity, a notion that was to become particularly important in later work (Milkie 2002; Machin & Thornborrow 2003; Quart 2003; Reichert & Carpenter 2004).

Post-modern approach

A more recent approach to magazine studies could be described as a combination of the above approaches with a strong post-modernist, cultural-studies influence (Hochschild 1994; McRobbie 1996; Currie 1999; Tyler 2004; Frost 2003; Schirato & Yell 2000: 98-101). McRobbie (1996) described it as more concerned with representational forms and their meanings which effectively renders social interaction, the space of cognition and opposition, subordinate. Likewise social institutions and their practices are also disregarded except in their discursive and regulative modes (176). Reflecting Butler's theories (1999) these studies acknowledge subject as a temporary fixing within the structures of the discursive situation in which he or she is located, identity as a performance and thus 'experience' as temporal and situational (Currie 1999: 113; Frost 2003). They also suggest that a result of this is the adoption of an increasingly instrumental attitude towards the self, particularly with regard to sexuality which is increasingly viewed as something to be managed (Hochschild 1994; Tyler

2004). In addition to incorporating post-structuralist theory such as that of Goffman (1959) and Giddens (1991, 1992) and discourse-based analyses, this approach also recognises the importance of social context as discussed by Hermes (1995) and Ballaster et al (1991). As illustrated by McRobbie's work, such an emphasis is applicable to both the question of meaning production through the activities of magazine professionals and also to meaning consumption by conceptualising an ethnography of fragmented female identity through processes of looking and reading (McRobbie 1996: 177).

Justifications for studying women's magazines

In general, theorists justified the importance of studies of women's magazines by "the scale of their audience, women, and the breadth of their specialism, femininity", the longevity of the medium (existed since late 17th C Britain) (Ferguson 1983: 1-2) and the consequent privileged position they occupy in the lives of readers (Frazer 1987; McRobbie 1991: 83; Hermes 1995; Durham 1998; Kang 2000; Tyler 2004). Despite varying methodologies, emphases and focal points, the dominant theme of all of these studies was that women's magazines are not innocent sites of pleasure, but rather socialising agents and powerful ideologically-weighted sites for the construction of identity. More specifically, for the construction of a narrowly defined feminine identity. Despite reflecting social changes and climates, the principal topics covered by magazine studies do not seem to have changed significantly and broadly consist of the tension between femininity and feminism and magazines' reinforcement of patriarchal gender and sexual roles.

Identity construction

Friedan's notion of the "feminine mystique" could be seen as the starting point of theorists' work on the construction of femininity in women's magazines. She used the "feminine mystique" to describe the "sexual counter-revolution of the emancipation of women won by the feminists" (Friedan 1963: 327) which suggests that "the highest value and the only commitment for women is the fulfilment of their own femininity." She also added that "the great mistake of Western culture, through most of its history, has been the undervaluation of this femininity." This she believed caused women to envy and try to be like men, instead of accepting their own nature, which can find fulfilment only in sexual passivity, male

domination, and nurturing maternal love” (Friedan 1963: 43). Subsequent magazine studies developed this notion. For example, the focus of Marjorie Ferguson’s work (1983) can be summarised in the use of the term ‘cult’ in her title “Forever Feminine: Women’s Magazines and the Cult of Femininity”. Theorists observed the tensions resulting from magazines’ assumption of femininity and beauty (often rendered interchangeable) as simultaneously natural and culturally acquired and therefore both a source of anxiety and a source of pleasure because it can never be fully achieved. They were particularly interested in the way in which magazines perpetuate these myths of femininity and appearance and offer themselves as a solution – “...a friend, advisor and instructor in the difficult task of being a woman” (Ballaster et. al 1991: 124-5). Moreover, it was believed that women’s magazines reflect and reflect *upon* this contradiction and offer means to manage contradictions through “therapeutic ethos” (theory of self-knowledge) (Illouz 1991: 242). With regard to the construction of femininity in women’s magazines, the overall message of these studies was the same: that despite changes over the years, women’s magazines “define norms for what their followers should think, say, do, wear, cook, read, explore, ignore or care about” (Ferguson 1983: 189). This, it was agreed, encouraged conformity to a narrow definition of femininity according to hegemonic, dominant ideals.

Femininity and gender

As a result of the promotion of a narrow definition of femininity by women’s magazines, the majority of critics saw them as predominantly anti-feminist and as socialising agents responsible for reinforcing patriarchal gender relations and inequalities (Ferguson 1983; McRobbie 1983; Winship 1987; Ballaster et. al 1991; McCracken 1993). For example, Ferguson’s chronological study typified the earlier magazine work by tracing a women’s principal role as being one situated in a domestic context (submissive housewife) through to an independent and perhaps career based one (‘New Woman’) as a product of the women’s movements. However, she also acknowledged the reality of this popular theme in women’s magazines where the dualistic message was, “Yes, get out there and show the world you are someone in your own right”, but also “remember you must achieve as a wife and a mother, too” (1983: 189). Winship developed this idea by stating that, “Women have no culture and world out there other than the one which is controlled and mediated by men (6) and that,

“The ‘woman’s world’ which women’s magazines represent is created precisely because it does not exist outside their pages” (7). Ballaster et. al (1991) suggested that through magazines, “The ideology of femininity works to mystify relations of exploitation and oppression between men and women, to legitimate male domination” (20) with the responsibility for maintaining and improving relationships being women’s (143). Some later works, in allowing the possibility of an active or at least negotiating reader, suggested that rather than being force-fed a constellation of negative images that naturalise male dominance, women’s magazines exert a “cultural leadership to shape consensus in which highly pleasurable codes work to naturalize social relations of power” (McCracken 1993: 3). Others, such as Hermes (1995), believed that “far too often criticism of the text has been extended to its readers; it has led to horrifying stereotypical views of women’s magazines’ heterogeneous audiences and portrayed them *en masse* as silly housewives (147).

Sexuality

Another theme deriving from magazine studies’ focus on femininity and gender relations was and is increasingly, sexuality. This seems inevitable given that the dominant theme in most girls and women’s magazines has been and still is getting a boy or man, though the attitudes surrounding and recommended procedures for this have changed. Earlier studies treated magazines’ portrayal of sexuality similar to that of the previous themes. That is, as something that changes to reflect the social conditions yet always remains anti-feminist whether by stereotyping, degrading and/or objectifying women. A common notion extractable from most studies is that messages regarding sexuality in women’s magazines have gone from being stern and moralising to more direct, frank and no-nonsense (Ferguson 1983: 92) to exaggerated and excessive to the point of being ironic and parodying (McRobbie 1996: 177). Thematically, messages have evolved from rewarding repression and punishing promiscuity (Ferguson 1983: 44-8) to acknowledging then accepting the existence of female desire to encouraging informative discussions of topics such as contraception, abortion and safe-sex (Ferguson 1983). Recently, they have evolved into ones which explicitly celebrate the role of women’s sexuality as “*the* source of their power over men and of their success in the work place (Machin & Thornborrow 2003: 460) (emphasis added).

Support and service

In addition to analyses of sexual themes, problems, advice, stories, images and advertising, studies discussed the way in which magazines (Cosmopolitan being the first) offer readers a form of “psycho-social-sexual support and ‘service’” (Ferguson 1983: 82). However, most critics agreed that emphasising on the one hand getting, if not keeping, a man and on the other towards getting the better, or at least the equal, of him (Ferguson 1983: 187) ultimately contributes to the narrow definition of femininity and the patriarchal values that accompany it. As Winship observed with regard to Cosmopolitan’s 1960s celebration of sexual liberation, the emphasis on sex and how to pleasure a man made it increasingly like another area of personal work. In this respect, ironically, Cosmo was following in the hallowed footsteps of magazine tradition: ‘domestic work’, ‘beauty work’ and now ‘sex work’. (Winship 1987: 112). Similarly, Machin & Thornborrow (2003) stated that though it is hard to argue against “daring and transgressive” sex articles with women in command suggesting empowerment and emancipation, it is a different picture when one considers that this self-image and sense of power is reliant on the reaction of the man (463-464). These observations reflect Seidman’s work (1989) on sex manuals in which he suggested that the claim to defend women’s sexual equality is belied by the fact that their sexuality is constructed to reflect male needs and desires. He expressed that this left the sexual double standard intact and rendered women men’s sexual and social subordinates (Seidman 1989: 296). Further, he and other critics such as Hermes acknowledged that, though explicit, the sexual options presented in women’s magazines are still limited and limiting given that they are still “overwhelmingly heterosexual in orientation and predominantly white in colour” (Hermes 1995: 9).

Fantasy and reality

The blurring of the boundary between fantasy and reality as a result of magazine editors’ attempts to incorporate femininity, sexuality and feminism is another recurring theme in the literature on women’s magazines (Winship 1987; Ballaster et. al 1991; Hermes 1995; Beetham 1996; Gough-Yates 2003; Machin & Thornborrow 2003). One observation made was the way in which magazines position the reader on the one hand as strong, powerful and with agency and on the other as naïve and in need of instruction (Machin & Thornborrow

2003: 465). Others include the ‘womanliness’ the magazines sought to produce being always contradictory and entangled with other differences such as class, nation and religion (Hermes 1995; Beetham 1996). In addition, critics noted that editorial and advertising is often indistinguishable in women’s magazines, with McCracken’s analysis of covert advertisements exposing the promotion of products disguised as editorial or hidden so as to appear non-advertising (McCracken 1993: 4). With regard to relationships, Ballaster et. al noted that, “The world of the magazine is one in which men and women are eternally in opposition, always in struggle, but always in pursuit of each other...” (Ballaster 1991: 8).

Critics described the tension that arises as a result of magazines offering practical knowledge and advice simultaneous to temporary fantasies of an ideal self (Winship 1987; Ballaster et. al 1991; Hermes 1995; Gough-Yates 2003; Machin & Thornborrow 2003). More specifically, they expressed fear that women’s sense of the world and their expectations will become distorted, and confusion will ensue. Similarly, it was noted that as a result of their claim to ‘represent’ rather than direct or influence the female social body, magazines find themselves reproducing those very contradictions and paradoxes they ostensibly promise to resolve (Ballaster 1991: 173). Another observation made was that, as a result of the blurring of boundaries between fantasy and reality, advertising and editorial, women’s magazines are manifested as capitalist entities. Illouz (1991) discussed this with regard to the language of commodities impacting even the domains of love, romance and relationships which are given to the same logic of evaluation of costs and profits of business transactions (238). McCracken developed this view by describing women’s magazines as business enterprises and cultural texts containing content shaped by advertisers’ needs (1999: 3). Further, she discussed the way in which questionnaires and surveys result in readers perhaps unknowingly providing market information that the magazine can use to attract advertisers” (139).

Adolescent girls

Until the 1950s, little was written about adolescent girls unless in relation to schooling. Since then, much of the research on girls has been in the disciplines of sociology and psychology (Lees 1986; Gilligan et. al 1991; Pipher 1994; Wolf 1997; Hird & Jackson 2001; Tolman 2002). That much of this research omits or downplays specific reference to the interaction of

youth cultures with popular culture was considered problematic by theorists such as Durham (1998). She articulated the importance of popular culture as an ideological force in adolescent life and consciousness that is felt across boundaries of race, class, and culture. The literature dedicated to girls' magazines is methodologically and thematically similar to or is incorporated into that on women's magazines. Observations of earlier magazines include their attempts to address readers' desire for "power, independence and excitement, without challenging patriarchal interests in male dominance and a girl's acceptance of a future role as subordinate wife, mother and homemaker" (Tinkler 1995: 5). This view was reflected by McCracken (1993) who described content dedicated to young women as a form of "ideological and consumerist training of young girls" in order to make readers "ripe for other beauty and fashion magazines that will continue this formation" (143). Further, she added that magazines especially for girls are "especially effective agents of socialization and consumer culture" because they present themselves as part of a subculture to which only adolescent girls are privy (142). This view was accepted by critics such as Evans et. al (1991) who stated that it is tempting to argue that teenzines are essentially downward extensions of magazines such as *Cosmopolitan*, *Glamour*, and *Vogue* (110) and Angela McRobbie (1983) who believed that women's and girls' weeklies occupy privileged position given that they are addressed solely to female market, promote feminine culture and define and shape the women's world spanning every stage from early childhood to old age (83). She also believed that magazines such as British teen magazine *Jackie* occupied "the sphere of the personal or private" resulting in hegemony being sought uncoercively. Consequently, she believed, the magazine was seen as an arena of 'freedom', 'free choice' and 'free time'. It was a result of this ideological construction of leisure, that girls were "subjected to an explicit attempt to win consent to the dominant order-in terms of femininity, leisure and consumption ie. at the level of culture" (87). Not unrelated, much of the recent study surrounding girls' magazines has as its main focus the feelings of inadequacy that unrealistic, unachievable, unaffordable, and fragmented appearance ideals may produce in readers (Evans et. al 1991; McCracken 1993; Duffy & Gotcher 1996; Milkie 2002; Budgeon 2003; Jones et. al 2004; Frost 2005). Sexuality usually features in these studies and though still limited in volume and narrow in focus, is increasingly becoming a topic for consideration in its own right.

Girls' sexuality in the pre-sexual revolution years

The study that has been conducted on girls' sexuality in magazines developed along two main lines. The first of these was that preceding the sexual revolution years, magazines' rendering of subjects such as menstruation, pregnancy, birth control and pre-marital sex taboo and "unfeminine" was problematic given the inadequacy of sex education and instruction provided by schools and other sectors of society (Ferguson 1983; Tinkler 1995). This, Tinkler believed, revealed an ambivalence between recognising girls as capable individuals in the social and employment spheres and feeling that they were inferior because of factors such as menstruation, which advertising presented as something needing medication which would cure women of their natural "disabilities" (Tinkler 1995: 164). These critics believed that until the 1950s and 1960s, sexuality in magazines was only acceptable if "separated from a desire for sex, and if it was either child-like in its passivity or maternal" (Tinkler 1995: 170). Another point of concern for critics was that magazines for or content aimed at girls was moralistic and rendered them responsible for relationships (Ballaster 1991: 143) and "making sure things didn't go too far" (Tinkler 1995: 167). In general, studies focused on magazines' combination of emphases on physical attractiveness, romance, denial of sexuality, and the importance of girls remaining passive, or if active being able to conceal this from boys (Measor 1989: 49; Ballaster et. al 1991: 142; McRobbie 1991: 106). The consequent tensions that arose reflect those evident in the gender-based double standard discussed in the context of women's magazines.

Construction of girls' femininity

McRobbie's 1983 analysis of the British teen magazine Jackie could be described as the founding study of girls' magazines. Based on a semiotic analysis of the magazine, McRobbie found a system of messages that functioned as a signifying system and a bearer of an ideology which dealt with the construction of teenage femininity (82). More specifically, heterosexual romance was defined as the central goal for adolescent girls and according to which girls were expected to submit - or even aspire - to male domination. This view was reflected in the work of Evans et. al (1991) who discussed how articles and advertisements mutually reinforce an underlying value that the road to happiness is attracting males for

successful heterosexual life by way of physical beautification and as a result other themes such as alternative life-styles, careers, politics, sports and education are given a low profile (110). McRobbie also discussed the restrictive categorisation of boys in which they were “idealised and romanticised” so that there was a discrepancy between Jackie boys and those boys who are discussed on the problem page, *Cathy and Claire*, who were typical of contemporary capitalist society boys and thus “socialised to be interested in sex” (1983: 99).

The denial of girls’ sexuality

In general, a girl’s sexuality was understood and experienced “not in terms of a physical need or her own body, but in terms of the romantic attachment” (102) with any references to sexuality in sections such as the problem pages and treated in purely clinical terms, with “full-blown moralism” (110-111). Alternatively, readers’ real experience stories took the form of cautionary tales and confessions “culminating in an admission of guilt” (116). This is reflected in Tolman’s sociological study (2002) which expressed that as a society “we have effectively desexualized girls’ sexuality, substituting the desire for relationship and emotional connection for sexual feelings in their bodies” and thus denying them sexual subjectivity (5). She supported this by stating that in the many hundreds of studies that have been done to determine what predicts adolescent girls’ sexual behavior, only a handful had identified girls’ sexual desire as a potential factor” (9). She also believed that the media subtly continue to represent the belief that adolescent girls should be sexy for boys and not have their *own* sexual desires (7). Subsequent magazine studies have made similar observations with that of Kate Kruckemeyer (2002) describing the way in which, despite the inclusion of multiple girls’ experiences, there is always one adult authorial voice that predominates, forcing teens to confess failures rather than celebrate survival.

New modes of femininity

McRobbie (1994) followed up her initial work more than a decade later by studying other British girls' magazines. She found that these magazines were addressing new modes of femininity that had abandoned the formerly patronising editorial tone for a more emancipated view of girls as strong and autonomous subjects. For example, romance was no longer the central focus but rather pop and fashion, ruled by logic of consumerism. Also, girls

demonstrated a preference for real-life rather than romantic heroes and heroines (McRobbie 1994). McRobbie also contextualised teen magazines by acknowledging the central role of television in leisure activities and thus other cultural artefacts such as magazines (148-9). This view was supported in Elaine Kaplan and Leslie Cole's study of teenage girls and their use of magazines (2003) by the comment of one of the participants when asked about her sources of sexuality information: "Everywhere. It's on TV...I don't know how I know, I just know. Because you hear so much of it".

Problem pages

In general it was observed that the problem pages' moralistic tones had been replaced by a more supportive approach though still defined, navigated and regulated the sexual expectations of teenage girls. McRobbie (1994) acknowledged that whilst problem pages were "a focal point for the construction of female sexuality" (165) there was a possibility that the reader sought voyeuristic pleasure from reading about others' problems (162). This alternative use of problem pages was developed by Mary Jane Kehily (1999) who, through interviews with groups of young women, discovered that these pages are often a shared, school-based activity which female friendship groups draw upon as a "resource for humour" (70). However, Kehily noted that, regardless, problem pages open up areas for discussion by giving young women access to particular "ways of talking about issues and emotions, giving experiences a vocabulary within the language of the felt" (74). From a Foucauldian perspective, Duffy & Gotcher (1996) described the use of authority figures to provide credibility for the information and advice provided in the articles. This, they believed, resulted in the definitive answers elucidated by trained "professionals" indicating a well-reasoned, objective, and successful approach to understanding and coping with the world. In addition, McRobbie noted a new relationship between the reader and the editor with more importance placed on the reader (136). This approach was reflected in studies such as that of Elizabeth Frazer (1987) whose work was a response to the purely textual analysis of McRobbie's earlier work.

The readers

Through prolonged and regular contact with seven groups of teenage girls aged 13-17 years, Frazer argued against depending on the concept of ideology and instead based her conclusions on the discussions of teenage girls of *Jackie* magazine, an approach later adopted by theorists such as Hermes. She concluded that the girls did not coincide with the implied reader constructed by the text” and that the “real readers were freer of the text than much theory implies” (192). Similarly acknowledging the independence of the reader, Kehily (1999) observed that “young women were aware of the magazines as playing a part in a developmental process which was guided by age and gender” (68). A study conducted by Nina Robinson (2000) reflected that of Hermes in its use of repertoires of interest and focus on how girls use and interpret magazines in their everyday life. Robinson concluded that accessibility, ability to read in a private space such as the bedroom, emotional involvement such as the problem pages and image construction and reflexivity all render girls active participants in consumption of information. However, she acknowledged that although textual analysis can be criticised for seeing the reader as passive, “magazines have certain codes and conventions which restrict the reader’s ability to interpret a text in infinite ways, and so it is essential not to over-emphasise the independence of the active, reflexive audience” (Robinson 2000). Currie, though consciously attempting to challenge the assumptions held by previous critics, found that girls viewed written texts and particularly advice columns as useful for everyday living (1999: 12).

Girls’ sexuality in the post-sexual revolution years

The second main line along which study on girls’ sexuality in magazines developed was based on post-sexual revolution years. Critics noted that magazines discussed sexuality in a manner that assumed sophistication and knowingness and was explicit yet light in tone, humorous, ironic and parodying. It was also treated seriously in sections such as the problem pages (McCracken 1993; Duffy & Gotcher 1996; McRobbie 1996; Gonick 1997; Currie 1998; Durham 1998; Kehily 1999; Kang 2000; Robinson 2000; Kaplan & Cole 2003). As noted by McCracken (1993) *Seventeen* magazine’s column ‘Sex and Your Body,’ in contrast to both the childish and sexualised images in much of the magazine, claimed to advise

readers to be responsible and adult about their sexuality whilst also subtly and sometimes openly discouraging girls from having sex (145). Gonick (1997) summarised this by suggesting that, as readers of teen magazines, girls are offered a range of often competing subject positions. Clinical psychologist, Mary Pipher described the way in which during adolescence “girls become fragmented, their selves split into mysterious contradictions” and “they try on new roles every week” (20) with her clients not much different from girls who are not seen in therapy (21). It was critics’ awareness of this fragility of adolescence that caused concern over the problematic nature of the contradictions evident in magazines. Another commonly discussed example of this was the advertising with which editorial is juxtaposed or incorporated, adding to the ambivalence of the messages delivered. Critics’ views can be summed up in McCracken’s argument (1993) that girls’ magazines, unlike other institutions such as family, schools and churches, “engage openly in an ideological double standard” (141).

Contradictory imperatives

According to theorists, an overall effect of the ambivalent construction of girls' sexuality is a contradictory imperative that simultaneously requires them to be sexually alluring and devoted to sexual "responsibility" or even chastity (Durham 1998). This reflects Naomi Wolf's belief that even today “girls must speak in a world where they are expected to be sexually available but not sexually in charge of themselves” (1997: 136). These views have since been reflected by studies such as Tolman's which expresses that girls are barraged with an ever more confusing and contradictory set of guidelines for how they should manage their developing sexuality: “don't be a prude but don't be a slut”. She also stated how teen magazines, movies, and television contribute to the pervasive paradox by offering advice on how to provide pleasure to boys juxtaposed with stories of sexual violation and harassment, whilst music directed at adolescent girls continues to mix the message (7). As Pipher expressed, much of the music girls hear offers them McSex” (1994: 66).

Teenage views on the ambivalence surrounding sexuality

A New Zealand study conducted in 1991 by Myra Hird and Sue Jackson focused specifically on this ambivalence through discussions with groups of teenagers. The resulting narratives

suggested that 'normal' heterosexuality employs discursive dichotomies of femininity and masculinity which can be simplified as 'slut'/'angel' (for females) and 'wuss'/'stud' (for males). The cultural ambivalence surrounding sexual practices is evident in the response of one female participant to the question, "What are some of the ways in which girls are sexually pressured or put in a situation where they end up having sex when they don't really want to?" She used the examples of *Girlfriend*, *Lisa* and *Dolly* magazines to describe the way in which the media "kind of separate love and sex a lot" which she believed "causes quite a lot of unhappiness and expectations." She also stated that, "If I could explain that a lot more clearly I would, but I'll pass on". The distinction she made between 'sex' and 'love-making', the emotional effects and expectations she believes result from this, and her inability to explain her thoughts clearly, typify the confusion of concern to critics regarding the effects of the media and in particular teenage magazines, on girls' sexuality.

Sexual double standard

In Durham's textual analysis of *Seventeen* and *Young Miss (YM)* (1998), like Evans et. al (1991) and Duffy and Gotcher (1996), her focus was discovering, recognizing, and creating patterns. The central patterns to emerge were tensions around sexual decision making versus sexual signification via costuming, cosmetics, and body image. This, she believed, uncovered a representation of sexuality that "parallels sociocultural norms of contradiction and antilogy in the characterization of girls' desire" (Durham 1998). Her view reflects those of other critics with regard to the belief that magazines overtly sustain mainstream ideologies of gender, heterosexuality and consumption and thus could be seen to reinscribe sexual discontinuities and conflicts. The most obvious of these is the sexual double standard whereby male sexuality continues to remain unproblematic in relation to that of girls (Measor 1989: 47; Giddens 1992: 178; Tinker 1995: 171; McRobbie 2000: 207; Hird & Jackson 2001). Durham (1998) discussed how this double standard is apparent across cultures with teenage girls' linking sexual activity with love, prioritising their loved ones sexual needs over their own and being subject to social regulation whereby girls' desire is a missing discourse. This study indicated that the dominant themes of magazines had not changed significantly since the days of McRobbie's early work. The overall message remained the same – that girls' sexual desire should be repressed and not acknowledged or acted upon in real life

unless in response to male aggression or desire. In this regard, the patriarchal control of girls' sexual lives was reinscribed.

Intensification of interest in sex

Questions were raised regarding the meaning of the intensification of interest in sex in girls' magazines and the discourses and discursive elements evident in new representations of sex. As Pipher expressed, "Our culture has changed from one in which it was hard to get information about sexuality to one in which it's impossible to escape information about sexuality" (244). In a recent study, McRobbie (1996) offered three explanations for this: one being a need for information, based on the feminist notion of knowledge equating to power (also discussed by Duffy & Gotcher 1996); the second, a need for explicit information on "safe sex" as a result of an increased awareness of HIV/AIDS; and the third, an overtly commercial, voyeuristic motivation based on the assumption that sex sells (192). These observations are substantiated when compared with those of Pipher (1994) who expressed that despite being a time of date rapes, herpes and AIDS, teens are much more likely to be doing things that can get them killed (28). Studies indicated that as a result of the explicit nature of sexual content in girls' magazines, new forms of sexual conduct defined by boldness (even brazenness) in behaviour were introduced (McRobbie 1996: 177; Kehily 1999: 77). It was also suggested that this occurred alongside a more detached, ironic distance between the magazine and its readership as a result of the exaggerated, parodying and ironic presentation of sexual material (McRobbie 1996: 177). According to McRobbie, this space could be seen to offer a degree of critical reflection on the normative practices of both femininity and sexuality endlessly incited, invoked and otherwise presented as imperative (1996: 177). In addition, Kehily (1999) noted from a Foucauldian perspective that the proliferation of sexual material in teen magazines could be seen to "demarcate a terrain for social regulation where the exercise of power is productive rather than repressive" (78). This view reflected that of Currie (1991) who stated the importance for theorists to view discourses as processes rather than things (12).

Denaturalisation of sex

One observation regarding magazines' construction of girls' sexuality was the denaturalisation of sex resulting in its depiction as something to be learnt. This approach revealed the mythical nature of romance and sexual expertise which had been replaced by a much more frank, even mechanical approach to sex but one without the cold, clinical or moralistic language associated with sex education (McRobbie 1996: 186). Also noted was the expansion of sexual fantasy material for girls and women, not just in the form of male pin-ups but also in terms of written features and in the guise of 'information'" (186). However, as articulated by McRobbie, "By pushing back the limits of what can be shown in the hitherto innocent space of the girls' magazine, the new sexual discourse can present itself as bold, adventurous and controversial where in fact it is limiting and controlling. It is laying sown the law by appearing to say 'now you *can* do this or that, which in the past you thought "nice girls" never did" (187).

Feminism and femininity

Most studies discussed issues in relation to the position of girls and women in society. Hence, a consistent theme is the role of girls' magazines in the entrance of feminism into mainstream popular culture. An example of this is its contribution to the wide availability of information, the assumption that knowledge equates to power and attention to sexual health and equality. However, the general consensus is that, although women's magazines and feminism influence each other and magazines claim to be open to feminism's goals, the goals are usually undermined. This is due to the magazines' proliferation of images that objectify and sexualise girls; the ambivalent messages regarding sexual behaviours and expectations, or their reinforcement of patriarchal gender relations. As discussed by McRobbie (1996) and Kang (2000) women who veer from the path of normative femininity – in particular lesbian women – exist as a separate category and are either rendered problematic and/or feature in readers' 'real life' stories. Alternatively, they are portrayed as beautiful, chic or glamorous as "a sign that we now live in a more open, multicultural, sexually diverse society" (182). Either way they are differentiated from the normative, hegemonic ideal of heterosexual femininity promoted by most girls and women's magazines. The need for editors to study the readership

to find out what they want contributes to this tension since what they find is precisely the diversity of contemporary femininities, the competing needs and desires of women and the difficulty of reducing this down to one winning formula (McRobbie 1996: 185). This view reflects that of Pipher (1994) who described adolescence as a border between adulthood and childhood, characterised by a richness and diversity unmatched by any other life stage, and the complexity and intensity of adolescent girls, impossible to capture (52).

Role of teen magazines

In general, critics recognise that teen magazines are frequently cited as a source of health information and whilst conclusions are mixed as to whether they can be regarded as trusted or useful, theorists agree that they are important vehicles for communications of health and in particular sexual information (Kehily 1999; Kang 2000). The content analysis of *Dolly*, conducted by former *Dolly* Doctor, Melissa Kang (2000) supports this by describing “the consistently high number of letters received by the help columns in *Dolly* magazine, particularly in the Internet era.” It also expressed how the range of concerns of readers reflects “an anticipated breadth of experience in this population” in which there is a high prevalence of underlying or overt anxiety often relating to sexual abuse and expressions of uncertainty about where to turn for help. Pipher (1994) expressed that the diversity of mainstream culture puts pressure on teens to make complicated choices for which they do not yet have the cognitive equipment and that young adolescents do not deal well with ambiguity” (92). Based on health organisation statistics, she also stated that today more adolescent girls are sexually active earlier and with more partners (207) and that “most early sexual activity in our culture tends to be harmful to girls” (208). Considered in relation to evidence suggesting that exposure to the fictitious reality created in mass mediated messages can result in acceptance of a distorted world view and corresponding behaviours (Duffy & Gotcher 1996) and that magazines are nearly always read by readers younger than the target age (McCracken 1993; McRobbie 1996), there is clearly a need for further research into the representation and reception of sexuality in girls’ magazines.

Application of literature

As is evident from the literature review, the majority of magazine studies have focused on women rather than adolescent girls and have been conducted in the context of British and/or American magazines. Further, as Currie expressed, such studies have been conducted largely by middle-aged academics that are in some cases far removed in age and education from the intended consumers of these magazines. She believes that, as a result, the assumptions they have reached about the messages absorbed by young women may be completely wrong (Currie 1999: 12). The first of these issues will be countered in this study by focusing on adolescent girls. On a broader social level this is due to the comparatively large extent to which male sexuality remains unproblematic and to the much more pronounced changes in the sexual behaviour and attitudes of girls (Giddens 1992: 10). More specific reasons include the recent media coverage on their increasing sexualisation and adultification and the current position of (increasingly younger) girls as independent consumers with significant spending power and thus one of advertisers' major target groups (Russell & Tyler 2002: 625). Other reasons include the continually contested site of females' social and sexual status and, as articulated by theorists such as Kehily (1999), the fact that teen magazines are more likely to be a cultural resource for sexual learning among young women than among young men (Kehily 1998: 72).

The other issues will be countered by focusing on a South Pacific magazine and being researched by someone not far removed in age from the intended consumers of the magazine. In addition, though taking into consideration feminist issues and views, this study will not be conducted from an intentionally feminist perspective. For example, the stereotyping of males will be considered. It is hoped that deviating from previous studies in this regard will broaden the insights into and conclusions drawn from the topic, and prevent the production of another study that ultimately exemplifies the discrimination it seeks to oppose.

Few previous magazine studies explored the representation of sexuality in its own right, instead incorporating it into broader discussions on romance, consumption or body image. This is most likely a reflection of the societal and academic issues that were prioritised at the

time the studies were conducted. The problematisation of adolescent girls' sexuality and its increasingly explicit representations in teen magazines and other forms of popular culture are issues that have become particularly salient since the early nineties (Giddens 1992: 10; McRobbie 1996: 186-7). The content analyses of *Dolly* conducted by Kang (2002) led her to conclude that there is "much scope for further qualitative research." This study aims to undertake this further research through a more thorough analysis of the magazine's content. In particular, it will focus on the attempt of *Dolly* to capture the diversity of adolescent girls and the consequent production of conflicting messages and ambiguity surrounding the representation of sexuality. By focusing on the multiplicity of messages delivered rather than individual themes such as liberalisation or promiscuity, it is hoped that the possibility of moralising the study or emphasising and thus further embedding particular themes will be alleviated.

To substantiate the analysis of the magazine, the study will include ethnographic research regarding the views of readers and non-readers of *Dolly*. This information is to be obtained in the form of questionnaires conducted at two local but socio-economically different secondary schools. It is hoped that the inclusion of questionnaires will reduce the tendency to privilege researcher over reader interpretation of *Dolly* whilst allowing a comparison of the actual readers with those constructed by the magazine. The questionnaires will be conducted in a way that reduces the likelihood that respondents will present "a particular account of sexual themes to an adult in an environment where modes of expression may be regulated by teachers and other pupils" (Kehily 1999: 68). This will be achieved by the anonymity of the questionnaires, the available choices of questionnaires designed to minimise the tendency to be drawn to knowledgeable readers and fans (Hermes 1995: 148) and the way in which the questionnaires will be administered. In addition, so as to avoid moulding responses through in a terminology already designated by the researcher (Ballaster et. al 1991: 21), the questionnaires will consist of a combination of closed and open-ended questions. These techniques will be described in more detail in the methodology section. This component of the study will be conducted with an awareness of its limitations (Hermes 1995: 147) and treat the responses and practices provided by respondents as "accounts" not "reports" (Benwell 2005: 151). Overall, the study will reflect that of Gough-Yates (2003) in that it will employ a

multi-modal, discourse analytic approach (21) using ethnographic research and textual analysis. It is hoped that acknowledging the influence of the strict codes and conventions of the magazine (Robinson 2000) as well as independence on behalf of the reader will substantiate the study and thus conclusions drawn.

Theoretical Framework

Foucault's history of sexuality

A central notion in the first volume of Foucault's *History of Sexuality* (1980) is that of the production of multiple discourses in the context of western sexuality, even at times when it was viewed as repressed and silenced. He believed that sexuality led a discursive existence, produced by authorities and institutions and that it was through the discourses of these authorities and institutions that knowledge and power were joined. This could be seen as a development of Gramsci's notion that hegemony is produced through institutions, one which was extended by Althusser who discussed the development, by institutions, of ideology and hegemony through producing cultural identities, a process known as 'interpellation' (Schirato and Yell 2000: 81). More specifically, Foucault believed that it was through the discourses of confession and guidance that morality and eventually rationality were judged, administered and managed. He also noted that since at least the Middle Ages, western societies have relied on confession for the production of truth (58), with truthful confession "inscribed at the heart of the procedures of individualization by power" (59).

Sex as a morality issue

Foucault discussed how the institutions' influence varied, with the Victorian bourgeoisie in the 17th Century confining sexuality, which was until then still treated frankly and openly, to the home. More significantly, he believed that the main issue was the over-all "discursive fact", the way in which sex was "put into discourse" (11). He also described the steady proliferation of discourses concerned with sex in the field of exercise of power itself at the time. This, he believed, was illustrated by "an institutional incitement to speak about it, and to do so more and more; a determination on the part of the agencies of power to hear it spoken about, and to cause *it* to speak through explicit articulation and endlessly accumulated detail" (18). This was illustrated by the importance placed on confession, penance and guidance, which increased partly because of Counter Reformation in Catholic countries (19) at a time when the Church was the major institutional power.

Sex as a rationality issue

Foucault described the way in which during the 18th Century, population issues rendered sex an economic and political problem, with its administration and management becoming a police matter (24-5). As a result, discourses surrounding sex went from moral to rational as well, establishing the imperative that “not only will you confess to acts contravening the law, but you will seek to transform your desire, your every desire, into discourse” (21-24). Foucault described the way in which the sex of children and adolescents has become, since the eighteenth century, an important area of contention around which innumerable institutional devices and discursive strategies have been deployed. He also stated that “it may well be true that adults and children themselves were deprived of a certain way of speaking about sex, a mode that was disallowed as being too direct, crude or coarse”. But this, he believed, was only the counterpart of other discourses, and perhaps the condition necessary in order for them to function (30). Foucault also noted that “power is tolerable only on condition that it mask a substantial part of itself” with “its success is proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms” (86). Thus, as articulated by Tony Schirato and Susan Yell (2000), by identifying the ways in which discourses operate, they are made ‘visible’ and thus the degree of control is reduced (58).

Sexuality as a medical issue

Medicine assumed the final responsibility in Foucault’s *History*, with the 18th and 19th Centuries enabling control in the form of screening sexualities of couples, parents, children and adolescents with protection, separation and signalling perils calling for diagnoses. These sites “radiated discourses aimed at sex, intensifying people’s awareness of it as a constant danger” with this creating a further incentive to talk about it (31). This status of medicine (and medical professionals) accorded to the rules of a specific knowledge from which psychoanalysis developed. Through psychoanalysis, the sexuality of individuals outside of family control was examined, brought to light with the neurological model, and called family relations into question (112). The most notable work in this regard is that of Freud, who rendered subjectivity something that is not essential or permanent but rather produced and made meaningful within a culture. This notion, developed by Lacan and in particular his

theory of the mirror stage, along with the ideas of Laclau (no essential or fixed identities), Marx (false consciousness), Darwin (evolution) and Nietzsche (ideology), destroyed the previously acclaimed Descartes “I think, therefore I am” argument where the human subject was considered rational, reasoned and self-conscious (Schirato & Yell 2000: 87). However, Foucault rejected psychoanalytical accounts, instead focusing on the way cultures produce subject positions through institutionally sanctioned and legitimated discourses which in turn enabled the discursive production of subjectivity (92). Foucault believed that from the direction of conscience to psychoanalysis, the deployments of alliance and sexuality were involved in a slow process which eventually resulted in reversal of positions. “In the Christian pastoral, the law of alliance codified the flesh which was just being discovered and fitted into a framework that was still juridical in character; with psychoanalysis, sexuality gave body and life to the rules of alliance by saturating them with desire” (113).

Summary of Foucault’s History of Sexuality

In general, Foucault’s *History of Sexuality* illustrates the role of institutions and authorities from Christian to political to economic to technical (23) in normalising and regulating western sexuality and by “a whole series of mechanisms operating in different institutions, producing not *a* discourse on sex, but “a multiplicity of discourses” (33). Thus he believed that sex is not controlled or repressed, but rather produced, “so we must not refer a history of sexuality to the agency of sex; but rather show how “sex” is historically subordinate to sexuality” (157).

Schirato and Yell and the role of sexuality in the formation of identity

As discussed by Schirato and Yell (2000) sexuality and sexual practices have become “virtually the principal criterion for determining social normality, identity and value”, as is evident in popular institutions and discourses such as lifestyle magazines. Further, using *Dolly* as an example, they argue that what these magazines simultaneously presume and reproduce is the notion that people understand themselves in terms of, and are completely dominated by, an interest in sexuality (theirs and everybody else’s) (95). This idea provides a position from which to think about Foucault’s theories regarding the proliferation of discourses surrounding sexuality and also to introduce the ideas of Judith Butler who

combines the theories of Foucault and psychoanalysis to address the relationship between subjectivity and practice. Reflective of Giddens's notion that self-identity is a reflexive project, Butler's work (1993; 1997; 1999) suggests that bodies do not come to mean naturally, but are produced as meaningful by discourses which divide them up and evaluate them (eg. female breasts and men's stomach muscles). She also suggests that people respond by 'performing' their bodies 'in time' with these discourses. Butler believes that the effect of the combination of discursive evaluations and imperatives produces 'performances of subjectivity' and that the sexualising of the body and consequent production of identity occurs through 'the reiteration of norms' (Schirato & Yell 2000: 100). As discussed by Schirato and Yell, this can be seen as an extension of Foucault's theories through the implication that repeated and appropriate performance is the means by which normality is reproduced – as a practice.

Butler and the performance of identity

In *Gender Trouble* (1999) Butler argued that "there is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender...identity is performatively constituted by the very "expressions" that are said to be its results" (25). By raising the possibility that sex is as culturally constructed as gender (10) she suggested that the production of sex as the prediscursive should be understood as an effect of the apparatus of cultural construction designated by gender (11). This could be seen to reflect Simone de Beauvoir's well-known notion that "one is not born a woman, but, rather becomes one" (de Beauvoir 1973: 301). This reinforces Butler's central notion that identity is never essential or fixed but rather performed and raises the question of whether construction can be reduced to a form of choice (12). Referring to Freud's *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, Butler stated that it is only from a self-consciously denaturalised position that we can see how the appearance of naturalness is itself constituted. Using drag performances as an illustration, she expresses that the strange, the incoherent, and that which falls "outside", gives us a way of understanding the taken-for-granted world of sexual categorisation as a constructed one, indeed, as one that might well be constructed differently" (140). In general, Butler viewed gender as "an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a stylized repetition of acts" (179) requiring a conception of gender as a constituted social temporality" (179).

The discursive production of sexuality

In *Excitable Speech* (1997), Butler described language as both “what” we do (the name for the action that we characteristically perform) and that which we effect, the act and its consequences” (8). She stated that for Foucault, as for pornography, “the very terms by which sexuality is said to be negated become, inadvertently but inexorably, the site and instrument of a new sexualization” with the putative repression of sexuality becoming the sexualization of repression” (94). She developed this by stating that although Foucault argues against psychoanalysis, where ‘no’ is converted to a strange sort of ‘yes’, his own argument is psychoanalytic, reflecting Freud’s notion that the super-ego is understood to be, at least in part, wrought from the sexualization of a prohibition and only secondarily becomes the prohibition of sexuality” (175). In general, she believed that recontextualizing the law – prohibition, in this case – occasions a reversal in which the sexuality prohibited becomes the sexuality produced. The discursive occasion for a prohibition-renunciation, interdiction, confession-become precisely the new incitement to sexuality, an incitement to discourse as well (94).

Singer and epidemic logic

Linda Singer’s book *Erotic Welfare* (1993), introduced and edited by Judith Butler, reflected the views of Foucault and Butler in its coverage of issues surrounding epidemics such as AIDS. Singer discussed the increased attention and resources dedicated to research and education (particularly that on safe sex) in the current age of epidemics and how these “beneficent” effects of power actually equate to an intensification of regulatory regimes. These, she believes, are centered on phantasmatic sites of erotic danger which threaten hegemony of traditional family within the political imaginary. For example, women’s bodies, pornography, prostitution, gay and lesbian sexuality and children-figured as vulnerable to sexual exploitation by forces outside the family. She stated that “the regulatory or disciplinary apparatuses that emerge ostensibly to counter or “wage war” on these epidemic conditions are themselves invested in sustaining and reproducing the very social phenomena they seek to control” (6). Moreover, she argued that the emergence of AIDS has forced a radical remapping of sexual boundaries, of the terms of sexual exchange, of the constitution

of sexuality as a disciplinary object and commodity fetish with disciplines functioning as “enabling forces for inciting and stylising that which they also come to regulate” (6). She developed this by stating that the sexual epidemic is “rife with opportunities for conflicting political inscriptions” with the anxiety induced by the regulatory production of the epidemic conducive to conservative political agendas. Further, she believed that the anxiety that becomes mobilised around the connection of sex to death in AIDS entails an increased “fetishization of life,” resulting in the anxiety being “displaced and condensed in the regulation of sexual reproduction and the promotion of the family as the supposedly exclusive site of safe sex” (29).

Similarities can be found between the “epidemic logic” which Singer believes “interpellates its subjects, not only through rational persuasion or empirical induction, but by exercising a kind of control through incitement” and that by which advertising and marketing discourses establish their own authority” (29). Further, to the extent that epidemics come to function as a ground for the mobilization of social resources, they not only operate as metaphors of the social but also function as political logics, forms of social rationality” (27). Singer expressed that the epidemic is already a situation out of hand, needing response and managerial control and thus evokes a kind of “panic logic” (28). As a result it “tends to promote the proliferation of opposing forms of response - those which depend on extending and intensifying existing regulatory schemata (what might be called the conservative agenda).” She also described the tendency to “ironize or otherwise supplement those existing forms, using the crisis as an occasion to demonstrate critically their limits, and by extension to take this as an occasion to introduce other items into the societal agenda” (28). A consequence of the logic of sexual epidemic is that images of erotic access and mobility shift registers from those associated with freedom, surplus, choice and recreation to those of anxiety, unregulated contact, and uncontrolled spread. Singer’s ideas are applicable to media institutions and in particular the treatment of sexual epidemics in the form of sexually transmitted diseases and teenage pregnancies in teen magazines such as *Dolly*.

Sexual commodification

Singer described an ironic consequence of the 1980s sexual epidemic being that sexual services and commodities expanded. For example, prostitution, pornography, addiction (39), phone sex, commodities on market (41). In addition to the expansion of the sex industry, she described wider audiences and different attitudes towards pornography (46) which had become increasingly normalised and destigmatised (46). She also stated that, “The effectivity by which advertising creates erotic needs demands a reinscription of the body, where the body in question is designed precisely to be spectacle, on display – a mirroring simulacra – another site for induced misrecognition (*meconnaissance* in the Lacanian sense)” (37). She compares advertising to pornography, stating that in both the goal is to incite arousal and satisfaction serially, with both “phantasmatic constructions, images whose value consists in not being real (in the Lacanian sense)” (38).

Increased regulation of sexuality

Singer described one consequence of sexual epidemics as being “a kind of social urgency about discovering sexual criminals – most notably those that sexually exploit children” with an epidemic in reported cases of child sexual exploitation” (42). This is an example of a paradox of contemporary sexuality and popular culture, whereby the multiplication of erotic possibility not only maximizes possibilities for demand and desire (48) but also for regulation by institutions and authorities such as the law. Resistances to the sexual epidemic include the “just say no” campaign. Singer described this as “a particularly bald and conspicuous case” of what Freud argued was the essence of the social contract – namely, the demand that individuals learn to discipline and regulate their pleasures in relation to the reality of social demands. Further, because these demands are neither individuated nor optional, that contract is always accomplished with some ambivalence, the effects of which, according to Freud, tend to return in the form of compensatory symptoms, fetishes, and fixations (68-9). According to Singer, although the mechanisms which regulate desire achieve their effects in part through repression, punishment, and through the threat of loss, such laws do not eliminate the desires they regulate, but instead work to produce them in the most socially useful form as defined by the dominant configuration of social interests (69). She suggested

that, “In the contemporary situation, many of us find ourselves caught between the discursive figures of sexual liberation and sexual epidemic, and what often seems to be the unbridgeable gap between the aesthetics and forms of life associated with each” (69).

Ambiguity surrounding sexuality

Later in her book, Singer stated that, “Abstinence or monogamous domesticated sexuality has become fashionable, or at least respectable again (177). However, she also described the ambiguity surrounding this which is partly due to contradictory markets where, “on the one hand, public opinion surveys consistently reflect a perception that there is too much sex and violence in popular media” and “on the other hand, such offerings are often the most popular, as reflected in television ratings and movie box office receipts.” She also stated that teenagers, for example, are often especially loath to patronize films with G and PG ratings. Furthermore, the public has become accustomed to seeing sex at the movies, at least in some form (178).

Application of theory

The textual analysis component of the study will be based principally on the theories of Foucault, Butler and Singer. From a Foucauldian perspective, the discursive role of the discourses surrounding sexuality in *Dolly* will be considered. The prevalent discourses to be analysed are confession, victimisation, epidemic, medical, desire and girl-power, the latter of which this study considers as a less stigmatised form of feminism. More specifically, these discourses will be analysed with a view to finding out what identities *Dolly* constructs for the author, subject and, most importantly, reader. From Butler’s post-modernist perspective, the way in which *Dolly* fosters social temporality via encouragement of the performance of the identities created by the discourses of the magazine will be explored. This will be considered mainly in the contexts of advertising, fashion, celebrity, quizzes and advice. More specifically, this component will consider the extent to which the production of multiple identities and subjectivities, presumably an attempt by the editor to accommodate the diverse sexualities of readers, is effectively limiting. This, it will be argued, is due to the ambiguity and contradiction created by the conflicting messages delivered and identities constructed, and to the repetition and thus reinforcement of, regardless of quantity, particular sexual

identities and subjectivities. From Singer's perspective, the study will explore the way in which sexualised aspects such as fashion advertisements and the representation of males and celebrities in *Dolly* could be said to normalise and destigmatise pornography or at least the values and images that are associated with it. For example, schoolgirl fantasies and the display of (male) body parts as spectacles designed to incite arousal. In addition, her notions of sexual epidemics fostering a social urgency about discovering sexual criminals and effectively producing what they seek to control will be considered in the context of the victimisation, epidemic and medical discourses in *Dolly*. In general, her idea that in contemporary situations people find themselves caught between the discursive figures of sexual liberation and sexual epidemic is prevalent throughout the various issues of *Dolly* and will thus provide the basis for the study.

Ethnographic research

Methodology

Questionnaire design

After an initial reading of twenty-five *Dolly* magazines from 1998 to 2005, three questionnaires were designed around the use of magazines and other media for information on sexuality. One questionnaire was for readers of *Dolly*, the second for readers of magazines other than *Dolly* and the third for non-readers of magazines. However, before the questionnaires could be conducted, approval had to be obtained from the university's Human Ethics Committee. Due to the influence of political correctness on the committee, the use of the term 'sexuality' was prohibited, which meant the focus and layout of the questionnaires had to be altered significantly. The alternative provided by the committee was to divide the questionnaire into specific categories so as to avoid a focus on the theme of sexuality. Thus after another reading of the twenty-five issues of *Dolly*, the questionnaires were redesigned around the three consistently recurring themes of fashion, relationships and health (appendix one).

The questionnaires consisted of a mixture of closed and open-ended questions so as to maximise the variation in responses. The closed-ended questions sought information regarding the participants' sources of information on the three categories, their views on the pressures or expectations (if any) delivered by these sources, and their feelings regarding the influence of these sources on their own actions. The sources of information question involved the participants putting the sources 'School', 'Friends', 'Family', 'Television', 'Internet', 'Magazines' and 'Other' into order from where they get the most information to where they get the least information about fashion, relationships and health. The remaining two questions were 'yes' / 'no' answer questions about whether the respondents thought pressures or expectations were delivered from the categories 'media', 'friends', 'boys', 'family' and if yes, whether they had ever acted on what they believe to have been told by these sources. The open-ended questions were more general in nature asking what participants had learnt

from, and what they like most and least about the magazine or media they consumed. There were additional questions for readers of magazines other than *Dolly* and non-readers of magazines. Readers of magazines other than *Dolly* were asked what magazine they read most often whilst non-readers of any magazines were asked why they did not read magazines and what form of media they used most often.

Administration of questionnaire

The Human Ethics Committee requested that permission slips to be given to and returned by the parents/guardians of the students involved. Given the unrealistic nature of this request – asking school counsellors to give the slips to the appropriate teachers to give to the students to give to their parents/guardians then reversing this process to get them back – a compromise was eventually reached. This involved the distribution of information sheets (appendix two) which did not require a signature from parents/guardians, but instead provided the names and contact details of school and university personnel with whom parents/guardians could consult if they had any problems with the project or did not wish their daughter/student to participate.

On receiving approval from the Human Ethics Committee, a pilot study was done by distributing a number of questionnaires to a selection of twelve year nine girls, aged between thirteen and fourteen years, from three different schools, none of which were the schools used for the actual research. There did not appear to be any problems with the girls' comprehension of the questionnaires, with all respondents completing all parts of the questionnaire and providing relevant answers. Therefore, the questionnaires remained unchanged. Two local secondary schools were then selected based on their allowance for diversity with one being a decile ten, single-sex girls' school and the other, a decile two, co-educational school on the other side of the city. The guidance counsellors of the schools were contacted and meetings took place with them and other relevant staff members, all of whom viewed the questionnaires and information sheets. With the final approval given from the school principals, permission was granted and arrangements made to conduct the questionnaires during school time.

At each school the sample consisted of a low, middle and high band year nine health or physical education class, both of which are compulsory subjects and thus taken by all year nine students. All the respondents were aged between thirteen and fourteen years and from a range of ethnic backgrounds. The classes were attended personally so that the study could be briefly introduced, the questionnaire explained and clarified, any questions answered and the response rate increased by collecting the questionnaires immediately after completion. In addition, the classroom environment increased the level of individual concentration, limiting the possibility of respondents working together and possibly producing less authentic answers. Before the questionnaires were distributed to the respondents, they were informed that their participation was voluntary, that they could choose to discontinue at any time up to when the questionnaires had been collected, and that both they and their school would remain anonymous. Each respondent was given a booklet containing all three questionnaires so that their choice of questionnaire could remain anonymous and therefore the possibility of peer, teacher and/or researcher influence on their choice, decreased. In addition, each booklet given to the respondents contained a version of the information sheet (appendix one) which briefly explained the project, reiterated the anonymous and voluntary nature of the questionnaire, explained that the results could be published, and thanked the respondents for their participation. The subsequent page asked the respondents to circle the number of the questionnaire they would be answering, the main purpose of this being to reiterate that they should only answer one of the questionnaires.

Analysis of data

Upon completion of the administration and collection of the questionnaires, the data was entered into a database created on computer program *FileMaker Pro 5.5*. The results for the ranking of sources of information on fashion, relationships and health were determined using a points allocation system. Place one was allocated seven points, place two was allocated six points, place three was allocated five points, place four was allocated four points, place five was allocated three points, place six was allocated two points and place seven was allocated one point. The number of times a source of information was placed in each category was multiplied by the corresponding points for that category. The sources of information were then ranked with source with the most points being the highest source of information down to

the source with the least points being the lowest source of information. This was done for each of the three categories ('Fashion,' 'Relationships' and 'Health') for both schools and for the two schools combined giving an overall result. In addition, a statistical comparison was made between the two schools for each category, using a Pearson product moment correlation coefficient. The rest of the information from the questionnaires was statistically supported using margins of error with a confidence interval of 95%. This information included the readership of *Dolly*, other magazines and no magazines and what respondents stated they had learnt about from and liked most and least about the magazine they read or medium they used. For each category ('Fashion,' 'Relationships' and 'Health') information was extracted regarding whether or not respondents felt that the media tried to influence them and whether they had ever acted on what they believe to have been told by the media. The same information was extracted with regard to friends, given that this was the highest ranked source of information over all categories.

Results

A parent of one student from the decile two, co-educational school contacted the head of the university department to discuss his daughter's participation in the questionnaire. Upon finding out that the research was not being conducted on behalf of *Dolly* magazine, he gave permission for his daughter to participate. No other parents/guardians made contact and thus all students present on the day were able to participate. The total number of questionnaires returned was one hundred and twenty one. Two were discarded due to their irrelevant and obviously mocking answers, leaving one hundred and nineteen to be analysed. Seventy-five of these were from the decile nine, single sex girls school and the remaining forty-four were from the decile two, co-educational school. Below are the principal findings from the questionnaires. The Pearson product moment correlation coefficient is indicated by 'r'. The margins of error, calculated with a confidence interval of 95%, are indicated by 'MOE.' To aid the reading process, the decile nine, single-sex girls' school is referred to as School A and the decile two, co-educational school as School B.

1. **Order in which respondents ranked their sources of information**
(highest to lowest)

Fashion

Overall	Friends, Magazines, Television, School/Family, Other, Internet	
School A	Friends, Magazines, Television, Family, Other, School, Internet	
School B	Friends, Magazines, Television, School, Family, Other, Internet	
		$r = .94$

Relationships

Overall	Friends, Magazines, School, Family, Television, Other, Internet	
School A	Friends, Magazines, School, Television, Family, Other, Internet	
School B	Friends, Family, School, Magazines, Television, Other, Internet	
		$r = .91$

Health

Overall	Friends, School, Family, Magazines, Television, Other, Internet	
School A	Friends, Family, School, Magazines, Television, Other, Internet	
School B	School, Friends, Magazines, Family, Television, Internet, Other	
		$r = .91$

2. Readership

Dolly

Overall	57%	MOE 9%
School A	65%	MOE 11%
School B	43%	MOE 15%
Difference	22%	MOE 18%

Other magazines

Overall	25%	MOE 8%
School A	21%	MOE 9%
School B	32%	MOE 14%
Difference	11%	MOE 17%

No magazines

Overall	18%	MOE 7%
School A	13%	MOE 8%
School B	25%	MOE 13%
Difference	12%	MOE 15%

Of the respondents who did not read any magazines, 48% stated that television was the form of media they use the most. The first result below represents the percentage of respondents over all categories of reader (I.e. *Dolly* readers, readers of other magazines, non-readers of magazines) who stated that television was the medium they use the most. The second result represents the percentage of non-readers of magazines who stated that television was the medium they use the most.

Television

Overall	8%	MOE 5%
Non-magazine readers	48%	MOE 21%

The other answers given were radio, Internet, books, movies, and newspapers.

3. Respondents that gave sex as the answer to one thing they had learnt about from the medium they use

‘Sex’ included ‘sex,’ ‘sex positions,’ ‘sexuality,’ ‘safe sex,’ “If you ‘aint got a rubber, there’ll be no hubber hubber (slogan from a New Zealand safe sex campaign).

Dolly readers

Overall	21%	MOE 10%
School A	24%	MOE 12%
School B	11%	MOE 14%
Difference	13%	MOE 18%

Readers of other magazines

Overall	3%	MOE 6%
School A	6%	MOE 12%
School B	0%	MOE 0%
Difference	6%	MOE 12%

Non-readers of magazines

Overall	5%	MOE 9%
School A	10%	MOE 19%
School B	0%	MOE 0%
Difference	10%	MOE 19%

Other answers given included: ‘boys,’ ‘relationships,’ ‘health,’ ‘be yourself,’ ‘fashion’

4. What girls liked most about the medium they use

Dolly readers

The categories ('Information,' 'Fashion,' 'Reality Stories,' 'Embarrassing Moments,' 'Celebrities' and 'Hot Guys') represent the five largest, over both schools, in terms of the number of respondents who gave these as their answer. Below they are ranked in order from the most to the least significant overall. The 'Information' category consists of 'information,' 'important issues,' 'helping with guys,' 'tells you about guys,' 'health,' 'sex stuff,' 'everything teenagers need to know,' 'good advice,' and 'Dolly doctor'. The fashion category consists of 'fashion,' 'beauty,' and 'makeup.' Other answers given included 'boys,' 'relationships,' 'be yourself,' 'everything,' and 'don't know.'

Information

Overall	26%	MOE 10%
School A	27%	MOE 12%
School B	26%	MOE 20%
Difference	1%	MOE 23%

Fashion

Overall	19%	MOE 9%
School A	24%	MOE 12%
School B	5%	MOE 10%
Difference	19%	MOE 15%

Reality stories

Overall	16%	MOE 9%
School A	20%	MOE 11%
School B	5%	MOE 10%
Difference	15%	MOE 15%

Embarrassing Moments

Overall	16%	MOE 9%
School A	10%	MOE 8%
School B	32%	MOE 21%
Difference	22%	MOE 23%

Celebrities

Overall	10%	MOE 7%
School A	12%	MOE 9%
School B	5%	MOE 10%
Difference	7%	MOE 13%

Hot Guys

Overall	6%	MOE 6%
School A	2%	MOE 4%
School B	16%	MOE 16%
Difference	14%	MOE 17%

Readers of other magazines

Although the answers given were similar to those of *Dolly* readers, no patterns emerged to indicate that particular categories were more or less popular than others.

Non-magazine readers

38% (MOE: 21%) of respondents gave no or an irrelevant answer to this question. The remaining answers consisted mainly of general adjectives such as ‘funny,’ ‘fast,’ ‘enjoyable,’ ‘relaxing’ and ‘interesting.’

5. What respondents liked least about the media they use

Dolly readers

The categories ('Cost,' 'Sex,' 'Nothing/No answer') represent the largest in terms of the number of respondents who gave these as their answer. Below they are ranked in order from the most to the least significant overall. The category 'Sex' consists of 'sex,' 'sex stuff,' and 'too much sex stuff that is unsuitable because 11 and 12 year olds read it.' Other answers included specific stories and 'advertisements,' 'stereotypes girls' interests to sex, boys and fashion,' 'pretty girls and skanks,' 'tells you what to wear rather than suggesting it,' 'puts out an image of what girls should look like,' 'all the pictures of supermodels,' 'make things up,' 'all the stuff about Paris Hilton,' and 'not sure.'

'Nothing' or no answer

Overall	32%	MOE 11%
School A	33%	MOE 13%
School B	32%	MOE 21%
Difference	1%	MOE 25%

Cost

Overall	4%	MOE 5%
School A	2%	MOE 4%
School B	11%	MOE 14%
Difference	9%	MOE 15%

Sex

Overall	4%	MOE 5%
School A	4%	MOE 6%
School B	5%	MOE 10%
Difference	1%	MOE 11%

Readers of other magazines

As with the previous question, the answers given were similar to the main categories provided by *Dolly* readers except that no patterns emerged to indicate that particular categories were more or less popular than others. The one-off answers that differed from those provided by *Dolly* readers included ‘boring articles,’ ‘all the things they make up,’ ‘the fake things they tell you,’ ‘questionnaires,’ ‘pretty raunchy,’ ‘food,’ ‘hate reading,’ ‘lyrics,’ ‘gross stuff,’ and ‘the way it tries to tell young girls how to look and act.’

Non-magazine readers

52% (MOE: 21%) of respondents did not answer this question. The remaining 48% (MOE: 21%) gave circumstantial, personal or very specific answers such as ‘I have to wear headphones so I don’t disturb people,’ ‘boring articles and rugby,’ ‘bad to sit in front of it for so long,’ ‘things on too late,’ or inconclusive answers such as ‘don’t know.’

FASHION

6. The percentage of *Dolly* readers who thought that the media try to tell them how they should look

Overall	81%	MOE 9%
School A	84%	MOE 10%
School B	74%	MOE 20%
Difference	10%	MOE 22%

7. The percentage of non-readers of *Dolly* (Ie. Readers of other magazines and non-readers of magazines) who thought that the media try to tell them how to look

Overall	73%	MOE 12%
School A	81%	MOE 15%
School B	64%	MOE 19%
Difference	17%	MOE 24%

The overall difference between *Dolly* readers and non- readers of *Dolly* who thought that the media try to tell them how to look was 8% (MOE 15%), with *Dolly* readers being the greater percentage.

8. The percentage of *Dolly* readers who had changed something about how they look because of what the media had told them

Overall	38%	MOE 12%
School A	45%	MOE 14%
School B	21%	MOE 18%
Difference	24%	MOE 23%

9. The percentage of non-readers of *Dolly* (Ie. Readers of other magazines, non-readers of magazines) who had changed something about how they look because of what the media told them

Overall	29%	MOE 13%
School A	35%	MOE 18%
School B	24%	MOE 17%
Difference	11%	MOE 25%

The overall difference between *Dolly* readers and non-readers of *Dolly* who had changed something about how they look based on what the media told them was 9% (MOE: 17%), with *Dolly* readers being the greater percentage.

10. The percentage of *Dolly* readers who thought that friends try to tell them how they should look

Overall	49%	MOE 12%
School A	55%	MOE 14%
School B	32%	MOE 21%
Difference	23%	MOE 25%

11. The percentage of non-readers of *Dolly* (ie. Readers of other magazines and non-readers of magazines) who thought that friends try to tell them how they should look

In this question, 1 respondent did not answer the question. She was allocated a 'No' answer.

Overall	57%	MOE 14%
School A	50%	MOE 19%
School B	64%	MOE 19%
Difference	14%	MOE 27%

The overall difference between *Dolly* readers and non-readers of *Dolly* who thought that friends try to tell them how they should look was 8% (MOE: 18%) with non-readers of *Dolly* being the greater percentage.

12. The percentage of *Dolly* readers who had changed something about how they look because of what friends had told them

Overall	59%	MOE 12%
School A	59%	MOE 14%
School B	58%	MOE 22%
Difference	1%	MOE 26%

13. The percentage of non-readers of *Dolly* who had changed something about how they look based on what friends had told them

Overall	55%	MOE 14%
School A	62%	MOE 19%
School B	48%	MOE 20%
Difference	14%	MOE 27%

The overall difference between *Dolly* readers and non-readers of *Dolly* who had changed something about how they look based on what friends had told them was 4% (MOE 18%), with *Dolly* readers being the greater percentage.

RELATIONSHIPS

14. The percentage of *Dolly* readers who thought that the media try to tell them what to do in relationships

Overall	72%	MOE 11%
School A	73%	MOE 12%
School B	68%	MOE 21%
Difference	5%	MOE 24%

15. The percentage of non-readers of *Dolly* (I.e. Readers of other magazines and non-readers of magazines) who thought that the media try to tell them what to do in relationships

In this question, 2 respondents did not answer the question. They were allocated a 'No' answer.

Overall	61%	MOE 13%
School A	58%	MOE 19%
School B	56%	MOE 19%
Difference	2%	MOE 27%

The overall difference between *Dolly* readers and non-*Dolly* readers who thought that the media try to tell them what to do in relationships was 11% (MOE 17%), with *Dolly* readers being the greater percentage.

16. The percentage of *Dolly* readers who had acted in a certain way in a relationship because of what the media had told them

Overall	18%	MOE 9%
School A	20%	MOE 11%
School B	11%	MOE 14%
Difference	9%	MOE 18%

17. The percentage of non-readers of *Dolly* (I.e. Readers of other magazines and non-magazine readers) who had acted in a certain way in a relationship because of what the media had told them

In this question, 2 respondents did not answer the question. They were allocated a 'No' answer.

Overall	10%	MOE 8%
School A	12%	MOE 12%
School B	8%	MOE 11%
Difference	4%	MOE 16%

The overall difference between *Dolly* readers and non-readers of *Dolly* who had acted in a certain way in a relationship because of what the media had told them was 8% (MOE: 12%), with *Dolly* readers being the greater percentage.

18. The percentage of *Dolly* readers who thought that friends try to tell them what to in relationships

Overall	76%	MOE 10%
School A	80%	MOE 11%
School B	68%	MOE 21%
Difference	12%	MOE 24%

19. The percentage of non-readers of *Dolly* (I.e. Readers of other magazines and non-readers of magazines) who thought that friends try to tell them what to do in relationships

In this question, 1 respondent did not answer the question. She was allocated a 'No' answer.

Overall	69%	MOE 13%
School A	62%	MOE 19%
School B	76%	MOE 17%
Difference	14%	MOE 25%

The overall difference between *Dolly* readers and non-readers of *Dolly* who thought that friends try to tell them what to do in relationships was 7% (MOE: 16%), with *Dolly* readers being the greater percentage.

20. The percentage of *Dolly* readers who had acted in a certain way in a relationship because of what friends had told them

Overall	44%	MOE 12%
School A	49%	MOE 14%
School B	32%	MOE 21%
Difference	17%	MOE 25%

21. The percentage of non-readers of *Dolly* (I.e. Readers of other magazines and non-readers of magazines) who had acted in a certain way in a relationship because of what friends had told them

In this question, 2 respondents did not answer the question. They were allocated a 'No' answer.

Overall	39%	MOE 13%
School A	31%	MOE 18%
School B	48%	MOE 20%
Difference	17%	MOE 26%

The overall difference between *Dolly* readers and non-*Dolly* readers who had acted in a certain way in a relationship because of what friends had told them was 5% (MOE: 18%), with *Dolly* readers being the greater percentage.

HEALTH

22. The percentage of *Dolly* readers who thought that the media try to tell them what to do with their health

In this question, 4 respondents from School B did not provide an answer. They were allocated a 'No' answer.

Overall	78%	MOE 10%
School A	78%	MOE 12%
School B	79%	MOE 18%
Difference	1%	MOE 22%

23. The percentage of non-readers *Dolly* (I.e. Readers of other magazines and non-readers of magazines) who thought that the media try to tell them what to do with their health

In this question, 1 respondent did not answer the question. She was allocated a 'No' answer.

Overall	67%	MOE 13%
School A	58%	MOE 19%
School B	76%	MOE 17%
Difference	18%	MOE 25%

The overall difference between *Dolly* readers and non-readers of *Dolly* who thought that the media try to tell them what to do with their health was 11% (MOE: 16%), with *Dolly* readers being the greater percentage.

24. The percentage of *Dolly* readers who had done anything with their health because of what the media had told them

For this question, 10 respondents from School A and 3 respondents from School B did not answer the question. They were allocated a 'No' answer.

Overall	40%	MOE 12%
School A	40%	MOE 14%
School B	42%	MOE 22%
Difference	2%	MOE 26%

25. The percentage of non-readers of *Dolly* (I.e. Readers of other magazines and non-readers of magazines) who have done anything with their health because of what the media had told them

For this question, 1 respondent from School A did not answer the question. She was allocated a 'No' answer.

Overall	25%	MOE 12%
School A	12%	MOE 12%
School B	40%	MOE 19%
Difference	28%	MOE 23%

The overall difference between *Dolly* readers and non-readers of *Dolly* who had done anything with their health because of what the media had told them was 15% (MOE 17%), with *Dolly* readers being the greater percentage.

26. The percentage of *Dolly* readers who thought that friends try to tell them what to do with their health

Overall	56%	MOE 12%
School A	59%	MOE 14%
School B	47%	MOE 22%
Difference	12%	MOE 26%

27. The percentage of non-readers of *Dolly* (Ie. Readers of other magazines and non-readers of magazines) who thought that friends try to tell them what to do with their health

In this question, 1 respondent from School A did not answer the question. She was allocated a 'No' answer.

Overall	53%	MOE 14%
School A	65%	MOE 18%
School B	40%	MOE 19%
Difference	25%	MOE 27%

The overall difference between *Dolly* readers and non-readers of *Dolly* who thought that friends try to tell them what to do with their health was 3% (MOE: 18%), with *Dolly* readers being the greater percentage.

28. The percentage of *Dolly* readers who had ever done anything with their health because of what friends had told them

In this question, 12 respondents did not answer the question. They were allocated a 'No' answer.

Overall	49%	MOE 12%
School A	49%	MOE 14%
School B	47%	MOE 22%
Difference	2%	MOE 26%

29. The percentage of non-readers of *Dolly* (I.e. Readers of other magazines and non-readers of magazines) who had done anything with their health because of what friends told them

In this question, 13 respondents did not answer the question. They were allocated a ‘No’ answer.

Overall	49%	MOE 14%
School A	35%	MOE 18%
School B	64%	MOE 19%
Difference	29%	MOE 26%

The overall difference between *Dolly* readers and non-readers of *Dolly* who had done anything with their health because of what friends had told them was 0% (MOE: of 18%), with non-readers of *Dolly* being the greater percentage.

Discussion

The initial intention of the questionnaires was to gain an insight into girls’ use of *Dolly* and other magazines or media for information on sexuality. However, due to the aforementioned changes required by the university’s Human Ethics Committee, the initial focus of the questionnaires and thus their contribution to the overall thesis was somewhat diluted. However, there were positive outcomes of the changes made to the questionnaires. The first of these was increased clarity of questions and thus authenticity of answers. This was due to not using the potentially ambiguous term, ‘sexuality’ and to the provision of general examples for each category. Secondly, through the provision of general examples, with the

term 'sex' occurring only once as an example of 'health,' the tendency to push the respondents into a particular mode of discourse was reduced. The provision of general examples also reduced the tendency to make assumptions regarding the media literacy of the respondents. Furthermore, it limited researcher influence by decreasing the possibility of having to explain more complex terms to the respondents preceding their answering of the questionnaire.

Sources of information

With a positive correlation of .91 or above, there was a strong linear relationship between the two schools' ranking of sources of information about fashion, relationships and health. The top and bottom rankings were the most similar, with some variation for those in between. For all categories ('Fashion,' 'Relationships' and 'Health') the sources 'other' and 'Internet' were consistently in the lowest two places (six and seven) with the exception of 'other' being in place five for School A's ranking of fashion information. At the other end of the scale, 'friends' was ranked the highest source of information (place one) for both schools in all categories with the exception of School B's sources of information on health, where it was ranked the second highest source of information. These results are not surprising and reflect psychologist, Pipher's, view that adolescent girls befriend their peers more than other influences their lives, such as parents. Although not surprising, this could be seen as problematic as, according to Pipher, the reliance on "none-too-constant" peers for support makes adolescent girls vulnerable due to their tendency to share a common language and set of customs which often involves embracing "the junk values of mass culture" (Pipher 1994: 23).

With regard to magazines, their overall ranking as a source of information about fashion was second, with friends in first place and television in third. For relationships, the result was the same except magazines were followed by school instead of television. Health was the category for which magazines were ranked the lowest source of information, with an overall ranking of fourth place following school and then family as the second and third highest

ranked categories. Though not specifically related to sexual health, the position of magazines as the fourth highest source of health information following friends, family and school, is consistent with a New Zealand Ministry of Health survey conducted in 2001 regarding school students' sources of information about sexual health (The New Zealand Ministry of Health 2005: 2). The similarity between the two schools' results suggest that socio-economic factors such as income, geographical location and gender distribution in schools, does not affect the use of magazines and other sources of information by girls.

Readership

The fact that over half (57% MOE 9%) of all girls surveyed claimed to read *Dolly* reflects its status as a top magazine in terms of readership (Kang 2000). Despite 22% (MOE 18%) more girls from School A reading *Dolly* than from School B, it seems unlikely that this is due to financial circumstances. This is indicated by the fact that 25% (MOE 8%) of all respondents read other magazines, leaving only 18% (MOE 7%) of the total number of girls surveyed claiming not to read any magazines. Given that another main differentiating factor between School A and School B is gender distribution, the possibility that this effects the readership of *Dolly* deserves consideration. One possibility could be that readers from School A may use the magazine as a source of information on boys, relationships or sexuality more than the readers from School B as by not being in a co-educational environment five days a week, they have less exposure to these issues. However, this possibility is undermined by the fact that the publications read by readers of other magazines are similar for both schools and include Girlfriend, Crème, Cleo and Cosmopolitan, all of which contain similar or more detailed information on these topics. Thus to speculate further on possible reasons for the difference between the two schools would be meaningless.

***Dolly* as a source of sex information**

21% (MOE 10%) of *Dolly* readers stated that sex was one thing they had learnt about from the magazine, despite the open-ended nature of the question which contained no examples. For readers of other magazines and non-readers of magazines, the percentage of girls who

specified that sex was something they had learnt about from their chosen medium was too small to produce sufficient statistical evidence to support the results. Thus it seems reasonable to assume that *Dolly* is used as a source of sex information more than other magazines or media consumed by respondents. Answers such as “If you ‘aint got a rubber, there’ll be no hubba hubba,” the slogan of a New Zealand television safe sex campaign also indicate the consumption and merging of different forms of popular culture.

The most popular aspects of *Dolly*

For *Dolly* readers over both schools, ‘Information’ was the most popular category followed by ‘Fashion,’ ‘Reality stories,’ ‘Embarrassing moments,’ ‘Celebrities’ and ‘Hot guys.’ *Dolly* readers’ structured responses to the open-ended question asking what they liked most about the magazine suggest a familiarity with and thus fan-base of the magazine. More importantly, the role of *Dolly* as a source of information is reinforced, with this being the most popular category overall and defined by answers which suggest that the help, advice or information sections are a valuable part of the magazine. In addition, categories such as ‘Fashion,’ ‘Reality stories’ and ‘Celebrities’ could also overlap with the information category. The readers of other magazines gave similar answers, although unlike with *Dolly* readers, no patterns emerged to indicate that particular categories were more or less popular than others. This could be a result of the variety of magazines in question. The results of non-readers of magazines were very general and even less structured. However, this is not surprising and is most likely a reflection of the diversity within and between the various media specified.

The least popular aspects of *Dolly*

A similar situation is apparent with regard to the structuring of answers to what respondent’s liked least about the medium they use. For *Dolly* readers over both schools, the largest category was “Nothing” or no answer. This could be a reflection of the loyalty of *Dolly* readers to the magazine. Alternatively, it could have been too challenging a question for readers who are fans of the magazine to answer. The other main categories for *Dolly* readers were ‘Cost’ and ‘Sex,’ although there was insufficient statistical evidence to confirm that

these results were significant. The one-off answers that were provided were more descriptive and insightful than for the previous question. For example, there appeared to be an awareness of the ideological, agenda-setting nature of *Dolly* and the way in which it attempts to construct the reader. This is consistent with the findings of Frazer (1987) and Kehily (1999) from their studies on adolescent girls' reading of magazines. Despite the aforementioned familiarity and thus apparent loyalty of readers to *Dolly*, they elaborated more on their criticisms of the magazine than on what they liked about it. In this regard they could be seen to exemplify Winship's notion of feminist or 'closet' readers, defined by their demonstration of a simultaneous attraction and rejection to magazines (Winship 1987:14). It could also be an attempt to resist the stereotype of a passive reader, through demonstrating their awareness of the magazines' ideological nature. This would reflect the findings of Ballaster et. al (1995: 35) that readers of magazines get pleasure from being "knowledgeable" or critical of the text by "displaying their own literacy in and mastery of its generic conventions." In addition, comments such as "too much sex stuff that is unsuitable because 11 and 12 year olds read it" indicates a "displaced reading" with respondents' adopting "the position of implied reader in order to criticise it..." (Ballaster et. al. 1991 133). The same observation can be made with regard to the answers provided by readers of magazines other than *Dolly*. However, whilst a similar combination of specific, general and descriptive answers are given, there is once again a lack of structure, with no patterns emerging as to whether some categories are more or less popular. Arguably, this is likely to be for the same reasons as discussed above regarding the variety of magazines in question. The results of the non-magazine reader category are inconclusive, with over half of the respondents not answering this question. Of those who did answer, the circumstantial, personal or very specific nature of their answers meant no obvious patterns were apparent. As discussed in the last question, this is understandable given the diversity within and between the various media on which their answers are based.

Fashion

The majority of readers and non-readers of *Dolly* from both schools believe that the media attempt to influence the way they look. However, there is insufficient statistical evidence to

say that there is a difference between the results of the two schools or between the *Dolly* and non-*Dolly* readers. A recent article in the Christchurch Press stated that, “There is no doubt that the barrage of images aimed at young girls from television, the internet and magazines is affecting the way they think they should look, and distorting their values about what is important in their life” (Gray 2005: D4). However, the majority of respondents, despite agreeing that the media try to tell them how to look, claimed never to have acted on what they believe the media to have told them. In the *Dolly* readers’ category, there is a noticeable difference between the two schools’ results with 24% (MOE 23%) more of School A respondents than of School B respondents claiming to have changed something about how they look based on what they believe the media to have told them. A possible reason for this could be School A respondents having more disposable income and thus being in a better position than respondents from the lower decile school to purchase clothes, makeup or accessories they see advertised in the media. Another possible reason could be that there is more importance placed on appearance in School A as a result of the socio-economic backgrounds of the students, or of the alleged nature of single-sex girls’ schools as being more competitive (The National Coalition of Girls’ Schools 2005). There is insufficient statistical evidence to say that there is a difference between the two schools for non-readers of *Dolly*. Regardless of the accuracy of respondents’ claims, the fact that the majority of readers from both schools and in both categories believe that they have never changed anything about how they look based on what the media have told them, could be seen as another example of girls establishing their resistance to media messages.

Despite the fact that friends were ranked the first source of information on fashion overall, less than half of *Dolly* readers thought that their friends try to tell them how to look. However, more than half of *Dolly* readers claimed to have changed something about how they look based on what their friends had told them. The somewhat contradictory results could be attributed to an interpretation of the first part of the question whereby to answer yes would be a criticism of the respondents’ friends. However, to answer yes for the second part of the question may have been a less controversial acknowledgement of the important role of peers in the decision-making and lifestyles of teenagers, particularly with regard to appearance. This notion was articulated by Frost who stated that, “Society is able to reject

you on the basis of your appearance and everyone, especially young people, wants or needs to be accepted” (2005: 77). Reflecting the *Dolly* readers’ results, the majority of non-readers of *Dolly* claimed to have changed something about how they look based on what friends had told them. Although, in this category, the majority of respondents also stated that they thought friends try to tell them how to look. However, there is insufficient statistical evidence to say that there is a difference between the *Dolly* readers and non-readers of *Dolly* or for both categories of reader, between the two schools.

Relationships

With regard to whether *Dolly* readers and non-readers of *Dolly* thought that the media try to tell them what to do in relationships, there is insufficient statistical evidence to say that there is a difference between the results of the two categories or between the two schools within each category. However, it can be said that the majority of *Dolly* readers and non-readers of *Dolly* believe that the media try to do this. It can also be said that the minorities in both of these categories claim to have ever acted in a certain way in a relationship based on what they believe to have been told by the media. A reason for this could be the aforementioned resistance to media messages by respondents. It could also be attributed to the nature of relationships whereby people are likely to learn through experience or on a trial-and-error basis. It could also be due to the more influential role of peers in this regard. Studies have confirmed that teenage girls are very focused on relationships and in particular those with boys, and preferred to talk with each other when they needed support and advice on these matters (Pipher 1994; Kaplan & Cole 2003). This is reflected in the results of *Dolly* readers and non-readers of *Dolly*, with the majority claiming that friends try to tell them what to do in relationships. In spite of this, only a minority in each category claims to have ever acted a certain way in a relationship because of what their friends had told them. Regardless of the accuracy of these claims, the fact that they were made could be seen as an attempt by respondents to establish their independence or resistance to peer pressure. There is insufficient statistical evidence to suggest that there is a difference between the two categories or schools within each category.

Health

As with the previous question, there is insufficient statistical evidence to say that there is a difference between *Dolly* readers and non-readers of *Dolly* and between the two schools within each category, with regard to whether respondents thought that the media try to tell them what to do with their health. However, it can be said that the majority of respondents in both categories claimed to believe that the media do attempt to tell them what to do with their health. Consistent with the previous questions, over both schools a minority of both *Dolly* readers and non-readers of *Dolly* claim to have done anything with their health based on what they believe the media to have told them. Whilst there is insufficient statistical evidence to say there is a difference between *Dolly* and non-readers of *Dolly* in this regard, there is a noticeable difference between the two schools in the non-readers of *Dolly* category. A greater percentage of respondents from School B claimed to have done something with their health based on what they believe to have been told by the media. Given that the media in this question were not confined to particular genres or products and that no substantiated comparisons can be made between *Dolly* readers and non-readers of *Dolly*, to suggest possible reasons for this would be mere speculation.

The results regarding respondents' believing their friends try to tell them what to do with their health and acting on what they believe to have been told, reflect the patterns apparent in the results of the previous question on relationships. That is, in both categories the majority believe that their friends try to tell them what to do with their health, whilst the minority claim to have ever acted on what they believe their friends to have told them. Reflecting the results of the media component of this question is the fact that there is a difference between the two schools in the non-readers of *Dolly* category. School B has a noticeably higher percentage of respondents claiming to have done anything with their health based on what their friends had told them. However, for the same reasons as above, to suggest why this could be the case would be meaningless. In addition, there is insufficient statistical evidence to say that there is a difference between *Dolly* and non-readers of *Dolly* regarding both parts of the question.

Summary

Given the small sample sizes and hence large margins of error, the conclusions that can be drawn from the questionnaires are limited. However, some general observations can be made. The first is that overall the majority of respondents read *Dolly* magazine. Secondly, for two of the three categories (Fashion and Relationships) magazines are the second highest ranked source of information for respondents, with friends the highest ranked source for all categories. Given that 'Information' was the most popular category for *Dolly* readers when asked what they liked most about the magazine, it is reasonable to assume that girls use *Dolly* as a source of information. More importantly, later results indicate that *Dolly* is used as a source of sex information. There was also awareness demonstrated by respondents of the ideological nature of the media, particularly among magazine readers. Their simultaneous acceptance and rejection of magazines and sometimes-contradictory answers illustrate this. This could also be seen to demonstrate an awareness of the inevitably ideological frame set up by the questionnaire, despite every attempt to design and administer it in a way that reduced this. More specifically, reflecting Benwell's findings (2005: 153), these aspects could be seen to indicate a tension between respondents' awareness of the inevitably ideological frame set up by the questions and their loyalty to the media product. In general, respondents demonstrated the three key aspects of adolescent audience activity described by Steele and Brown (1995). These are selection, interaction and application. They demonstrated selection through disinterest, interest, or resistance to various aspects of the media they consumed; interaction through interpretation or criticism of the texts they consumed, and application through appropriation and incorporation of particular aspects of the media, particularly with regard to fashion. Regardless of the accuracy of respondents' claims, there is a sense of girls attempting to express a preference of and in some cases loyalty to a medium whilst demonstrating an awareness of its ideological or manipulative conventions.

Textual Analysis

Overview

The textual analysis of *Dolly* magazine consists of an examination of fifteen issues published between 1998 and 2005, nine of which are from 2004. The selection of nine issues from 2004, the year immediately preceding the study, enables a comprehensive look at the most recent year's worth of *Dolly* magazines published. This is considered important as it provides a perspective from which current trends, patterns and consistent concerns can be studied. The other issues are spread over seven years, with this selection based not on an attempt to observe changes over time, though this would be an interesting study in its own right, but rather to confirm the recurrence of certain trends and concerns within *Dolly*.

The prevalent discourses in *Dolly* are examined from Frazer's Foucauldian-based perspective which describes a discourse register as "an institutionalized, situationally specific, culturally familiar, public, way of talking" which "both *constrain* what is sayable in any context, and *enable* saying" (Frazer 1987: 195-6). The definitive features of the discourses include the use of narrative, tone, intertextuality, vocabulary, subject position, rhetoric and modality to construct the identities of and relationships between the subjects, editor and readers. The analysis argues that the discourses in *Dolly* both produce and reflect subject and reader positions in a contradictory way that simultaneously assumes a knowledgeable and sexually aware or experienced reader and a naïve one in need of instruction and expert advice. From a Foucauldian perspective, the success of the discourses in *Dolly* is proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms (Foucault 1980: 86). This is achieved through an emphasis on readers' contributions, the selection of which works to construct normality and deviance, acceptability and unacceptability. However, also reflective of Foucault's views, is the acknowledgement that such constructions are not necessarily a result of the choice or decision of an individual subject, with the rationality of power "characterised by tactics that are often quite explicit at the restricted level where they are inscribed" (Foucault 1980: 95). Given the intertextuality characteristic of *Dolly*, the constructions largely reflect and reiterate attitudes and values prevalent throughout popular culture. An example of this is the post-

modern attitude towards identity which, as this analysis illustrates, is one that accepts and encourages its fragmented, socially temporal and performative nature.

“The first time we walked down the street, holding hands, it was really weird. We’d been keeping the relationship a secret for so long that it felt like we were doing something wrong” (Dolly February 2005: 70).

Confessional discourse

Through the confessional discourse in *Dolly*, the boundaries between private and public are eroded, with readers’ stories taking the form of a “spectacle of public confession” (Coward 1984: 137 as cited in Kehily 1999: 72). This discourse is prevalent throughout the various issues of *Dolly* and is most evident in the ‘sealed’ sections and in readers’ contributions, particularly to the ‘100% Reality’ sections. The title ‘100% Reality’ foreshadows the framing of the featured issues as shocking, unusual and stories worthy of being shared or confessed. One constituent element of the confessional discourse in *Dolly* is the insinuation of a revelation of ‘truths,’ often achieved through the structuring of stories as emotive and cathartic diary entries. Another is the construction and positioning of the subjects and readers as either deviant or ‘normal.’ This is achieved with techniques such as censorship, visual accompaniments, and prescriptive vocabulary and phrases. For example, “normal,” “need to know,” “secret,” “warning,” “privacy,” “ashamed,” and “admit.” Another is the use of formulaic narratives which resemble a traditional confession beginning with the subject admitting to making a mistake, which is followed by a warning to readers and then guidance and advice by either or both the subject and the editorial.

Thematically, the sexual situations include homosexuality and in particular, the process of “coming out” a term which on its own suggests a confession, and gender ambivalence in the form of conditions such as Androgen insensitivity syndrome, gender identity dysphoria, or family members’ transvestite lifestyles. Other examples are promiscuity, where the young age or drinking habits of the subject is often central to the story and virginity, which is characterised by an ambivalent attitude of the subject towards this. Pregnancy is another popular issue, where once again the young age of the subject is central, and relationships which deviate from the ‘norm’ by virtue of the age difference between subjects or the abusive nature of the relationship. Sex per se is a frequently recurring issue and is usually presented

as important information or a valuable secret in *Dolly's* "sealed" sections. Through the confessional discourse in *Dolly* these sexual circumstances are stigmatised through being rendered a point of difference, something to be confessed, or something with which to be dealt. Through the selection of issues for publication and the way in which the subjects are represented, there are assumptions made and constructions of both the subjects and the readers. The subjects are presented as individuals with whom the reader is able to identify in some ways, such as emotionally and physically, but not sexually. Features such as the provision of website information on particular issues imply that there will be some readers who will identify sexually, and therefore may require support and advice. This further stigmatises the sexual circumstances in question. As a result of this, the 'average' reader, who does not identify with the subjects sexually, is just as constructed. Through the emphasis on what makes the subjects different, assumptions are made about what is considered normal, which is presumably the possession of sexual characteristics that are the opposite to those possessed by the deviant subject.

Censorship

One element that illustrates the confessional discourse is the use of censorship. This is most obvious in stories' attempts to preserve the anonymity of the subjects. For example, in "I slept with 14 guys" (*Dolly* May 2003: 41); "My boyfriend is old enough to be my dad" (*Dolly* February 2005: 70) and "Cutting Clubs" (*Dolly* August 2004: 35), there is an acknowledgement that the subjects names have been changed. There are also recurring visual features that attempt to conceal the identity of the subject. For example, a common feature is a photograph of (presumably) the subject, with their back to the camera, looking out a window so that their face is concealed. This technique is used in stories such as, "My boyfriend is old enough to be my dad", for which the photo's caption is "Michelle and Mike didn't go out in public at first" (*Dolly* February 2005: 70); "I slept with 14 guys" (*Dolly* May 2003: 41); "My ex-boyfriend stalked me" (*Dolly* June 2004: 55); "I was born a boy" (*Dolly* June 2004: 56) and "My dad is a transvestite" (*Dolly* July 2004: 49). A similar example of this is in the blurring of the visuals in the story, "Should a 13-year-old girl be allowed to become a boy?" (*Dolly* August 2004: 98-9), where there is a picture of an androgynous

teenager (presumably the subject) with the eyes blacked out. The subject has a haircut that could be a boy's or a girl's (it is short but styled), is wearing lip-gloss and a unisex jacket. As well as creating intrigue by providing a glimpse of the subjects, these techniques also define what is acceptable or normal and what is not with regard to the circumstances of the subjects. In the above examples, it is the subjects' age, promiscuous behaviour, invasion of privacy, and gender ambiguity that are deemed problematic and differentiate them from a presupposed norm. This illustrates Butler's belief that censorship is "a productive form of power" which is not merely privative, but formative as well, seeking "to produce subjects according to explicit and implicit norms" (Butler 1997: 133). Butler also suggested that "to move outside of the domain of speakability is to risk one's status as a subject" (Butler 1997: 133). Through the retaining of anonymity of the subjects on both a textual and visual level connotes that their deviance is such that it goes beyond exceeding boundaries of normality and renders the subject out of the domain of acceptability. This also effectively defines an 'average' reader, as one who presumably does not share the sexual characteristics of the subjects.

Sealed sections

As discussed by Foucault, while the 17th Century was characterised by a repression of sex through silence and censorship, at the same time there occurred a "multiplication of discourses concerning sex in the field of exercise of power itself: an institutional incitement to speak about it, and to do so more and more; a determination on the part of the agencies of power to hear it spoken about, and to cause *it* to speak through explicit articulation and endlessly accumulated detail" (Foucault 1980: 18). The *Dolly* "sealed" sections could be seen to reflect this. Once inside the sections, which require a piece of paper to be peeled off before they can be opened and usually contain warnings about the content, there is material which is explicit, graphic and detailed. Common examples include detailed diagrams of male and female genitalia, submissions from readers about various sexual scenarios they have encountered, descriptions of different forms of sexual activity, and information on contraception and sexually transmitted infections (STIs). These sections nearly always relate to sex, boys and the body ("*Dolly* sex survey results" (*Dolly* January 2004: 100-106); "The

Secret Life of Boys” (*Dolly* July 2003: 83) “All about boys” (*Dolly* May 2003: 83); “School yard Sex Myths Busted” (*Dolly* February 2005: 123); “Everything but Sex” (*Dolly* March 2004: 100-106); “The stuff you REALLY need to know about condoms” (*Dolly* July 2004: 123); “Your Body: Normal or Not?” (*Dolly* September 2004: 71). As in the ‘100% Reality’ genre, the “sealed” sections blur the boundaries between private and public by simultaneously emphasising the private and personal and the revelation of ‘truth’.

From a psycho-analytic perspective, Butler stated that, as with pornography, the putative repression of sexuality becomes the sexualization of repression” (Butler 1997: 94). She also referred to Freud’s theory that taboo *names* are “that material instance of language that carries both the desire and its prohibition, that is, that becomes the discursive site for the displacement of ambivalence (Butler 1997: 115). The warnings related to the content inside the sealed sections are provocative. For example, “Warning: What you are about to read could shock you” (*Dolly* January 2004: 100-106); “Warning! The secret life of guys...Sealed for your privacy!” (*Dolly* May 2003: 83). Usually immediately after these warnings, the reader is encouraged to open the seal with the revelation of some truth or important information promised “...you told us *everything*. Read on for an uncensored glimpse at what you – and your friends – are really up to” (*Dolly* January 2004: 100-106); “We uncover all the juicy boy info you need to know” (*Dolly* May 2003: 83). The framing of issues as secret or shocking and worthy of being under a ‘seal’ renders them taboo, which from Butler’s perspective suggests that their power is based on the capacity for arousing temptation (Butler 1997: 114). At the same time they are presented as important and are legitimated by their inclusion of medical advice and information. Butler also believed that prohibition is imposed (by some authority) from outside, and is “directed against the most powerful longings to which human beings are subject” (Butler 1997: 114). From this perspective the reader is constructed as one who is tempted by or longing for the content within these sections.

Deviance

In addition to defining and constructing deviance through censorship, it is also achieved by emphasising particular features of the ‘deviant’ subject and any identifying readers. For

example, a commonly recurring point of differentiation between the subjects of the ‘real-life’ stories and the assumed average reader is age, with phrases and vocabulary used in a way that emphasises this. It is usually the case that the subject is younger than ‘normal’ to be in the situation around which the story is based. For example, the emphasis on the word ‘teen’ in the context of ‘real-life’ pregnancy stories: “I gave birth at 15” (*Dolly* November 2003: 60) and “Diary of a pregnant teen” (*Dolly* February 2005: 84-5) suggest that it is the age of the pregnant subjects that renders them abnormal. This is emphasised by phrases such as, “While most teens are partying, Takara Kerr, 16, gave it all up to be a full-time mum” (*Dolly* November 2003: 60) which makes an overt comparison between the subject and an ‘average’ reader or teenager. Another example of this is a subject’s romantic relationship. This is illustrated by story titles such as, “My boyfriend is old enough to be my dad” (*Dolly* February 2005: 70) and “I moved in with my boyfriend at 13” (*Dolly* August 2004: 45) which use age as a method of gaining the reader’s attention. Other examples include the story, “I slept with 14 guys” (*Dolly* May 2003: 41). Though not necessarily relevant to the story which was about the subject’s binge drinking and consequent sexual behaviour, there was emphasis placed on age with phrases such as “Chelsea* thought alcohol made her look cool and older...” which is in colourful writing, set apart from the rest of the text. Similarly, the opening sentence is, “At 13 I was living the life of an 18-year-old...” (*Dolly* May 2003: 41). Comments made later in the story such as “...I was stuck with one of the guys, who was 20.” and “I’ve lost count of the number of guys I’ve slept with – and I’m only 15” (*Dolly* May 2003: 41) reinforce the emphasis placed on age, despite the title suggesting that the focus of the story is the subject’s sexual behaviour. Similarly, “7 wrong reasons to have sex” (*Dolly* September 2004: 62) states that “...the younger you are, the more (having sex) will affect you later. This is substantiated by quoting a senior medical officer at Family Planning Victoria who says that “girls who have sex at a very young age (under 14) are more likely to have multiple partners and put themselves at risk of STIs and pregnancy” (*Dolly* September 2004: 62). Confessions such as, “I was too young to go out on my own” (*Dolly* August 2004: 45) and “...I had no idea how old he was...I couldn’t believe it when they said 37 – he was 20 years older than me!” (*Dolly* February 2005: 70) also illustrate the construction of the subject as deviant based on their young age.

Perceived or predicted reactions of others

Including descriptions of the reactions of other people and in particular friends and family to their situations further constructs the subjects as deviant. More significant though are their descriptions of perceived or predicted reactions of others, which contribute to the confessional nature of the stories. These descriptions also connote societal ideologies and expectations of what is considered normal and abnormal, acceptable and unacceptable. This is illustrated by comments such as, “I couldn’t tell anyone what was wrong because I was afraid they’d be shocked and make fun of me” and “I never intended to tell him the truth...” (*Dolly* June 2004: 56) made by the girl diagnosed with Androgen insensitivity syndrome. Other comments convey a sense of defensiveness and need to justify the situation to an assumed majority who would think that the subject was deviant. For example, “While I know most people probably think a much older guy is only going out with a teenage girl for one reason, if you knew us you wouldn’t think a 20-year age difference was that bad. I know that Mike is not using me for sex or anything else like that because he treats me as his equal” (*Dolly* February 2005: 70). Another example of this is the assumption made by the subject of the story, “I slept with 14 guys” that, “The whole school knew I was sleeping around. “...Inside I was ashamed, but on the outside I pretended I didn’t care” (*Dolly* February 2003: 41). Both of these girls assume that others firstly, are interested in their situations and secondly, will be judgmental towards them. Ultimately, these comments suggest a guilty conscience and a need to justify or defend their situation, which further stigmatises them.

The above scenario is even more obvious in the context of stories that are presented as positive and empowering. In these cases a sense of ambivalence is conveyed through the juxtaposition of acceptance of or pride about the situation and confessions that it is difficult being different. For example, in the story, “My dad is a transvestite” (*Dolly* July 2004: 49) the subject comments that, “I’ve been okay within myself about my dad being a transvestite – my relationship with him is the same as any other relationship between a teenager and his or her dad.” However, she later states that, “Mum admitted to me that she has always known that Dad was like this” and “What did stress me out for a while was the thought of people finding out at school...I was embarrassed and unsure of how other people would react”

(*Dolly* July 2004: 49). Despite the seemingly positive nature of the first comment, which suggests that her dad's lifestyle does not make him any different from other dads, there is still a defensive undertone. This is reinforced in the following comments with the use of the word "admitted" suggesting the situation is best hidden or if this is not possible, confessed. The subject's embarrassment and uncertainty about other people's reactions also suggests that despite a seemingly positive outlook, this point of sexual difference is a source of potential shame and thus something to be confessed rather than proclaimed.

A similar situation is evident in the story, "I took my gay boyfriend to the formal" (*Dolly* September 2004: 45). Despite a seemingly proud, double paged article with several coloured photographs of the subject and his gay partner, there are still elements of confession throughout. This ambivalence is evident in the comment, "I don't care what others think but I do realise that some people are just not ready to accept certain things, so I'm not going to shove it in their faces and make them watch" (*Dolly* September 2004: 45). Despite the beginning of the sentence suggesting that his homosexuality is not a problem for him, this is undermined by the subsequent image of shoving "it" in people's faces, which depersonalises homosexuality and renders it something offensive. This is reinforced by the use of the term "admit" in the comment "...I didn't admit to myself that I was gay until I was 14..." (*Dolly* September 2004: 44). This ambivalent attitude persists throughout the story with the comment, "Although most people have been pretty accepting where I live, I wouldn't dare hold hands with Fabian in Nowra" (*Dolly* September 2004: 45). Similarly, he describes how the school principal "suddenly realised that he had to deal with issues surrounding gay, lesbian and transgender kids" (*Dolly* September 2004: 44). Once again, homosexuality is rendered offensive and a problem to which must be dealt or at least adapted.

Virginity is treated in a similar way to homosexuality – as a 'condition' which requires support and as something to be hidden or admitted only if required. This is illustrated by stories from male and female perspectives, which are presented as positive and empowering yet still have confessional undertones, particularly with regard to the perception of others' attitudes. This is illustrated in the article, "How many guys have I slept with?" (*Dolly* November 2004: 65). The first page contains large, coloured photographs of girls in the latest

hair, makeup and clothing fashions, in confident poses reminiscent of those demonstrated by fashion models throughout the magazine. The word 'zero' in large, colourful font, is only revealed having turned the page. The initial concealment of their virginal status could be seen to illustrate Friedan's notion that in the context of lifestyle magazines "...women *have* to identify...you could sometimes get away with writing about a woman who was not really a housewife, if you made her *sound* like a housewife" (Friedan 1963: 53). In this situation, the writer is able to "get away with" writing about girls who are virgins as long as they are made to sound as though they are not ("*How many* guys have I slept with?" (emphasis added). Regardless of intention, this format stigmatises virgins, framing virginity as something unique and worthy of a four-page story. Consequently, the 'non-deviant' or 'normal' reader is constructed as one who is not a virgin. This illustrates Frost's notion that, "There has to be a standard of 'normal' in operation to understand stigma..." (Frost 2005: 79), with the sexually active reader occupying the position of 'normal.' Furthermore, this article frames virginity as something requiring support. This is illustrated by the web site details provided at the bottom of the page for, "Worth the Wait", a "support group for virgins" (*Dolly* November 2004: 65). In the profiles for the girls, confessional and personally disclosing comments are made, particularly with regard to feeling pressured. For example, "...you can feel left behind"; "If I get pressure from anywhere it's the media"; "I do feel some pressure from guys to have sex"; "I feel that the biggest pressure is that other people assume you've already had sex. It isn't easy to stick to your beliefs when people feel and act so differently about it" "...there's always pressure to have sex" (*Dolly* November 2004: 64-65). The girls' acknowledgement of the stigmatised status of virginity reinforces the confessional nature of the article. For example, one girl comments that her friends "don't treat me any differently because I'm a virgin" (*Dolly* November 2004: 64) whilst another proclaims that "Worth the Wait started because we wanted a support group for people like us, and to remove stereotypes; there are lots of gorgeous, fashionable virgins!" (*Dolly* November 2004: 65).

A similar representation of virginity is illustrated in a 'sealed' section entitled, "All about boys", where "Worth the Wait" supporter, Jason Stevens, "spills a few male secrets". He states that, at school, he didn't go around telling everyone he was a virgin and says that, "instead I sort of hinted that I was having sex when it was talked about". With regard to those

who knew he was virgin, he states how he “was never ribbed for it. I think because I was good at sport I didn’t really need to prove myself in that area” and that, “I still felt that I needed to have sex to fit in” (*Dolly* May 2003: 83). Despite the intention of these articles, the emphasis on the potential attitudes of others and the confession that their sexual statuses were a source of pressure or shame, renders virginity another sexual point of difference to be celebrated, concealed or confessed, rather than accepted as normal.

The revelation of truth

Foucault described the long history of Western societies’ reliance on confession for the production of truth (Foucault 1980: 58). The stories in ‘100% Reality’ use various techniques to validate the ‘truth’ of the matter at hand. Perhaps the most obvious example of this is the first person narrative used to tell the stories. This gives the stories a cathartic, diary entry-like quality, implying that the information is personal and private and the reader is in a knowledgeably privileged position to be reading it. The story, “Diary of a pregnant teen” (*Dolly* February 2005: 84-5) goes as far as to make this quality the central structuring feature. Divided into two main sections, “The birth” and “My first month as a mum,” there is a combination of facts such as times, locations and medical details, and thoughts and emotions. For example, “I started getting contractions about 8pm...when I got to the hospital they examined me, but my cervix hadn’t dilated (that’s when the cervix gradually opens up to let the baby through)...The car ride back from the hospital was just horrible...” (*Dolly* February 2005: 84).

Another method used to reveal the truth is the reliance on a standard formula, based on the traditional confession. Through this formula, readers’ stories “take the form of cautionary tales; confessions culminating in an admission of guilt and a warning to other readers” (McRobbie 1991: 116). Firstly, the subject admits that they made a mistake and/or regret their actions. For example, “I never thought getting pregnant could happen to me...We weren’t using protection but, for some reason, getting pregnant didn’t even cross my mind” (*Dolly* November 2003: 60); “...I had no idea how old he was...” (*Dolly* February 2005: 70); “...this experience finally made me realise that alcohol can be incredibly damaging; so can

sex” (*Dolly* May 2003: 41); “Looking back, there were early warning signs” (*Dolly* June 2004: 55) and “I wish I’d handled the disagreements with my parents better and not run away...” (*Dolly* August 2004: 45). Following the admission of a mistake is a description of the ‘reality’ of the situation, usually conveyed through an emphasis on the negative or challenging aspects and the sacrifices that have had to be made as a result of the subject’s mistake. For example, “I started throwing up, which the doctors said was due to nerves, and my waters broke about 6am – while I was vomiting” (*Dolly* February 2005: 84-5); “I thought I was really grown up and independent, until things started to go bad...” (*Dolly* August 2004: 45).

Emotive language

Also characteristic of the confessional discourse in *Dolly* is an emphasis on the subject’s feelings and emotions. For example, “I feel like I can’t ever have a break, and when I do I miss her and want her back” (*Dolly* February 2005: 85); “I found my condition very hard to deal with and after a while I got depressed. When my friends talked about period pains, I would pretend that I was having my period too” (*Dolly* June 2004: 56). These personal disclosures validate the stories being told through encouraging the reader’s emotional involvement with the subject. This is particularly noticeable with regard to the subject conveying feelings of guilt. For example, “The first time we walked down the street, holding hands, it was really weird. We’d been keeping the relationship a secret for so long that it felt like we were doing something wrong” in “My boyfriend is old enough to be my dad” (*Dolly* February 2005: 70). Despite acknowledging the emotional rather than reasoned basis of this (“it felt like”), the presence of this feeling combined with the fact that the relationship had been kept a “secret”, constructs the subject and thus any identifying readers as deviant. This is also illustrated in the story, “I slept with 14 guys” (*Dolly* May 2003: 41) where the subject states that, “It was always the same routine: drunken sex followed by that sinking morning-after feeling that I’d degraded myself again” and “...Inside I was ashamed, but on the outside I pretended I didn’t care” (*Dolly* February 2003: 41). The subject’s confession that she pretended she didn’t care despite being ashamed “inside” is personally expository and thus gives weight to the story. This is also illustrated by comments such as, “I felt like a freak”

and “This was so confusing for me; I wanted to experience this part of life at the same time as my friends...” from the stories “I was born a boy” (*Dolly* June 2004: 56) and “My dad’s a priest so guys won’t date me” (*Dolly* November 2004: 52) respectively. Other examples of this include, “I was really scared...” and “I was really nervous” regarding the subject telling his family and friends that he was homosexual. The emphasis on confessing emotions and feelings of guilt or fear, which presumably readers can relate to, not only increases the validity of the story but also further stigmatises the circumstances differentiating the subjects from the ‘average’ reader. Hence, the non-identifying reader is constructed as one that can possibly relate to the subject emotionally and physically but not sexually.

Summary

Through techniques such as censorship, narratives that resemble traditional confessions and emotive confessional vocabulary and phrases, both the subjects and the readers are constructed according to editorially approved definitions of sexual ‘normality.’ The subjects and identifying readers are rendered deviant and presented as able to be identified with by a ‘normal’ reader in some ways such as emotionally and physically, but not sexually. Through an emphasis on the characteristics that differentiate the subjects from the ‘average’ reader, the latter is as constructed as the former. This is based on the assumption that the ‘average’ reader possesses sexual characteristics that oppose those possessed by the ‘deviant’ subject. In other words, subjects and identifying readers who are homosexual; gender ambivalent, promiscuous, virgins, pregnant teens, abused, or in an abnormal sexual relationship such as one where there is a significant age difference between the two parties, are rendered deviant and their circumstances, worthy of being confessed. Hence those who do not share these stigmatised, ‘deviant’ sexual ‘conditions’ are rendered ‘normal.’ Frost expressed that shame is “the internalized concomitant to stigma” and “seems to have a particular resonance in work on teenage girls and the body” (Frost 2005: 81). Thus arguably these constructions are potentially harmful for (particularly identifying) adolescent girls who, as articulated by Piper, are in “the most formative time” in their lives and are making choices that will “have many implications for the rest of their lives” (Pipher 1994: 72).

“Alex obviously had a difficult childhood, she was rejected by her mother and the one person she loved and trusted died” (Dolly August 2004: 98).

Victimisation discourse

The discourse of victimisation in *Dolly* focuses mainly on females and in particular young girls being victims of various social or personal circumstances or acts. Thematically, victimisation discourse is most conspicuous when the subjects are sexually differentiated by conditions such as Gender Identity Disorder, have been sexually abused, pressured, exploited or misinformed, or suffer from personal issues that affect their sexual behaviour. Principal factors contributing to this discourse include the use of a tone characterised by sympathy; a warning rhetoric which is urgent or non-pressuring and a normalising narrative which positions the victim, offender, expert and reader. Other factors include intertextuality, provision of sources of help, and the encouragement of reader identification and involvement.

Sympathetic tone

A sympathetic tone is conveyed through techniques such as emphasising the troubled background of the victim. For example, “Should a 13-year-old be allowed to become a boy?” states that “...her troubled background might provide some clue as to why she wants to become a boy...” and “Alex obviously had a difficult childhood, she was rejected by her mother and the one person she loved and trusted died” (*Dolly* August 2004: 98). Another technique is an emphasis on the effects a circumstance has had on the emotional state of the victim. For example, in the same story a family member of the victim states that “...she suffered from depression, was self-harming and had suicidal thoughts” and “was actually threatening to kill himself and saying he would rather be dead and didn’t want to live this way” (*Dolly* August 2004: 99). In particular, the low self-esteem of the victim is emphasised. For example, the victim of “My ex-boyfriend stalked me” (*Dolly* June 2004: 55) states that, “I felt ashamed and worthless. It stripped me of any confidence I had.” Similarly, “Is your teacher hitting on you?” describes how, by the age of 21, the victim “was seeing therapists

and struggling with an eating disorder” and eventually realised “how much the relationship had damaged her self-esteem” (*Dolly* December 2004: 95). These detailed descriptions of the victims’ realities via editorial, family members and their own comments encourage the reader to sympathise with the victim.

Warning rhetoric

The victimisation discourse in *Dolly* is characterised by a strong sense of warning and attempt to prevent readers from becoming victims of sexual abuse or exploitation. This is conveyed through descriptions of actual incidents that have happened to other young women, with an emphasis on making the reader identify with the victims. This is achieved through a normalising narrative in which the proceeding events or circumstances are described in a way that encourages an assumed ‘average’ reader to be able to relate. For example, the beginning of “Smart Girls’ guide to partying hard” describes a real-life scenario of a girl walking home alone from a friend’s party in a presumably safe, small town in which she had grown up and knew a lot of people. However, she was found semi-naked and dead four days later (*Dolly* December 2004: 86). A similar example of this is the story “SHOCK REPORT: These girls were raped by five men” which describes how two gang rape victims agreed to meet a group of guys whom they had met the week before and therefore were not worried about meeting again (*Dolly* April 2004: 70). Through emphasising the sense of invincibility experienced in a small, familiar town and of safety when meeting familiar people, the reader is constructed as a potential victim through being encouraged to identify with the actual victims. This also reinforces the aforementioned importance placed on identification in the context of women’s magazines (Friedan 1963: 53). The construction of the reader as a potential victim is epitomised in the direct questioning of the reader. For example, “How can you tell if you’re being hit on? “There are certain things you should be aware of. Ask yourself if...” (*Dolly* December 2004: 94) and “Rape: Could I be a victim? According to the Women’s Safety Survey, most victims are sexually assaulted by someone they know” (*Dolly* April 2004: 71).

The warnings vary in approach and can exist within a single story. One approach is euphemistic in what appears to be an attempt to avoid being authoritative and preachy. For

example, “We know you’ve been told a million times about the dangers of drinking, taking drugs, driving under the influence, pressure sex and stranger danger – but we thought we’d sneak in another warning before the summer party season kicks off” (*Dolly* December 2004: 86). In this example, the use of “we” provides a collective rather than authorial stance, assuming a shared knowledge about the dangers and thus rendering the warning a friendly reminder rather than a threat. Another approach opposes this one in its directness and urgency. For example, later in the above article is the statement, “You need to learn how to say no and mean it” with regard to sexual pressure from boys. It then states that by going along with it, “You’re not only exposing yourself to inevitable regret and the horrible realisation of being used, but you’re also putting yourself at risk of STIs and pregnancy” (*Dolly* December 2004: 88). Other examples include, “There are people out there who want to exploit and abuse young users. Ultimately, it’s up to you to protect yourself” (*Dolly* August 2004: 97) in an article about Internet paedophiles and “...wherever you are and whoever you’re with, you can never be too careful” (*Dolly* January 2004: 106) regarding rape. The use of the terms “you”, “yourself”, “need”, “mean it” and “important” contribute to the less subtle and more highly charged rhetoric characterising this approach.

Get help

The encouragement to get help reinforces the position of the reader as a potential or actual victim. This also defines what issues are considered and thus should be treated, seriously. Examples include, “If you have been violated, don’t be afraid to tell your parents, school counsellor or a trusted adult so you can get the help that you need. Alternatively, you can call the kids Help Line on...” (*Dolly* February 2005: 124) and “Rape is a horrific crime and you should not be ashamed or embarrassed about reporting it. There are crisis counselling services and specially trained police who can provide support after an assault. For info, go to...” (*Dolly* April 2004: 71). Other examples include, “Domestic violence is still a taboo subject. Victims shouldn’t be so embarrassed to talk about their situation...if you need help visit....” (*Dolly* June 2004: 55); “Have you got a problem at work? Find out about the Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency at...” (*Dolly* September 2004: 52) and, “For information on Net Detectives and tips on surfing the net safely, go to...” (*Dolly* August

2004: 97). The use of the term “you” and imperatives such as “don’t be afraid,” “go to” and “find out” contribute to the urgent and instructive rhetoric. Its prescriptive nature is reinforced by boxes containing step-by-step instructions on topics such as “How to stay safe,” and “What to look out for” (*Dolly* August 2004: 97). This effectively renders the reader naïve and in need of clear and simple instructions.

The expert versus the naïve reader

From a Foucauldian perspective, Illouz (1991) described the way in which validation and control is given to statements through being legitimised by an expert (240). Through referring to “official” research or studies and quoting or paraphrasing experts in the given field, the distinction is made between the naïve reader and the experts who deliver advice. This not only further embeds the construction of the reader as a potential victim, based on their naïveté and thus vulnerability, but also validates the magazine’s definitions of the conditions that constitute victimisation. For example, an expert’s comment that, “Gender identity disorders in children and adolescents can persist into adulthood, leading to a condition commonly known as transsexualism (*Dolly* August 2004: 99) suggests that any gender characteristic that deviates from the ‘norm’ is a serious medical “condition” that left untreated could have long term effects in the form of worse gender disorders. This reinforces the unfortunate position of those who possess such disorders, portraying them and any identifying readers as sufferers and thus victims.

Education and information

The naïve reader is rendered a victim of their sexual ignorance, a cause of which *Dolly* suggests is the wider social problem of education in schools. This can be seen in articles such as “Sex Ed: Are you getting enough?” (*Dolly* April 2004: 79) which makes reference to studies such as, “The Australian Study of Health and Relationships.” *Dolly* describes how this study found that many teenage boys and girls had their first sexual encounter at 16, yet only half of the 3550 students surveyed correctly answered questions about the transmission and effects of sexually transmitted infections...” (*Dolly* April 2004: 79). In this article, there

is more than one victim as is articulated in the opening sentence: “Blushing teachers, outraged parents and confused students.” This is reinforced by the following descriptions of the death threats and letters received by schools and teachers from some parents (*Dolly* April 2004: 79). Other techniques used in this article to reinforce the effects of the inadequate curriculum include the publication of comments from readers and statistics from *Dolly* surveys. For example, “More than half of you felt that you weren’t getting enough sex education at school” (*Dolly* April 2004: 78); “we have to watch videos with really gross footage” (*Dolly* April 2004: 78) and “I really feel the issue is not just about preventing pregnancy and STIs,” says Lizzy, 15. “It is about how we as young women may feel, and how we can say no to something we may not want” (*Dolly* April 2004: 80). The same article quotes the CEO of Shine, a sexual health service in SA, who said that “young people need as much information about sexual health and relationships as possible – especially since Australia has one of the highest teen abortion rates in the industrialised world” (*Dolly* April 2004: 78). Through the juxtaposition of readers’ comments and experiences and the opinions and advice of experts, the experts’ knowledgeable status and the readers’ naiveté are reiterated.

Sexual abuse

Other examples where experts are used to substantiate the construction of a victim are evident in the context of sexual abuse. The reader and thus potential victim is constructed as naïve by comments such as, “Not all sexual assault cases get reported – in fact, up to 85% of rape victims don’t report the crime, according to Julie Stubbs, director of the Institute of Criminology at the University of Sydney” (*Dolly* April 2004: 70). The attention drawn to the mistake made by the majority who do not report rape, reinforces the division made by *Dolly* between the expert and the potential victim. A similar example is evident in “Smart Girls’ guide to partying hard” where Julia Holden, a former police officer, is quoted as saying, “A lot of girls don’t even understand what constitutes sexual assault...” (*Dolly* December 2004: 88). The vulnerability resulting from this ignorance is rendered a social problem of which young girls are the victims. Another example of this is the vulnerability of girls to being exploited by older men on the Internet. In “Cute boy or dirty old man: Who are you really

talking to on the net?” (*Dolly* August 2004: 96), there is emphasis placed on the powerful position of the predator in comparison to the vulnerability of the potential victim. This is illustrated by the statement, “If you think you couldn’t be conned, don’t be so sure. Sexual predators use lots of tricks to lure their victims from the virtual world to the real one” (*Dolly* August 2004: 96). The use of “you” personalises and thus increases the serious rhetoric of this statement. This is reinforced by reference to a detective who says that it is a good idea to assume that a “majority” of people who chat online do so using false details and that, “There have been many cases of paedophiles chatting on the net to dozens of young girls who had no idea of their true identity”. The final statement, “The message is clear: although you may think the person you are chatting to is genuine, you can never be completely sure” epitomises the construction of the reader as naïve, vulnerable and thus a potential victim (*Dolly* August 2004: 96).

Promiscuity

In “When she’s sleeping around” (*Dolly* June 2004: 116-7), the victim is constructed as naïve even by her friend who makes the comment, “She thinks it’s just harmless fun...It hasn’t even crossed her mind that she might catch something from some guy she doesn’t even know...she’s just going to keep getting used” (*Dolly* June 2004: 116). Throughout the article, readers’ scenarios are juxtaposed with expert advice from psychologists, who diagnose the readers’ friends and explain possible causes of their behaviour. For example, one psychologist states that, “If they don’t have strong, secure relationships with adults around them, they can be unable to restrain themselves from these biological urges” (*Dolly* June 2004: 116). In these stories the victims are the promiscuous subjects, their friends for having to deal with them and any identifying readers. For example, one section is headed, “How it hurts her...and you” (*Dolly* June 2004: 116). However, the presumably male subjects are never portrayed as the victims but rather the beneficiaries or ‘users’ of the promiscuous female victims. This ideological point is substantiated by comments from experts such as the national director of Sexual Health and Family Planning Australia who states that, “There is a lot of peer pressure on girls when it comes to sex...There’s the issue of being popular with boys...” (*Dolly* June 2004: 117). This ideological construction is reinforced by the advice

given to the readers to “talk to people about the importance of acceptance” (*Dolly* June 2004: 116) with regard to boys not coming near subject because they “think she’s easy or might have a disease” (*Dolly* June 2004: 116). The supporting advice to make them “see this isn’t the case” maintains the construction of girls being victims and boys, opportunists. This construction seems unjustifiable given the fact that the boy is arguably as much a victim (of a potential disease) as the girl is of discrimination for possibly having a disease. Regardless of intention, such representations of promiscuity effectively condone it. This is due to the rendering of promiscuous subjects as victims and also to the focus on convincing others to accept it. This is illustrated by the comment “...remember to stay away from being preachy. Let her know you’re not judging her” (*Dolly* June 2004: 117).

Abuse by people in superior social positions

In “Is it illegal to fall in love with your teacher?” (*Dolly* July 2004: 64-5) a senior lecturer in psychology at the University of Sydney states that, “Any teachers who prey on students are sexual deviants – people who express their sexuality in unacceptable ways” (*Dolly* December 2004: 94). In addition to defining what is normal and acceptable, what is not, and who the predators and the victims are in these contexts, the article is set out in question form with heavy use of personalised terminology such as ‘your’ and ‘you’. This is illustrated by the title and also by questions such as, “How can you tell if you’re being hit on? There are certain things you should be aware of. Ask yourself if the teacher...” (*Dolly* December 2004: 95). The use of “he” throughout the article also constructs the victim as female and the offender as inherently male. The victimised nature of these girls is further enhanced with descriptions emphasising their inferior emotional state. For example, “A teenage girl who begins a relationship with her teacher might be emotionally needy...” (*Dolly* July 2004: 64-5). This status is reinforced through an emphasis on the superior position of the offender. For example, “Although “talking” may seem harmless, this behaviour can be used by a person in a position of trust to get more control and convince the student that the relationship is okay” (*Dolly* July 2004: 64-5).

The story “My boss tried to exploit my breasts” (*Dolly* September 2004: 52) similarly constructs the female subject as the victim of sexual harassment by her male boss and male customers. Her boss introduced a compulsory skin-tight staff tee-shirt with the slogan, “Stop pretending you don’t want me,” rendering the subject and other staff members victims of a company who was “selling their staff” in a sexual way. This is emphasised by comments such as, “The email implied that we couldn’t refuse to wear it and we weren’t allowed to moan about it either” (*Dolly* September 2004: 52). The subject is constructed as a victim of humiliation, “It was so inappropriate and it made me feel cheap and vulnerable” and of potential sexual assault, “...He then went to the other side of the shop floor and stood there watching me. I started thinking: what’s going to stop him from waiting outside the store late at night?” (*Dolly* September 2004: 52). Her victimised status is substantiated by experts in the form of the Equal Opportunity Commission Victoria and a lawyer from JobWatch who agreed that this incident was sexual harassment and that the company was definitely putting her in a position where she would be open to harassment (*Dolly* September 2004: 52).

The encouragement of reader involvement

Reflecting Ferguson’s notion that magazines are characterised by pre-determined categories (1983: 159), the issues selected for publication in *Dolly* define what is important and thus what the reader should be interested in or concerned about. A contributing factor to the victimisation discourse in *Dolly* is an emphasis on involving the reader as much as possible. In addition to encouraging identification with the victim, as discussed above, a principal technique for doing this is to invite feedback from readers. This is illustrated by the “Talkback” boxes at the end of articles which contain web site addresses to which the reader can go to express their opinion. For example, “What do you think? Should Alex be allowed to go ahead with treatment or be forced to accept her true sex? Go to ...” (*Dolly* August 2004: 99); Have your say at...” (*Dolly* July 2004: 65); “Want to vent about sex ed at you school –or maybe you want to sing its praises. Log on to...” (*Dolly* April 2004: 80). Another example is, “TAKE A STAND! If you’re angry at these videos, email the record companies that make them and have your say” and, “If you have something to say about the way these girls are portrayed, log onto the *Dolly* website...” (*Dolly* March 2004: 62). The highly

charged rhetoric in these “Talkback” boxes frames the issues as urgent, problematic and requiring attention and thus effectively prescribes the mode of discourse to be adopted by the readers in their feedback. More specifically, it attempts to confine the discourse register to one of victimisation.

The incorporation of readers’ opinions

To reinforce the identification of the reader with the victim and the involvement of the reader via feedback, *Dolly* frequently incorporates readers’ opinions, comments and information from surveys into its articles. For example, in the aforementioned article about the inadequacy of sex education in schools, the editorial is supported by readers’ comments such as, “I think that *Dolly* should provide more info about sex because girls at this age are afraid of talking to their parents. Also, girls these days don’t get enough sex ed at school” (*Dolly* January 2004: 101). This constructs the presumably identifying reader as an under-informed victim of the school and wider social system. Another comment that illustrates this is, “*Dolly* should include articles on sex positions, oral sex how to and things like miscarriage” as “a year ago I lost my baby and I have no idea what I did wrong” (*Dolly* January 2004: 102). These comments, which are reflective of those throughout the various issues of *Dolly*, also provide an insight into the areas in which girls feel or are mis or under informed. In this publication of survey results, it was also revealed that, “15% of girls say that they’ve been forced to have sex, and over half of them were forced by a friend (28%) or a boyfriend (25%)” (*Dolly* January 2004: 106). Following this it was revealed that “26% of those who felt pressure ended up giving in”, that almost half (48%) of all girls who’d had sex said they regretted it – mostly because they felt used or pressured into it (*Dolly* January 2004: 105). Similarly, the article “DOLLY BIG ISSUE: 7 wrong reasons to have sex” (*Dolly* September 2004: 62-3) states that “The latest La Trobe University survey “Secondary Students and Sexual Health” found that almost 30% of young women had experienced unwanted sex”. One of the readers’ experiences used to substantiate these statistics was that of a girl who was “bashed up” by her boyfriend because she didn’t know how to “give head” properly (*Dolly* January 2004: 106). Articles that focus solely on this topic, such as, “Do you feel pressured to have sex?” (*Dolly* February 2005: 130) and are made up entirely of readers’ experiences

reinforce the construction of girls as victims of male sexuality. The prominence placed on the reader via statistics and contributions validates the editorial which constructs young women as sexual victims of society and provides an insight into the sexual issues affecting them. At the very least, the selection of material published provides an insight into what the producers of *Dolly* believe are issues affecting young women. A New Zealand based study on the attitudes of adolescence towards sexuality substantiates the relevance of these issues by concluding that, “Girls consistently reported feeling coerced by boyfriends to engage in sexual activity. Almost all girls reported being either pressured, coerced or actually forced to have sexual intercourse with a partner” (Hird & Jackson 2001).

The sexual double standard

The above examples illustrate the view shared by theorists such as Raymond (1994) Durham (1998) Hird and Jackson (2001), that adolescent girls’ sexuality is rarely explored in its own right, but almost always as a secondary desire, responsive to active male sexuality (Hird & Jackson 2001). This is summarised by the notion of a “sexual double standard” (Measor 1989: 47; Tinker 1995: 171; McRobbie 2000: 207; Hird & Jackson 2001). According to Hird and Jackson, this is the idea, prevalent throughout popular culture, that the construction of female sexuality is dichotomised as ‘slut’ or ‘angel.’ As ‘sluts’, girls are expected to sexually excite boyfriends, but as ‘angels’ they are expected to apply the brakes to rampant male sexual desire. This creates conflict within girls’ sexual negotiation, creating, in the words of a New Zealand girl, the position of a ‘cock-tease’ (Hird & Jackson 2001). In the same study another girl stated that, “It’s kind of like now we’re all supposed to be modern ‘90s girls but I think some of us have part of ourselves which still have that kind of same old feeling like sometimes you don’t feel that it’s really your place to say ‘no’ or something -- like that’s really extreme, but sometimes you can find yourself in a situation where it’s just like it will be easier if I go along with it, so I don’t really care either way (laughter)” (Hird & Jackson 2001). Other adolescent views support the awareness and acceptance of a sexual double standard with the boys in a study conducted by Measor (1989) stating that, “one girl is the kind you have as a girlfriend, the other is a ‘tart.’” This was supported by the girls in the study who were very aware and accepting of this distinction, making no challenge to the notion of

the double standard and going to great lengths with their appearance, language and behaviour to avoid getting a reputation (Measor 1989: 47).

In some ways *Dolly* accepts and reiterates this sexual double standard, as has been foreshadowed in the aforementioned treatment of girls' sexuality in relation to male sexuality. Another example of this is in, "The get noticed guide!" (*Dolly* June 2004: 70-1) which quotes a male saying that, "Guys enjoy the attention of the girls who flirt...but when it comes to girlfriends, these girls aren't usually the ones you'd go for. They can seem a bit fake and over-the-top". The editorial then states that, "On the other hand, sitting in a corner like a Madame Tussauds figure won't get you much in the way of attention either!" creating a contradictory and confusing imperative for girls regarding their sexual behaviour and expectations. Ironically, whilst further embedding the sexual double standard, *Dolly* also openly acknowledges it. For example, "It's unfortunate, but women are still judged on their sexual history. You may be confident enough within yourself to handle it, but you may not" (*Dolly* September 2004: 63). Another example of this is in the answer to a reader's problem of getting a bad reputation for her sexual behaviour. The *Dolly* 'expert' states that, "...girls' reputations can be very unfairly tarnished because of the ongoing "double standard" when it comes to sex..." Furthermore, the answer appears not only to acknowledge the double standard, but to condone girls' sexual desire: "Girls who enjoy sexual activity are not abnormal or bad." However, this is undermined with the reader eventually being rendered a victim. This is apparent in the comments, "However, what you're doing seems to be making you feel bad about yourself, is affecting your honesty and is having an impact on your schooling and peer group" and "I do wonder if you have some underlying insecurity or low self-esteem which makes you feel compelled to have sexual encounters with lots of different partners –and then lie about it" (*Dolly* February 2005: 129). This illustrates the ambiguity surrounding the representation of girls' sexuality in *Dolly*, with the messages delivered simultaneously reiterating and rejecting the sexual double standard.

Intertextuality

Another way in which females are constructed as victims in *Dolly* is through drawing on wider popular culture and in particular the popular music industry. In this context the focus is usually on the objectification and/or abuse of women by males in the music industry. An example of this is in the article, “Booty Girls” (*Dolly* March 2004: 61), the focus of which is the objectification of dancing girls in hip-hop videos. The article includes comments such as, “It’s hard not to feel sad and angry when you think about the fact that it has become commonplace for women in music videos to be portrayed as sex objects” and “the problem isn’t really just about what the girls are (or aren’t) wearing, but the way the stars of the videos, the artists, objectify them” (*Dolly* March 2004: 61). These position the dancing girls, who have chosen this career and are presumably getting paid for their work, as the victims of the “offenders” (*Dolly* March 2004: 61) who are the hip hop artists. The “worst offenders” are then named alongside comments they have made. For example P.Diddy is quoted as saying, “I like as much ass-shakin’ around me as possible because it’s good for me” and Loon as saying, “These girls don’t represent the sort any of us date in real life. But I’ve got my own scene later, where I get my chance to get groped by two girls” (*Dolly* March 2004: 61). This provides another illustration of the sexual double standard, with the girls in question portrayed as objects of male sexual attention and simultaneously sexy and degraded. The revelation that these girls are commonly known as “video Hos,” “hoochies,” and “booty girls” (*Dolly* March 2004: 61) reinforces the perspective of degradation. The inclusion of readers’ diverse and strong opinions gives weight to the contradiction surrounding the issue. For example, “My sister is eight and loves the *Shake Ya Tail Feather* video. She learnt the dance they do in it and it’s disgusting. Young kids are watching these videos and thinking it’s cool to dance and dress like that” and “Christina Aguilera dresses like a slut and no one cares, so what’s wrong with these girls doing it?” (*Dolly* March 2004: 62). Despite not including any comments or opinions from dancers themselves, via the editorial and the inclusion of hip-hop artists and readers’ comments, the girls in the music videos are portrayed as victims of individuals and of broader social sexual double standards. In this article, their victimised status is based on the terms used to describe the dancers, the way in

which they are treated physically and emotionally by the hip hop artists, and their attire (or lack of).

Abuse by pop idols

An elaboration on the objectification of females by music artists is evident in the description of their physical and verbal abuse by artists, as depicted in the story “Cool...or criminal?” (*Dolly* July 2003: 44-5). There is a quotation from Eminem (a rapper who was voted “a rap god” by 64% of *Dolly* readers in a reader poll two months earlier) (*Dolly* May 2003: 12) which states “Don’t do drugs, don’t have unprotected sex, don’t be violent. Leave that to me” (*Dolly* July 2003: 44). The editorial following this states that, “If you thought insulting gays and women was bad, it’s nothing compared to the new breed of rappers, whose real-life exploits are worse than any song” (*Dolly* July 2003: 44). The “main suspects” are then described as R Kelly who “...in 2002, after winning six Billboard Music Awards” was subject to allegations of sexual assault after police discovered pirate video tapes, allegedly showing him in sex acts with underage girls. It then describes how he was later arrested on 21 counts of child pornography” and later again when police allegedly found twelve photographs of R having sex with an underage girl”. The article then states that “his latest album...released during his arrests, went straight to number 33 on the ARIA charts. It did even better in the US, going to number one” (*Dolly* July 2003: 45). There is an inherent ambivalence surrounding this issue, given that the offenders are idols as well as deviants. Regardless of intention, the article effectively reinforces this. On one hand it appears to criticise these artists’ behaviour. On the other, it seems to condone it by treating it as a new trend (“new breed of rappers”). In addition, by acknowledging their musical achievements and including statements such as, “Is being bad now the best way to get famous? ...it certainly seems that way” (*Dolly* July 2003: 45), the euphemistic portrayal of this behaviour is further embedded. This condoning is epitomised at the end of the article with the comment, “By Kate Whitby –who will always love Eminem”.

Summary

It appears that the principal role of victimisation discourse in *Dolly* is to warn the readers about and thus attempt to prevent them from, becoming sexual victims themselves. Within the discourse of victimisation, there is an overall sense of *Dolly* acting as a voice for the victims and investigators into wider social issues and problems. With the exception of the pop stars articles, the convincing warning rhetoric, and the inclusion of comments from victims but rarely offenders, positions the subjects and readers in clear categories. These are victim and offender (for the subjects) and potential or actual victim for the readers. The clear distinction made between the naïve reader and the knowledgeable expert and the selective references made to studies and experts further embeds these positions. The persuasive rhetoric and narratives characteristic of victimisation discourse makes the ambiguity surrounding the messages delivered all the more confusing. This is particularly evident with regard to *Dolly's* simultaneous reiteration and condemnation of society's sexual double standard. However, despite this ambiguity, the overall message is that girls' are sexual victims of various personal and social circumstances.

“In the past three years in NSW alone, 11 teachers have been dismissed for having sexual relationships or engaging in sexual misconduct with students” (Dolly July 2004: 64)

Epidemic discourse

Singer stated that, “Within the framework of a logic of sexual epidemic, images of erotic access and mobility shift registers from those associated with freedom, surplus, choice, recreation to those of anxiety, unregulated contact, and uncontrolled spread...” (Singer 1993: 28). Foreshadowed in the previous sections on confession and victimisation discourse, *Dolly* illustrates Singer’s notion that there are now “epidemics” of child abuse, pornography, teenage pregnancies figured within cultural discourse as threatening social phenomena with the capacity to spread (Singer 1993: 29). It also reflects an apparent surge in other “epidemics” such as sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and alcohol related sexual incidents. The epidemic discourse in *Dolly* is characterised by urgent, warning and colloquial rhetoric and vocabulary, imperatives of responsibility and rationality and a combination of serious and intimate tones, all of which combine to create a regulatory and disciplinary modality characterised by ambiguity. The selection of and emphasis placed on particular themes defines which issues are important and should be of concern to readers. These characteristics illustrate Singer’s view that epidemic logic depends on certain structuring contradictions. For example, “proliferating what it seeks to contain, producing what it regulates” and interpellating its subjects, “not only through rational persuasion or empirical induction, but by exercising a kind of control through incitement (Singer 1993: 29).

Urgency about discovering sexual criminals

Singer described one consequence of sexual epidemic as “a kind of social urgency about discovering sexual criminals – most notably those that sexually exploit children, with an epidemic in reported cases of child sexual exploitation” (Singer 1993: 42). As suggested in the previous section on victimisation, *Dolly* appears to emphasise the sexual exploitation of teenage girls by older males in positions of trust. Other examples of this include the publication of stories such as those of four teenage girls being taken to a unit by a Policeman

who offered them alcohol and let them fire guns and of readers' friends getting drunk and pashing teachers (*Dolly* April 2004: 74-5). In particular, there appears to be a proliferation of stories or information about teacher/student relationships which emphasise the increasingly epidemic nature of this scenario. For example, the article "Is it illegal to fall IN LOVE with your TEACHER?" (*Dolly* July 2004: 64-5) begins with, "In the past three years in NSW alone, 11 teachers have been dismissed for having sexual relationships or engaging in sexual misconduct with students. And it's not just teachers who have to be aware of this issue, people such as coaches, Scouts and Girl Guides leaders, doctors and child carers also have to be careful". Similarly, "Is your teacher hitting on you?" (*Dolly* December 2004: 94-5) opens with the sentence, "With the recent news of another teacher in trouble for sleeping with a student, there's a fear that more girls – and guys – are being taken advantage of at school. Could you be one of them?" The personalised question at the end of the latter sentence reinforces the pandemic nature of these stories. Furthermore, the encouragement of reader involvement could be seen to illustrate Butler's view that "the regulatory or disciplinary apparatuses that emerge ostensibly to counter or "wage war" on these epidemic conditions are themselves invested in sustaining and reproducing the very social phenomena they seek to control" (Butler in Singer 1993: 6). This possibility is substantiated by the reader feedback to this story, which included comments such as "I was disgusted. It is gross to think this could happen. Now, whenever I talk to my male teachers, I feel differently" (*Dolly* September 2004: 17).

The "Just Say No" campaign

Singer described the "just say no" campaign as "a particularly bald and conspicuous case of what Freud argued was the essence of the social contract – namely, the demand that individuals learn to discipline and regulate their pleasures in relationship to the reality of social demands" (Singer 1993: 68). She elaborated on this by stating that, "because these demands are neither individuated nor optional, that contract is always accomplished with some ambivalence, the effects of which, according to Freud, tend to return in the form of compensatory symptoms, fetishes, and fixations (Singer 1993: 69). As illustrated in the previous chapter, in *Dolly* the "just say no" imperative is particularly evident with regard to

“pressure sex”. However, it could be argued that in parts such as the sealed section sex survey results, the ambivalence resulting from the “just say no” imperative is illustrated. One example is a picture of a stop sign underneath the heading “JUST SAY NO” followed by statistics revealing that 28% of readers had felt the need to lie to their friends about their sexual experiences, 33% were influenced by drugs or alcohol and 33% did not feel ready (*Dolly* January 2004: 103). Despite the urgency and apparent clarity with which the “just say no” message is delivered in *Dolly* the high number of incidents of sexual pressure suggests that the message is not as clear as it may appear. This is also illustrated by survey results revealing that the majority of readers think that the right age to start having sex is 16, despite the fact that most readers start at the age of 15 (*Dolly* January 2004:101).

Oral sex

Deeper insight into *Dolly* readers’ sexual behaviour further supports Singer’s notion that the effects of sexual repression tend to return in the form of compensatory symptoms, fetishes, and fixations. This is noticeable with regard to the representation of oral sex which, through the dedication of entire and detailed sections to this practice alone, results in an its simultaneous stigmatisation and normalisation. As described by *Dolly*, this form of sexual expression, once considered taboo and associated with brothels or massage parlours, is now more “socially acceptable” and used by 18% of girls to avoid having “sex” (*Dolly* January 2004: 105). This suggestion that it is used as compensation for a lack of “sex” is substantiated by information revealing the common belief among girls that it is the “safer sex.” For example, one reader states that, “Head jobs are safer because you can’t get pregnant from them” (*Dolly* March 2004: 100). Its stigmatisation is evident in the common location for articles or information on oral sex being the “sealed sections” suggesting it is still a somewhat ‘taboo’ area. This is reinforced by the dedication of entire articles to the topic, for example, “Oral Report” (*Dolly* March 2004: 100-102) and descriptions of it as “...a hot issue” and “the sexual practice most of you know the least about” (*Dolly* March 2004: 101). Effectively, the attention paid to oral sex in *Dolly* increases the awareness and knowledge of a sexual practice it appears to seek to contain. In addition, the emphasis placed on it being an alternative to “sex” (epitomised by the incorporation of the article “Oral Report” into a sealed

section called “Everything but Sex”) effectively defines “sex” as penile-vaginal intercourse and normalises ‘alternatives’ such as oral sex. This foreshadows the contradictory sexual definitions apparent in *Dolly*, a point that will be described in more detail in the following section on medical discourse.

The normalisation of oral sex is evident in the emphasis on how common it is becoming, the detail with which it is discussed, and the advice delivered by experts on the technicalities of oral sex. For example, “Headies. Blow jobs. Going down. Whatever you call it, oral sex is becoming increasingly common. Here’s what you need to know...” (*Dolly* March 2004: 101); “*Dolly* Doctor says oral sex is a normal part of experimentation as long as you’re not being forced or pressured into it” (*Dolly* January 2004: 105); “Oral sex. If you haven’t already done it, you’re probably thinking about it” (*Dolly* March 2004: 101) and “These days, however, it’s becoming increasingly common to hear stories of girls going down in movie cinemas, in parks and at parties...” (*Dolly* March 2004: 101). The different terms used to describe oral sex and the personalised address using “you” and “your,” assume that the reader is at least knowledgeable about if not experienced at oral sex. This is supported by readers’ contributions describing scenarios where their friends did it in driveways after their school formal or in the corner of the room while a disco was going on (*Dolly* March 2004: 103). Oral sex is also normalised through an emphasis on it being acceptable if there is no pressure involved and the reader is sure she wants to do it, a notion characteristic of sexual advice in *Dolly*. For example, the response to a reader’s question “Does going down make me a slut?” states that “...oral sex is only okay if you’re not being pressured by a guy, or by the misconception that a guy will like you if you go down on him” (*Dolly* March 2004: 102).

Regardless of whether oral sex is stigmatised or normalised, the focus of articles on this topic is always the importance of using protection. This imperative is validated through quoting experts. For example, a sexologist and psychologist states that, “In situations like this, the most important thing is to use protection...if you’re going to have oral sex, make sure you’re protected...” (*Dolly* March 2004: 102). In another article, an expert states that, “Unprotected oral sex...can still expose you to STIs like herpes, gonorrhoea and chlamydia. Chlamydia is one of the fastest spreading STIs and a dangerous one – it can cause infertility if untreated”

(*Dolly* February 2005: 125). The focus on safety and protection and the emphasis on oral sex being okay if there is no pressure involved not only reflect social changes in attitudes but also the epidemic nature of the potential STIs and abuse associated with the practice. In addition, the normalisation and attempted regulation of oral sex result in a subordination of any surrounding moral issues.

Safe sex

As articulated by McRobbie, one of the reasons for the intensification of interest in sexuality is the AIDS epidemic. A consequence of this is a language of safe sex which provides a new licence for magazines to carry very explicit material (McRobbie 1996: 186-7). Also observed by McRobbie, was the notion that, despite HIV prevention programmes having found that magazines offer one of the most effective vehicles for promoting information about safe sex, their tendency to plug into the intimate tone characteristic of the medium has produced contradictory and unstable effects (McRobbie 1996: 187). This is apparent in *Dolly* where, alongside explicit and urgent rhetoric and imperatives, there are examples of this intimate tone being used. For example, underneath two colourful circles with “27% of you are having unsafe sex!” and “Only 34% of girls having sex always use a condom!” (*Dolly* January 2004: 104) is the statement: “Un-safe sex. Despite knowing (and we know you know, ‘cos we’ve told you) that condoms are the only way to prevent both pregnancy and HIV/STIs, many of you are still coming up with all kinds of lamo excuses...” (*Dolly* January 2004: 100-106). The colloquial language and slang (‘cos’, ‘lamo’) used in the statement euphemise the information which the previous statements suggest is serious and urgent.

STIs

Typical examples of rhetorically charged statements relating to STIs include “This means you should always have protected sex” (*Dolly* February 2005: 124); “You could be at risk if you have had any unprotected sex” (*Dolly* February 2005: 125); “...there’s absolutely no excuse for having unsafe sex” (*Dolly* February 2005: 126); “For starters, having unprotected sex (and that includes oral) is uncool and could result in sexually transmitted infections

(STIs). Want to find out if you or your boy have one? Then read on..." (*Dolly* February 2005: 127) The words "always", "any", "unprotected sex" and "sexually transmitted infections" are in a different colour to the rest of the text thus emphasising their importance. The personalised question "Want to find out if you or your boy have one?" encourages the reader to consider the possibility that they may have an STI, which in turn may encourage a similar pandemic attitude to that mentioned with regard to abuse. In addition, it makes the assumption that the reader is heterosexual. Another assumption made is in the statement, "The National Survey of Australian Secondary Students showed that girls were more clued up on STIs than guys, so it's important for you to be responsible for your health" (*Dolly* March 2004: 102). As well as assuming a heterosexual identity and attempting to instil responsibility in the reader, it also connotes that sexual protection is a girl's responsibility, a theme of which the reiteration is common in women's magazines (Ballaster 1991: 143; Tinkler 1995: 167).

Another characteristic of the epidemic discourse of STIs is the construction of a naïve reader. This is often reinforced by the incorporation of readers' questions or statistics into articles that rely heavily on experts' opinions or advice. For example, "9% of girls who have had sex have had an STI, but only 22% have ever been tested" (*Dolly* January 2004: 100-106) and, "Health experts say many girls aren't aware that they have to protect themselves against sexually transmitted infections that can also be caught from oral sex" (*Dolly* March 2004: 102). Another example is, "Can you catch herpes from kissing? "Yes According to Dr Linda Dayan, director of Sexual Health Northern Sydney" (*Dolly* May 2003: 135). The naïve reader position is reinforced by formats such as cut out boxes. For example, "How STIs are transmitted down there" (*Dolly* March 2004: 103). Despite the serious context of the information, the use of the term "down there" euphemises it and also creates ambivalence with regard to the position of the reader. On the one hand the reader is assumed to be naïve and in need of a cut out box on how STIs are transmitted, whilst on the other is assumed to be sexually knowledgeable enough to understand slang such as "down there." Another format that constructs the reader as naïve is in articles such as "Schoolyard Sex Myths Busted" (*Dolly* February 2005: 123) which is divided into sections titled "Lie #..." For example, "Lie #4 You need to sleep around to get an STI. The thing to remember is this: even though you

might think you know the person you are sleeping with, you can't possibly know their sexual history" (*Dolly* February 2005: 125).

Pregnancy

The representation of the teenage pregnancy epidemic is very similar to that of STIs, with both often discussed within one article. Statements such as, "Un-safe sex. Condoms are the most popular form of contraception but are still only being used by 73% of girls having sex. Scarily, a quarter of you are still using unreliable methods of contraception, like withdrawal or the rhythm method!" (*Dolly* January 2004: 104) signify the urgency of this situation and also the naiveté of the reader. The use of formats such as the myth-busting one mentioned above and experts to legitimate the advice given, reinforce the position of the reader as naïve and in need of education and guidance. For example, Lie #1: "I won't get pregnant the first time" "No doubt you've heard it and wondered whether there could be some truth to it. There's not – you can get pregnant any time you have sex..." explains Donna Tilley from FPA Health" (*Dolly* February 2005: 124); Lie #3 "I can only get pregnant from penis/vagina sex" "Not true, says Donna..." (*Dolly* February 2005: 124); Lie #7 "If he withdraws we're safe" "Um, no" "Here's the real deal" (*Dolly* February 2005: 126) and Lie #2 "If we're having sex it means he loves me" "Not necessarily," says Dr Ivana Borsky of Marie Stopes International, a sexual health organisation... (*Dolly* February 2005: 124). As with the representation of STIs, there is an ambivalent mixture of rhetoric, vocabulary and imperatives that are urgent ("any time", "not true", "real deal", "big decision", "make sure") and intimate and non-urgent ("Um, no", "not necessarily", "no doubt you've heard it and wondered...").

Alcohol abuse

The representation of alcohol abuse in the form of binge drinking and drink spiking and the consequences these have on sexual behaviour or incidents is also characterised by epidemic discourse. Alcohol is represented as a catalyst to sexual mistakes, misconduct or exploitation and as something to be managed or controlled. The relevance of this representation is

substantiated by the views of a group of American coeds after a sexuality lecture: “Everyone is so mixed up that they just get drunk and do it. They try not to think about it the next day” (Pipher 1994: 205). In *Dolly* the epidemic nature of this is implied by comments such as, “Alcohol is likely to interfere with your confidence and ability to say no, which is why it’s important to monitor what you drink” (*Dolly* December 2004: 88). More significantly though, its abuse is represented as an epidemic in need of control. The use of experts to legitimate the seriousness of the epidemic is common. For example, one article quotes the director of the Centre For Youth Drug Studies at the Australian Drug Foundation who says that drink spiking, “can happen anywhere” and “that behaviour is becoming increasingly common among young adolescents...” Descriptions such as “basically guys who try to get women drunk to get them into bed”, “most girls are sexually assaulted by people they know...” and “that nice guy you’ve never met before who offers to help you out is more than likely the one who spiked your drink in the first place” (*Dolly* December 2004: 86) encourage the reader to relate to a typical drink spiking scenario and constructs the identifying reader as vulnerable. This construction of the reader is also evident in the article “Schoolies Week: How to have a wild time (and not end up in a paddy wagon!)” (*Dolly* December 2004: 55). As well as providing “*Dolly* Survival Tips”, there are comments that encourage the reader to identify with typical scenarios. For example “Boys “Ah, so many boys, and so much time to get to know them. Heaven, right? Yep, so long as you’re clued up. Schoolies Week...is renowned for attracting sleazy guys – or “toolies”. These older guys pretend to be Schoolies to crack on to drunk, vulnerable girls. Even worse, sexual assault is common”.

In addition to alcohol abuse in the form of drink spiking, the theme of binge drinking is also prevalent in *Dolly*. The incorporation of this subject into sections such as the shock facts in the “*Dolly* sex survey results” (*Dolly* January 2004: 100-106) indicates the important position alcohol occupies in girls’ sexual behaviour. For example, shock fact one is *Dolly* doctor stating that, “One in three girls was under the influence of drugs or alcohol when they lost their virginity...Getting drunk makes you vulnerable, so you could be more likely to give in to sex pressure...” (*Dolly* January 2004: 103). In addition to constructing the reader as naïve and vulnerable, articles on this subject are instructive. For example, “When she’s drinking too much” (*Dolly* September 2004: 122) states, “Trashed. Wasted. Legless. Sound familiar?

If your bestie's drinking rep needs rehab, here's what you can do". The mixture of seriousness and humour in the article produces ambiguous messages regarding alcohol abuse. For example, there is a picture of popular teen and *Dolly* icon, Paris Hilton, pulling someone onto a couch causing their skirts to ride up and reveal their underwear. The caption to the picture reads "Oh, come on, you know you love it when I drag you down with me". Similarly, the use of the terms "trashed", "wasted" and "legless" and the inclusion of reader scenarios such as "she falls over and does stupid things like pashing losers", indicates that the main problem related to binge drinking is doing "stupid things" and embarrassing oneself. However, other parts of the article indicate that the issues are more serious. For example, "research shows that the more drunk you are, the more likely you are to suffer from injury, robbery, sexual assault and even death...A lot of teens die in car accidents, get hit by cars or are raped when they're drunk and don't have their full senses about them" (*Dolly* September 2004: 122). A similar ambivalence is evident in stories such as "Schoolies Uncensored" (*Dolly* April 2004: 74-5) which begins with the sentence, "Does everyone just get drunk and have sex?" and comprises readers' scenarios. These include stories of girls pashing teachers; getting drunk and having unprotected sex; pashing and feeling each other up with circle of guys watching and cheering on; punching other girls in the face for kissing their boyfriend, and claiming to have slept with twenty guys at Schoolies Week. In addition, there is a box entitled, "The stories that made headlines" which includes "5 Brazilians arrested for sexual harassment" "4 girls rang parents to be picked up early because scared of drunks, violence, accommodation rip-offs, reports of numerous sexual assaults" and "7 put under room arrest for fighting, harassing girls and throwing objects". Despite the serious treatment of alcohol related sexual misconduct in other parts of the magazine, this article contains very little editorial and no warning or cautionary rhetoric. To the contrary, the use of the term "uncensored" in the title is provocative and inviting, foreshadowing the article, which appears to glamourise the situation. For example, the main pictures are of groups of girls laughing and dancing or girls kissing boys on the beach. This is reinforced by a box at the bottom of the page that states, "Already planning for Schoolies 2004? Get all the info you need at ...Get cruise info at...." (*Dolly* April 2004: 75).

Ambivalence is also apparent in the article “Teens gone wild!” (*Dolly* June 2004: 64-5) which consists of photographs of drunken, messy, out of control popular celebrity teens such as Paris and Nikky Hilton, Nicole Richie, Jack and Kelly Osborne, Mary Kate and Ashley Olsen, Tara Reid, Charlotte Church and Aaron Carter. The intention of the article is unclear with statements such as, “Sure, these guys have got fame and huge fortunes, but the one thing they’re seriously lacking is control! And they’re meant to be role models? Yeah, right...”. Not only is this article in the same issue that has Paris Hilton on the cover and “how to get her look” on the inside, but the language used suggests that it is a epidemic that needs controlling at the same time as it is a source of entertainment. This is reinforced with phrases such as, “It’s saying something when people compare you to Paris Hilton and call *you* the wild one,” encouraging the reader to identify with the alleged “role models”. In addition, particular types of behaviour are normalised. For example, with regards to the Olsen twins smuggling their boyfriends into hotel rooms (*Dolly* June 2004: 64), it states that “friends say they are normal teens with normal interests in boys. Like any kids their age, they need to break out occasionally” (*Dolly* June 2004: 65). Finally, at the bottom and the sides of the article there are small sections dedicated to “The good kids” who do not “behave badly” or did but have reformed (*Dolly* June 2004: 66-7). The comparatively minute attention given to the celebrities that behave well suggests that drugged or drunken behaviour is a way to attract attention, something which is rendered positive in articles such as “The get noticed guide!” (*Dolly* June 2004: 70-1). Given that chemical use by adolescents, though varied in form and quantity, reflects a “desire to achieve an altered state of consciousness” and is often a “symptom of other problems” (Pipher 1994: 190), its ambiguous representation within an epidemic mode of discourse is arguably problematic.

Summary

From a Foucauldian perspective, the emphasis on the themes discussed radiates discourses aimed at sex, intensifying people’s awareness of it as a constant danger and thus creating a further incentive to talk about it (Foucault 1980: 31). This is potentially problematic in this case, given the ambiguity surrounding the representation of sexual epidemics. Some parts provide non-ambiguous imperatives on safety, protection and sexual pressure, resulting in the

neglect of consideration of moral (and other) circumstances. Others are problematic in their combination of humour, euphemisms and urgency. The tendency to discuss diverse and important issues within single articles and in a similar tone creates just as ambiguous and thus potentially problematic an effect. The latter is most evident with regard to alcohol, STIs and pregnancy which are clustered into a category of problem behaviours, undermining the seriousness and uniqueness of each. In general, the epidemic discourse in which these issues are framed and discussed results in a proliferation of what is presumably trying to be controlled.

“Sex info is readily available, but Dolly magazine presents it in a relaxed and laid-back way, making girls feel more comfortable about themselves” Sarah, 18 (Dolly January 2004: 101)

Medical discourse

Medical discourse is prevalent in the problem pages called “*Dolly Doctor*” which are divided into the three sections ‘Love’, ‘Life’ and ‘Period’ and in the ‘*Dolly Doctor*’ specials which are often “sealed sections” about sex and sexuality. The medical discourse in *Dolly* is characterised by the use of vocabulary associated with diagnosis, psychoanalysis, science and medicine and the accompaniment of this by graphic descriptions of bodily functions and parts. Also characteristic of the medical discourse in *Dolly* are the subject positions which involve a naïve reader in need of instruction and a knowledgeable ‘expert’ whose advice is legitimated by this status. This reflects Foucault’s notion that, throughout western history “human beings have been constituted as subjects and objects of knowledge,” particularly in the medical profession where experts demonstrate their medical expertise on patients’ bodies (Foucault as cited in Smart 1985: 19). In *Dolly*, this authoritative status of the expert is often used to present opinions as objective facts and consequently issues are framed and defined in ways according to editorial perspectives and encourage corresponding attitudes and behaviour of the reader. The tone also changes from impersonal to intimate within and between topics. For example, content on sexually transmitted infections (STIs) is characterised by high rhetoric and urgency, as discussed in the previous section on epidemic discourse, whereas menstruation is discussed at a personal, collective level, with less distinction made between the position of the author, subject and reader. However, both modalities incorporate aspects of the other thus creating an unstable and ambiguous effect. This is evident in the sealed sections which, as discussed in the context of confessional discourse, illustrate Butler’s notion that the putative repression of sexuality becomes the sexualization of repression” (Butler 1997: 94). This is epitomised by the sexualisation and objectification of the body, particularly within “sealed” sections, despite the medical context in which it is being discussed.

The expert versus the naïve reader

One of the main defining features of the medical discourse in *Dolly* is the construction of a naïve reader in need of instruction by experts such as *Dolly* Doctor. The experts are presented as able to deliver truthful, accurate sexual information unable to be obtained by the readers or their friends, both of whom are presented as collectively naïve. This is evident in feature articles on sexuality. For example, “Read on and forget everything you thought you knew” (*Dolly* February 2005, 123); “Don’t believe everything you hear about sex (it’s probably a big, fat lie). Get the truth about doing it, STIs and pregnancy” (*Dolly* February 2005, 124). It is also evident in the answers to readers’ questions, which draw on compassionate, therapeutic discourse to contextualise and normalise the concerns of the readers. For example, “Don’t worry if you don’t know about the terms used in sex –some of your friends might not know what they’re talking about either!” (*Dolly* March 2004: 101); “Don’t worry...lots of people wouldn’t know what this means!” (*Dolly* February 2005: 126). The use of summaries and checklists at the end of articles or the provision of web sites or phone numbers for further information reinforces the construction of the reader as one in need of education and information. For example, “If you’re not sure whether you’re having sex for the right reasons, ask yourself these questions...” (*Dolly* September 2004: 62). Another example is at the end of “Losing your virginity: The stuff no one tells you” (*Dolly* August 2004: 100-102) with “Dr Hall’s Checklist: Am I ready to have sex?” and the provision of a web site address for more information. Similarly, at the end of the STI section of the article “Schoolyard Sex Myths Busted” there is a list of “Things to remember” which includes “Your doctor is the only one who can accurately diagnose an STI” (*Dolly* February 2005: 129). In addition, there are contacts provided at the bottom of each page such as, “STILL GOT QUESTIONS? Ask us on 1300 SAFE SEX” FPA health. (*Dolly* February 2005: 129) and “FOR THE LOW-DOWN ON DOWN THERE” call 1300 SAFE SEX FPA (*Dolly* February 2005: 128).

The legitimisation of advice by experts

A consequence of the authority possessed by the medical experts in *Dolly* is that subjective material is often presented as objective and factual. As a result, issues surrounding sexuality are defined and framed in specific ways, often contradicting other parts of the magazine. More specifically, through diagnosis and advice, what is considered normal and abnormal, acceptable and non-acceptable, deviant and non-deviant is articulated. This is illustrated by a *Dolly* Doctor response to a reader who thinks her friend might be pregnant because she had unprotected sex and is late for her period. The answer to this begins with, “14 is very young to be having sex, and not insisting on using a condom is evidence your friend isn’t yet emotionally ready to be sexually active” (*Dolly* February 2005: 126). This unequivocal statement constructs the subject and any identifying readers as deviant based on her (young) age and her failure to use contraception. Despite the first point regarding the age of the subject being a predominantly western view, the non-dubious nature of the statement renders any alternative perspective deviant. The second point regarding not using contraception illustrates Currie’s view that the reader, who simply did not use contraception for reasons other than rape or incest, “falls outside the bounds of normalcy established.” She is a deviant case. (Currie 1999: 201).

Oral sex

The representation of opinion as fact is particularly evident in the contradictory definitions of sex within and between the various issues of *Dolly*. The ambiguity surrounding these definitions is particularly obvious with regard to the representation of oral sex. Regardless of whether it is raised by the readers or the editors, a frequently occurring question or theme is “Am I still a virgin if I’ve had oral sex?” (*Dolly* March 2004: 101); (*Dolly* February 2005: 125). The expert views on this are contradictory. For example, under the title “Lie #5: Oral sex isn’t really sex” in the article “Schoolyard Sex Myths Busted”, an expert from FPA Health is quoted as saying, “Any sexual activity can be considered sex because you’re engaging in sexual activity.” In the following sentence she states that, “There’s no technical version of what a virgin is” (*Dolly* February 2005: 125). Similarly, the *Dolly* Doctor sealed

section called “Everything but sex...” begins with “Sex, sex, sex... Sometimes it seems like that’s all anyone ever talks about. But getting some action doesn’t have to mean going all the way. Read on for all you need to know about kissing, oral sex and everything in between” (*Dolly March* 2004: 100). Despite this introduction and the title of the article connoting that oral sex is not considered sex, the answer given to the question, “Am I still a virgin if I’ve had oral sex?” is “Well, that depends on whether you consider it “sex”. All of the health experts we spoke to agree that it is.” Following this, is a quote from sexologist and psychologist Vivienne Cass who states that, “We still have this idea that sex means intercourse,” she says. “...Sex can be using the mouth, such as oral sex, using your hand to create sexual pleasure or rubbing your body against your partner” (*Dolly March* 2004: 101). This statement is contradicted throughout the article with “Everything but...” boxes on every page containing readers’ scenarios. These include oral sex experiences such as a reader “giving it” but not wanting to take it (*Dolly March* 2004: 101); another reader going down on guys at parties and hating it but now liking it because she is with a non-pressuring boyfriend (*Dolly March* 2004: 102) and a fourteen year old girl who found “being fingered” scary at first but is now liking it. The latter scenario is featured on a page titled “15 ways to be intimate without having sex” (*Dolly March* 2004: 104).

The previous chapter discussed the position of oral sex as a possible compensatory symptom of repression given its history of deviance and frequent depiction as an alternative to ‘sex.’ The ambiguity deriving from its simultaneous normalisation and stigmatisation is developed in the context of medical discourse where medical experts appear to provide instruction and in some cases encourage oral sex. This is evident in, “Everything but sex” (*Dolly March* 2004: 103), where not only are instructions given on how to protect oneself against infections during oral sex but, more significantly, mental and emotional support is provided. For example, one expert, the medical director of family planning Australia, is quoted as saying the “fish smell” does exist, but it is not something you should worry about...” Another expert, a sexologist and psychologist, is quoted as saying, “Once you’re protected, there is no need to feel uncomfortable or guilty about having oral sex” and “In the past, people have had such negative attitudes about it but it’s a way that women can orgasm most easily.” This is reinforced through her response to readers’ comments which suggest that they are curious

about oral sex and that it is something that should be covered in school sex education: “She’s not alone. Most girls (and guys) are worried that they might get oral sex wrong. But the fear is only natural...Like everything, you get more confident with practice” (*Dolly* March 2004: 103). These prescriptive modes of support could be seen to illustrate McRobbie’s notion that with sexual matters there is a “normative mechanism at work” with even the kindly tones of an agony aunt being “part of a regulative system” (McRobbie 1991: 163). It could even be argued that this is substantiated, in this case, by the controversy around the time of the above articles surrounding some British schools’ alleged encouragement of students to experiment with oral sex in an attempt to cut down the rates of teenage pregnancy (The Observer: 2004).

Medical experts providing sex manuals

The encouragement of sexual activity by the medical experts in *Dolly* extends from being supportive to specifically instructive, both psychologically and physically. For example, in the article, “Losing your virginity: The stuff no-one tells you” (*Dolly* August 2004: 100-2) psychologist and author of *SexWise* describes how it is natural to be nervous and advises the reader to, “Try taking big, deep breaths and use positive self-talk; tell yourself that you are calm and happy and your body can relax” (*Dolly* August 2004: 100). She then states, “Make sure you have heaps of kissing and caressing to maximise your arousal and chance of lubrication. And if all else fails, make sure you have some lubricant (like k-Y) at the ready!” She adds “...even though sex is a completely natural act, it doesn’t mean that it will feel perfect straight away...Pain may happen and you should stop if it does and try again another time” (*Dolly* August 2004: 2). Another example is, “It’s very normal to feel anxious about something as exciting and important as having sex for the first time. There isn’t really such a thing as being “good” or “bad” at sex – it’s such a normal part of life eventually for most people...” (*Dolly* February 2005: 124). Sexual pain, failure and fear of failure are frequently recurrent issues raised by readers. The advice given by medical experts (usually *Dolly* Doctor) illustrates the prescriptive and instructive nature of the medical discourse in *Dolly*. Examples of advice given are, “Having sex for the first time is almost always an anticlimax (excuse the pun)...You both need to feel very aroused – which means lots of kissing and touching – so he’s got a strong erection and you’ve got lots of lubrication in your vagina. In

addition, put lots of lubricant over the condom to help his penis slide in more easily. Tell him to start very gently..." "It might take several goes before it works, but it will!" (*Dolly* February 2005: 128) and "Sex involves touching, kissing, petting and sexual intercourse...If a boy really likes a girl, all types of sexual activities are arousing. Don't push yourself. Start off slowly by holding hands before moving on to some more intimate types of sexual behaviour" (*Dolly* March 2004: 105). Despite providing specific sexual instruction (down to brands of lubricant), the advice provided by the medical experts is ironic and contradictory. This is most noticeable in the emphasis on sex being a "completely natural act" (*Dolly* August 2004: 102) at the same time as it is denaturalised by articles' portrayal of it as something that requires practice and provision of detailed, step-by-step instructions on how to do it. This could be seen as a reflection of the current social-sexual situation whereby, according to Simon, postmodern sexualities are understood to be characterized by 'a de-naturalization of sex' (Simon 1996: 30).

The sexualisation and objectification of the body

Breasts

In the *Dolly* Doctor sealed section, "Your Body: Normal or not?" (*Dolly* September 2004: 71) breasts are objectified and sexualised with the use of slang and colloquial vocabulary and with their discussion being mainly in the context of male perception, even in the context of medical advice. The reader is assumed to desire larger breasts, with an overall message being the larger the breasts, the more desirable they are. This is illustrated by headings of sections such as, "Why won't they grow? How big will they get? What do guys really think? These are followed by "Secret boob wish lists: Guys reveal all..." where eight males give their opinions on what kind of breasts they like on a girl. Other readers' comments in this *Dolly* Doctor section include, "Why aren't my boobs like my mum's? I must, I must, I must increase my bust! "It's not fair!" and "I want a boob job" (*Dolly* September 2004: 73). This perspective is validated through the "expert" advice given to readers. One source of this advice is the manager of an underwear shop specialising in bra fitting, who, when asked what her "best breast advice" was responded, "Everything can be enhanced with a bra" (*Dolly*

September 2004: 81). More significantly though is the advice that is validated by doctors. For example, in the *Dolly* Doctor section, “*Dolly* Boob files,” a reader asked, “I’ve got a crush on this guy but he’s made a comment about me having no chest. I’m really upset about it. Can I do anything to make my boobs bigger?” In the advice, there is no mention made of the male’s comment or the girl’s motivation. Rather, some medical information on breast development is provided and following this, some suggestions regarding exercises and push-up bras to increase the visual appearance of the reader’s bust (*Dolly* September 2004: 73). The sexual objectification of breasts in a medical context is epitomised in the part, “And a boob by any other name...” situated at the end of the *Dolly* doctor sealed section. Here, breasts are referred to as, “Knockers, tits, jugs, pleasure chest, rack, white pointers, headlights, bosoms, hooters, bazongas, bazookas, B1 & B2, melons, moo moos, funbags and jubbies...” (*Dolly* September 2004: 81).

Pubic hair

In an article for *New York* magazine, Naomi Wolf articulated the commonly accepted association of Brazilian bikini waxing with pornography by stating that, being naked is not enough and that females have to have, among other things, a Brazilian bikini wax “just like porn stars” (Wolf 2003). In *Dolly*, pubic hair is depicted as normal but unacceptable. For example, “Most (make that all) people have some unwanted hair, but there are heaps of things you can do” (*Dolly* September 2004: 80). A beautician and owner of a salon answers questions by readers regarding hair removal and states that, “Things have changed so much. It’s as common to get your arms waxed as it is to do your legs these days – especially for young girls.” She then describes the latest trend in pubic hair waxing as being, “The Hollywood” where “everything is waxed off then designs are painted on the front pubic area with henna... You can also have diamantes stuck on.” This is accompanied by pictures of wax designs available including “brazilians” (full pubic hair removal), “landing strips,” “love hearts,” “bikinis” (*Dolly* September 2004: 81). In addition to normalising and encouraging a practice associated with pornography for young girls based on the fact that it is trendy, she also uses medical justification. For example, “It also keeps the area cleaner – once you’ve had one, you’ll find it difficult to go back to how you were” (*Dolly* September 2004: 81).

This connotes that pubic hair removal is hygienic and hence, “how you were” (before getting pubic hair removed), an inferior state of health.

Intimate tone

The *Dolly* Doctor sections could be seen to illustrate Reichert and Carpenter’s notion of habituation. Originally used to describe pornography, this describes how sexual information must become “more graphic and intense to evoke the same degree of attention and arousal as it did initially” (Reichert & Carpenter 2004: 825-6). The combination of explicit details and diagrams in *Dolly* and the use of an intimate and sometimes parodying tone suggest that the desired effect is one of entertainment as well as education thus creating a contradictory and unstable effect as discussed in the previous section on epidemic discourse. This is illustrated by “The secret life of your vagina,” which has a box around the word ‘secret’ and begins with “Every girl’s got one, but when it comes to shape and size, they’re all different – and a bit of a mystery. Here’s the low-down on what’s down below.” The article is then divided into the sections “discharge: What’s normal? Should it smell?” “Labia: Is there a correct size? and “Lumps, bumps and rashes: Why do I have pimples around my vagina? What about rashes?” (*Dolly* September 2004: 72). Following this is information about “Down-there” infections such as Thrush, Cystitis and Bacterial Vaginosis. Each of these is followed by the questions: What is it? How do you get it? What are the symptoms? What should you do? with a final section “What can I do to keep my vagina healthy?” accompanied by a diagram of a vagina. The provocative title of and introduction to the article could be seen to encourage readers to view it as “a distinct subgenre of sexual fiction producing culturally specific ways of knowing oneself” (Kehily 1999: 72). The mixture of technical medical terminology and euphemistic slang such as “down-there” infections and “low-down on what’s down below” renders the rhetoric surrounding the topic ambivalent. The *Dolly* Doctor special article, “All about boys” (*Dolly* May 2003: 83) provides another illustration of this. Introducing a question and answer section about sex and the penis are graphic diagrams of the male genitals and a step-by-step description of the erection process. These are accompanied by the statement, “Ever wondered what’s what when it comes to guy bits? We’ve uncovered the ins and outs of the male anatomy to help you understand boys’ bodies better. Listen up, ‘cos

Dolly sex ed starts now...” (*Dolly* May 2003: 87-9). The combination of medical terminology and diagrams and colloquialism and humour renders the intention of such articles ambiguous. However, unambiguous is the way in which these articles epitomise the term “info-tainment,” a neologism for a presentation that combines information with entertainment (Techtarget 2006).

Menstruation

Durham and McCracken found that sexuality was rendered in intimate and helpful tones that worked to create “a privatized subcultural space” for teenage girls (McCracken 1993: 141; Durham 1998). This is particularly evident in *Dolly*’s depiction of menstruation. For example, the article “Private Period stuff,” emphasises the word ‘private’ by outlining it. In addition, the article uses an intimate, understanding tone to accompany the clinical diagrams and instructions on how to insert a tampon: “Worried about when your first one will arrive? Not sure what to do with a tampon? All girls get their period at some point, so here’s what you need to know...” (*Dolly* September 2004: 75). The medical discourse surrounding menstruation in *Dolly* is collective, blurring the usually distinctive boundaries between the subject positions of author and reader. This is illustrated by the use of terminology such as “we”, “us” and “our”. For example, “Tampons can be fun and funky. Don’t believe us? Check out...” (*Dolly* December 2004: 146) and “So we’re supposed to get our period every four weeks, lasting for three to five days. Yeah, right. Some girls have a period every three weeks, while others wait five... When it comes to periods, it’s hard to define “normal”. Want to know what’s typical and how to decide if you have issues? Read on. (*Dolly* February 2005: 133). The latter sentence also illustrates the importance placed on normality, abnormality and being informed when it comes to medical issues and in particular menstruation. The collective imperative is also evident in the blurring of boundaries between editorial and advertising. For example, an advertisement for a sanitary product features “The Libragirl lowdown” consisting of a “HOT TOPIC” such as “What if my girlfriend and I like the same guy? “If you really like a guy, keep it to yourself until you see if there is any chance of a relationship. Remember: Guys come and go, but special girlfriends last a lifetime” Find out more at libragirl.com (*Dolly* August 2004: 159).

As with the other medical issues discussed, there is ambivalence surrounding the representation of menstruation. Firstly, its regular question-and-answer space in the *Dolly* Doctor section indicates that it is a medical concern. However, it is also trivialised and sexualised with a regular “Omigod Moment” which consists of readers’ embarrassing period experiences and nearly always revolves around boys. For example, a reader was “checking out and flirting with” boys at beach when she had her period and then realised they were laughing at her because her tampon string was hanging out of her bikini (*Dolly* March 2004: 149). As well as being rendered something personal (a medical concern) and a source of shame and embarrassment, there are also attempts to represent it as trendy, fashionable and even fun. This is most obvious in the advertisements for sanitary supplies. For example, “What’s new?” “U Tampons...are cool tampons in lolly-coloured wrappers. They’re more fun to unwrap than regular tampons, and easy to find in your school bag” (*Dolly* May 2003: 112); “Tampon fashion: Carefree’s new designer packs reflect what’s hot for winter – like bright prints, denim, mod and fun patterns. They’ll be your cheapest trend buy this season” (*Dolly* June 2004: 150); “Accessorise with a touch of the East” (oriental designed pad wrappers) (*Dolly* August 2004: 31) and “...fun, individual pouches. No need to be embarrassed if anyone sees your pad in your bag – they’ll love Stayfree Spirit’s oriental design too!” (*Dolly* August 2004: 158). Despite the apparent attempt at normalising sanitary products through rendering them fashionable instead of embarrassing, ultimately it is but another form of stigmatisation.

Summary

The medical discourse in *Dolly* demonstrates the ambiguity surrounding sexuality that is prevalent throughout the magazine. This is particularly noticeable with regard to the construction of the reader as one who is sexually naïve and in need of instruction yet also sexually experienced or aware of sexual colloquialisms or expectations. The use of experts to legitimate subjective material results in issues being framed and defined according to editorial perspectives and encouraging corresponding attitudes and behaviours of readers. However, this effectively contributes to the ambiguity surrounding sexuality due to experts

contradicting each other and in some cases themselves. The sexualisation and objectification of the body in a medical context also creates an unstable subject position for both the medical experts and the readers. Similarly, the deliverance of explicit physical and psychological sexual instruction in the same context as warnings against the dangers of unwanted pregnancy and STIs results in conflicting messages and ambiguity. This is reinforced by the frequent changes between serious and humorous tones and rhetoric, which effectively blur the boundaries between entertainment and information producing a confusing set of medical guidelines for readers.

"Sometimes I think I'm the one pressuring my boyfriend for sex. You're making it seem like guys are the only ones who want sex" (Dolly January 2004: 105)

Desire discourse

Reflecting the views of Fine (1988) and Durham (1998), Tolman stated that not enough attention is given to girls' desire and that "sexuality is so often thought of only in negative terms..." (Tolman 2002: 4). As has been illustrated, this is often the case in *Dolly*. However, there is an acknowledgement of girls' sexual desire. In some parts desire is still represented from a romantic perspective, affirming a traditionally feminine identity exemplified by passivity and dependency (Steele and Brown 1995; Walkerdine 1984; Hird & Jackson 2001). However, even within the romantic discourse there are often sexual connotations. This could be seen as a reflection of the social changes surrounding girls' sexuality as articulated by Giddens (1992: 10) who described how girls today, "speak a language of romance and commitment which acknowledges the potentially finite nature of their early sexual involvements." He also observed that, "Girls feel they have an entitlement to engage in sexual activity, including sexual intercourse, at whatever age seems appropriate to them" and that the conventional practice for previous generations of the sexually active teenage girl playing the part of innocent is usually reversed with innocence, where necessary, playing the role of sophisticate (Giddens 1992: 10). Although the previously missing discourse of desire is visible in *Dolly*, the problems surrounding the discourse are not eliminated but rather converted from one form to another. This is due to the combination of traditional romantic and sexually desiring modes of discourse. Thus where the main problem used to be that the only message girls got about sexuality was that they were potential victims of male sexuality and not a subject in their own right (Durham 1998), now it is the multiple and conflicting messages they get about sexuality encouraging fragmented and unstable subject positions. This could be seen as a reflection and reiteration of the pressures faced by adolescent girls for whom, as suggested by psychologists such as Pipher, sexuality, romance and intimacy are all jumbled together and need sorting (Pipher 1994: 35).

Heterosexual narratives

Romantic discourse affirms a traditionally feminine identity exemplified by passivity and dependency. The article, “Help! Why doesn’t he like me?” (*Dolly* April 2004: 82-3), illustrates this with emotive phrases such as, “Meanwhile, you’re tortured. You can’t figure out why he hasn’t asked you out already” (*Dolly* April 2004: 83). This statement exemplifies the traditional romantic discourse associated with older magazines such as *Jackie*, which promoted the ideology that the reader can get “fulfilment only through a partner” (McRobbie 1991: 99). However, it is differentiated from older magazines by its incorporation of sexual desire. This is evident in sentences such as, “You could flirt your short skirt off at every opportunity and never get a response, except from guys you don’t like” (*Dolly* April 2004: 82). *Dolly* also illustrates McRobbie’s notion (1991: 101) that girls’ magazines cancel out completely the possibility of non-romantic relationship between a boy and a girl. For example, the reasons provided in this article for the male’s lack of interest are that he has just broken up with someone, that none of his mates have girlfriends, that he has no idea about girls, that he is gay, and, only finally (in the form of an after-thought), that he is just not interested (*Dolly* April 2004: 82-3). This heterosexual narrative is reflected in other *Dolly* articles such as “9 Pashes every girl’s gotta have” (*Dolly* June 2004: 68-9) which describes the “boy bud pash:” “Yes, you’ve said it a million times and everyone knows that you’re “just good friends”, but at some point you *will* hook up.” Other articles such as “How to be “just friends” with guys” (Pash-free zone) (*Dolly* February 2005: 51) suggest that being non-romantically involved with a male is a possibility. However, it is rendered something worthy of its own article and requiring instruction. Hence the heterosexual, romantic relationship is constructed as the norm.

The sexualisation of romance

Some of the vocabulary, phrases and imperatives used in *Dolly* suggest a non-sexual, traditionally romantic discourse. For example, “the real thing” (*Dolly* November 2004: 58), “true love,” (*Dolly* June 2004: 68, November 2003: 70) “that boy you have been dreaming about forever” (*Dolly* June 2004: 68), “long, lingering looks” (*Dolly* July 2003: 30-1); “The

One,” “in love” (*Dolly* November 2003: 70), “The heady rush, the anticipation, the...love” (*Dolly* November 2003: 70); “heartache,” “perfect catch” (*Dolly* March 2004: 69). However, within the same articles, phrases such as, “lusting after someone for ages” and “You’ll probably think it’s so good that you won’t be able to stop thinking about the kiss – and waiting until the next time you hook up” (*Dolly* June 2004: 68) sexualise the romance. This ambivalence is also illustrated in the introduction to the article “Boy bonding: Holiday Stuff to do with a guy” which states “get close-as to your boyfriend these holidays with boy-bonding dates that will make your summer romance hotter than a pair of Sass & Bide jeans.” (*Dolly* December 2004: 81). Another example is in a “*Dolly* Doctor special” called “All about boys” (*Dolly* May 2003: 83) with the positioning of an article about a male who states that, “It’s so fake” “Society says you’re a man if you can attract women and seduce them. But that’s the exact opposite of what a real man is” on the same page as the article “Who owns that? Guess who owns which, ahem, assets...” which has five photographs of celebrity male genital areas (*Dolly* May 2003: 88).

Celebrities

The sexualisation of romance is also evident in the representation of celebrities whom *Dolly* editors select for feature articles. Popular *Dolly* icon Britney Spears, described as “cooler than ever,” (*Dolly* November 2003: 16) epitomises the ambiguous status of girls’ sexuality conveyed throughout the magazine. Initially promoted and marketed on her virginal status and claim to be abstaining from sex until marriage, she has always been and is increasingly sexualised. For example, her image evolved from one resembling the school-girl fantasy commonly associated with pornography (Walkerdine 1996: 326) where she was renowned for wearing a school uniform and her lyrics “I’m not that innocent,” to a boundary-pushing one epitomised in a stage kiss with her sex-icon idol, Madonna. According to McRobbie, Madonna personifies the “proliferation of female sexualities embodied as possibilities in one female self. She is the slut who poses for pornographic photographs, the lesbian girlfriend, the heterosexual dominatrix, the material girl, the feminist heroine for a generation of young female fans” (McRobbie 1996: 188). Thus, with claims such as the kiss was “all Brit’s idea to prove she’s all grown-up” (*Dolly* November 2003: 32), Britney’s sexual image is not only

evolutionary but also ambiguous. This is epitomised by a tee-shirt slogan she made popular which stated in large lettering “I’m a virgin” and then in fine print “but this is an old tee-shirt” (Cafepress.com 2005). In *Dolly* she is sexualised through her own words, the editorial and the visual accompaniments. For example, in one article she is depicted in black, studded accessories, an unzipped, cleavage and mid-drift revealing black jacket, with dark eye makeup and messy blonde hair covering half her face. Other photographs include her in very short skirts or hot pants and performing provocative dance moves. She is also quoted as saying, “He’s nothing serious. But he is so hot!...He’s Mr Playboy so we’ll see what happens” regarding actor Colin Farrell who she had been “spotted pashing” despite his claims that they were “just friends” (*Dolly* November 2003: 31). One *Dolly* feature celebrating successful Australians contains an article about Britney’s former choreographer who is quoted as saying, “I started remixing her stuff into rock versions for her shows and getting her to dress sexier and to get into more sexual movement. I’m not trying to take the credit but I had a part in moving her in the direction that she’s going now” (*Dolly* April 2004: 24). This is accompanied by a photograph of Britney in a bra-type top and revealing skirt, standing in a dominating position over another girl with the caption “Britney let Wade sex-up her innocent image” (*Dolly* April 2004: 24). Despite Spears’ erotic image, she is also depicted as romantic. This is evident in claims such as, “I’ve only slept with one person my whole life. It was two years into my relationship with Justin. And I thought he was the one. But I was wrong” “I was completely heart-broken” (*Dolly* November 2003: 32). This ambiguous representation of romance and sexuality through the portrayal of a popular celebrity is also evident with regard to singer, Guy Sebastian. *Dolly* claims to love Guy Sebastian because “he’s a nice boy who loves his mum and shows that you don’t have to be a party animal to get the girls...and because he’s saving himself for marriage.” Ironically though, his non-sexual status is sexualised by calling the article, “Why you don’t have to have sex to be sexy” (*Dolly* January 2004: 21). The depiction of such celebrities as sexual role models effectively renders them vehicles for the promotion of sexual attitudes and values condoned by *Dolly*. More significantly, it acknowledges, validates, and condones girls’ sexual desire.

Acknowledgement of readers' sexual desire

The ambivalent sexualisation of romance could be seen as a symptom of the idea, expressed by Illouz, that whereas in the Romantic tradition sexual arousal was sublimated-and therefore made legitimate-into the scenario of "love at first sight," today love at first sight is suspected of being a pretense for what can now be openly acknowledged, namely, sexual desire (Illouz 1997: 159). The revelation of and attention drawn to particular sex survey results reiterate *Dolly* readers' sexual desire. For example, "10% of girls who have had sex have had 11 or more partners (*Dolly* January 2004: 104) is singled out from other parts of the page by its larger, blue font. Similarly, "48% of girls who've had sex have had a one-night stand" (*Dolly* Jan 2004: 104) is singled out with a box around it and is then repeated in the text below the box. Furthermore, the sexual desire of the reader is condoned through its normalisation. For example, the statement following the above revelation is, "But that doesn't necessarily give you a bad rep. Half of the survey respondents believe there is nothing wrong with casual sex" (*Dolly* January 2004: 105). Other statistics include, "One third of you say you've cheated on a boyfriend!" (*Dolly* January 2004: 101), "one in five girls who've had sex lost their virginity in a one-night stand" (*Dolly* January 2004: 103); "45% of you have had sex," "most of you lose your virginity at 15." This information is repeated in a graph, which includes other information such as 26% of readers aged 10-13 are having sex (*Dolly* January 2004: 101). The ambivalence surrounding sexuality and romance is also apparent in the sex survey results. This is illustrated by the revelation that 75% of readers "think you should be in love with someone before you have sex with them." However, when divided into virgins and non-virgins, "86% of girls who are virgins think you should be in love with someone before you have sex with them compared to only 61% of girls who have already had sex" (*Dolly* January 2004: 106).

In other parts of *Dolly* the construction of the reader as sexually desiring is more blatant. This is illustrated in the inclusion of readers' comments such as "I lost my virginity when I was almost 13. I wasn't pressured either – you might as well say that I was the one to pressure him..." (*Dolly* January 2004: 103) and "Sometimes I think I'm the one pressuring my boyfriend for sex. You're making it seem like guys are the only ones who want sex" (*Dolly*

January 2004: 105). This could be seen to reflect recent social changes, where girls appear to be emerging as the “main social experimenters” (Giddens, 1992: 51) as it opposes the commonly held view that, in contrast to boys, the acknowledgement of girls’ sexual longings is virtually non-existent (Tolman 2002: 5). This reversal of sexual roles is also illustrated by a reader’s comment: “I made a pact with my boyfriend before we left. We’d only been going out a few weeks so I said to him, ‘you do what you want and I’ll do what I want’. He agreed, so I went and pashed someone else. But he didn’t and was really angry at me. Who cares? It was fun” (*Dolly* April 2004: 74-5). The publication of these statements not only acknowledges *Dolly* readers’ sexual desire but also illustrates their resistance to the stereotypical construction of girls as sexual only if in response to male sexuality.

Questions from readers wanting *Dolly* to teach them how to give their boyfriends oral sex (*Dolly* January 2004: 106) and the inclusion of readers’ experiences relating to the above issues, give weight to the editorial and statistics provided. For example, “We are three 14-year-old girls who have a friend we’re very worried about. At school we’re always talking about guys, and she either tries to change the subject or sits there and says nothing...Should we fix her up with someone? What else should we do to help her fear of guys?” (*Dolly* April 2002: 113). Other readers’ contributions such as, “We never fool around because he’s frigid. I’m worried that, in the future, I won’t be ready when a guy makes a move on me (‘cos I’m not getting any practise)” (*Dolly* February 2005: 131) and “A lot of my friends say they have orgasms from oral sex all the time...I really don’t think it’s that important, as long as you’re enjoying yourself. I do know that the more we do it, the better it gets” Age 15 (*Dolly* March 2004: 105) also acknowledge readers’ sexual desire, experience and attitudes. Other comments such as, “I have slept with several guys who I don’t have feelings for. I’m on the Pill and I always use a condom, but I don’t know why I sleep with them in the first place. I’m not pressured by the guys. So why do I do it?” (*Dolly* February 2005: 131) whilst acknowledging readers’ sexual desire, also illustrates their confusion. Girls’ sexual desire is further normalised by editorial and advice such as, “Some girls feel ready to start pashing boys by the time they are 11 or 12; others won’t have the desire, or feel comfortable enough to act on their feelings, until they’re much older. It can be difficult when all your mates are lusting after boys and you still think they’re just plain annoying but, trust us, you’ll be

chasing them soon enough!” (*Dolly* December 2004: 93). Another example of this is evident in the advice, “Losing your virginity or having sex with heaps of guys when you’re young won’t make you feel – or look – any older. But from about the age of 14 your mind is telling you the complete opposite (*Dolly* September 2004: 63).

The sexualisation of males

The publication of reader comments and statistics acknowledges girls’ resistance to non-sexually-desiring stereotypes. However, editorial also encourages it. This is illustrated by the sexualisation and objectification of males, evident particularly in the focus on their bodies and body parts. For example, “He is without a doubt one of the hottest guys in the world, but read on to find out if there’s more to Travis than just pecs and abs” and “although we know the face (and, uh, the pecs and the abs and...) we don’t really know much about the guy. At first didn’t want to pose in his undies “Luckily for us – sorry, we mean him – he changed his mind and it made him a star” (*Dolly* April 2004: 38). Other examples include, “Rob without a shirt on looks pretty damn good!” (*Dolly* August 2004: 20) and the regular “Could you date these guys?” which features a series of photographs of males who are usually topless and often wearing low-riding jeans or shorts which reveal their underwear. Two issues’ “life-size boyfriend posters” (*Dolly* November 2004: 14) and the editor’s accompanying letter epitomise the objectification of males in *Dolly*. Her letter states, “over the next two issues...we’re giving you random bits of two totally spunky guys to piece together and stick up on your wall or door...There’s a surfy guy on one side of the age and a sport babe on the back – depending on what mood you’re in (or you could just buy two copies of *Dolly* and pin them both up!)” (*Dolly* November 2004: 14). This could be seen to illustrate Friedan’s notion that “the image of males lusting after women gave way to the new image of women lusting after males” where “exaggerated, perverted extremes of the sex situations seemed to be necessary to excite hero and audience alike” (Friedan 1963: 263). Another example of the editor’s encouragement of sexual desire is in her “message” regarding a “Special version of boyzone” which states, “Hey Girls, I’ll be honest with you, there’s only one reason we put this Boys of Summer mag together – it’s a total perve-fest!! But you’re cool with that, right? Go flick, drool and enjoy. It’s going to be a wicked summer! “Warning! The following pages

may: Make you drool, Turn you into a master flirt, Help you bag a babe...and make you totally irresistible” (*Dolly* November 2004: 99).

The sexualisation and objectification of males in *Dolly* is emphasised by the frequent use of vocabulary such as “hot” (*Dolly* February 2005: 51); “hottest” (*Dolly* April 2004: 38); “hotties” (*Dolly* April 2004: 84-89); “perve” (*Dolly* February 2005: 51; *Dolly* April 2002: 19); “spunky” (*Dolly* November 2004: 14) and “drool” (*Dolly* April 2002: 19). In addition, the use of collective vocabulary such as “we,” “our” and “us,” further normalises heterosexual desire by breaking down the boundary between (presumably female) readers and editors and strengthening that between them and the (male) objects. For example, “So maybe you didn’t get quite enough perve possibilities with Josh Hartnett on our cover in Feb. We thought we’d hand you some more. Cut ‘em out. Frame ‘em. Get ready to drool...” (*Dolly* April 2002: 19) and “he’s also married...but you can’t blame us for looking” (*Dolly* August 2004: 153). Other examples include “boy we want” (*Dolly* April 2002: 31), “The actor’s name is way too tricky to pronounce, so we just like to call him hot” (*Dolly* June 2004: 20) and “Your mission is simple. Tell us which of these gorgeous TV spunks is the hottest of all!” (*Dolly* September 2004: 68). This centrality of desire is particularly evident in the statement, “Plus! The *Dolly* Doctor sealed section, busting all those sex myths you’ve heard, and the *Dolly Guys!* mag packed with hotties for your perving pleasure” (*Dolly* February 2005: 9). By promoting important medical sex information and an insert containing ‘hotties’ for the readers’ “perving pleasure” in the same sentence not only emphasises the prevalence of sexual desire in *Dolly* but also the combination of often conflicting discourses and thus identities. In this case, the subject positions constructed for the reader are simultaneously rational, through the education on sex myths, and unrestrained, through the provision of visual material designed to provide “perving pleasure.”

The positive depiction of bad boys

Despite other parts of *Dolly* rendering girls victims of ‘bad’ or ‘hyper-sexual’ boys, through the discourse of desire they are rendered positive based on their sex appeal. This is exemplified by the representation of celebrities such as Usher. In one issue the following

reader's letter was published: "Thank you times 100,000 for the page on Usher in "Who's Hot". I picked up a copy of *Dolly* while shopping with my mum and started to read it on the way home in the car. When I opened up to page 15, I almost made mum crash! I screamed and nearly stopped breathing. Thanks so much for giving me a picture to perve on. The guy I love most is on my wall – what more could I ask for?" (*Dolly* August 1998: 10). A later issue described Usher as "addicted to sex," after having admitted to cheating on his girlfriends, "because he likes to, ahem, you know." He is also quoted as saying, "I'm addicted to sex. I'm a man with strong needs. It's impossible for me to be in a relationship. At least while I'm still young" (*Dolly* August 2004: 23). Another example of a celebrity being rendered sexy based on his "bad boy" status is that of Benjamin McKenzie from the popular television series *The O.C.* The editorial states that "every single boy is H-O-T! None more so than the bad boy in town, Ryan..." and that "bad boy Ben is just way too hot to ignore." After describing how he is "plastered on" girls walls and folders everywhere, he is quoted as saying, "It works to my advantage that I play somebody who's not immediately friendly: fans are scared of me!" (*Dolly* November 2004: 24). Within the discourse of desire, celebrities are considered "hot" despite their values conflicting with those promoted in other parts of *Dolly*. For example, the problem pages and articles such as, "Booty Girls" (*Dolly* March 2004: 61) or "Cool...or Criminal?" (*Dolly* July 2003: 44-5) condemn males who abuse, objectify or do not respect the wishes of females. However, articles such as, "The good things about bad boys" (*Dolly* August 2002: 92) not only encourage the reader to sexually desire bad boys, but render their badness the characteristic around which their appeal is based. The reasons given for this include that there is "nothing more attractive than a boy you know is totally wrong for you" and "bad boys are cool, mysterious and dangerous. And danger can be exciting –and sexy too" (*Dolly* August 2004: 93). The ambivalence surrounding bad boys is epitomised in the combination of articles within a single issue of *Dolly*. For example, in the August 2004 issue, one article focuses on a girl's confession to making the mistake of moving in with her boyfriend at aged thirteen 'cos she liked him for being 'bad boy'. Another article describes a girl going out with a boy who had cheated on five other girls at her school because "he was so hot." Having cheated on her as well, she suggests that it was a positive experience because she learnt "how to kiss" as he had "obviously pashed a lot of girls and he passed on some awesome techniques." Furthermore, the editorial encourages the reader to identify with or

attempt to obtain this attraction to “bad boys” through the statement “bad boys tend to have experience. And, if you’re clever, you’ll let some of that experience rub off on you” (*Dolly* August 2004: 93).

Summary

The discourse of desire in *Dolly* could be seen to reflect broader societal changes in attitude regarding girls’ sexual desire. More specifically, even within traditionally romantic discourse, sexual desire is acknowledged and encouraged. One way in which this is achieved is through the positive portrayal of celebrities who give sexual advice and/or are defined by their sexuality. Another is through techniques such as visually and editorially drawing attention to male bodies or particular information, reader contributions and statistics. The attention dedicated to reader information also illustrates former *Dolly* Doctor, Kang’s, observation that there is “an anticipated breadth of experience in this population” (Kang, 2000). This suggests that girls’ sexual desire is not only existent but also active, a position that *Dolly* arguably reflects, produces and encourages.

“All I can say is Girl Power will never die in my heart.” –Polly Spice, NSW (Dolly August 1998: 10)

Girl-power discourse

Goldman, Health & Smith stated that, “commercial attempts to choreograph a non-contradictory unification of feminism and femininity have given rise to an aesthetically depoliticized feminism” (Goldman, Health & Smith 1991: 334). It could be argued that in *Dolly* feminism is represented in the less-stigmatised form of girl-power. The constituent features of the girl-power discourse in *Dolly* include the use of vocabulary, rhetoric, intertextuality, subject positioning and representation of celebrities and boys to render young women and in particular *Dolly* readers powerful and independent subjects. Thematically, this is achieved by stereotyping boys and claiming to be able to provide a superior knowledge of them through revelations of what really goes on inside their heads. This illustrates the feminist notion of knowledge equating to power (McRobbie 1996: 192), which *Dolly* readers are encouraged to use in order to get boys yet also get the better of them. This supports Ferguson’s belief that, “Both the medium and the women’s movement are directed towards raising the consciousness of women: the one towards getting, if not keeping, a man; the other towards getting the better, or at least the equal, of him (Ferguson 1983: 187). In *Dolly*, this dichotomy is illustrated by the connotations that power can be derived both from obtaining and refusing a boy’s sexual interest. However, reflecting Ferguson’s view that, “In one sense the women’s movement offers a counter culture, but in another sense it is an extension of the cult” (of femininity) (Ferguson 1983: 187), the girl power in *Dolly* is undermined in various ways. For example, the centrality of and advice from boys effectively undermines the empowering subject position created for the female reader, whilst the editorial and comments from popular celebrities contradict other parts of the article or magazine. Consequently, the girl-power discourse in *Dolly* illustrates Butler’s notion that the identity categories often presumed to be foundational to feminist politics, simultaneously work to limit and constrain in advance the very cultural possibilities that feminism is supposed to open up” (Butler 1999: 187).

Boys will be boys...

In *Dolly* male stereotypes are constructed, explained or reinforced from biological, scientific and humorous perspectives. In addition to their categorisation as, “the gentleman,” “the player,” (*Dolly* December 2004: 99) “good boy,” “bad boy,” “surfy,” “rugby-head,” “Texan cowboy,” “charmer” (*Dolly* February 2005: 51) they are also stereotyped with regard to their sexual drives which are constructed as innate, central and rampant. These constructions are validated by references to research and medical sources. For example, the article “Totally bizzaro boy facts” (*Dolly* September 2004: 66-7) states, “Studies have shown that boys barely notice the clothes a girl wears. They’re much more focused on what’s underneath your designer outfit than what label it is” (*Dolly* September 2004: 66) and “They really are horny goats...Hormones, in particular testosterone, create sexual desire by stimulating the hypothalamus (which regulate body functions like temperature, sleep and appetite). Considering that men have 10 to 20 times more testosterone than women, is it any wonder they’re all over us like a rash” (*Dolly* September 2004: 67). Another example of this is in the article, “Losing your virginity: The stuff no-one tells you” (*Dolly* August 2004: 100-2) where a doctor’s advice is used to substantiate editorial such as “...some guys use sex as a popularity contest, so be prepared for the word to get around and “girls attach a lot more emotion to sex than guys, who are more capable of seeing sex as just sex (*Dolly* August 2004: 100). Editorial describing girls who felt pressure to lose their virginity states that the pressure “mostly came from boys – hardly a big surprise there!” (*Dolly* January 2004: 103). Editorial such as, “Don’t be surprised to hear excuses like, ‘It doesn’t feel the same’ or ‘I’m allergic to latex’” (*Dolly* February 2005: 126) with regard to boys refusing to wear condoms, reinforces the sex-driven stereotype of boys.

The constructions of male sexual drives are further substantiated by the inclusion of males’ views on the subject. For example, in the article, “What guys think about sex,” author Jason Stevens describes boys’ attitudes towards sex at his high school:

“The emotional side of a relationship was never discussed, of course, just the sex,” “My mates would talk about how many times they’d done ‘it’ and who

with...guys are ruled by testosterone” “If a guy comes along and says, ‘I love you’. I want to show you how much,’ for him that means sex. It’s in the back of their mind: “I am going to get sex if I persist with this relationship” “We used to make a big joke as teenagers and say, ‘How long did you wait until you used the L word? Did you give in? Sometimes a guy would go, “I was getting nothing, so I pulled it out pretty quickly. It’s so fake” (*Dolly* May 2003: 83).

Another example of this is in the *Dolly* Doctor sealed section “Everything but...” which quotes a boy as saying, “I actually prefer it when a girl won’t have sex with me! I mean, I’ll try it on as much as any other guy but you can’t beat that anticipation before you’ve had sex with someone and you’re just kissing and touching and wondering what’s gonna come next. Once you’ve had sex, there’s not that much left to look forward to” (*Dolly* March 2004: 106). Although proliferating and thus potentially further embedding its innately aggressive and unproblematised stereotype (Giddens 1992: 178; Durham, 1998), these constructions of male sexuality also provide a basis for which *Dolly* can provide the reader with the power of knowledge over males. Presumably readers are consequently equipped with the knowledge to make informed choices and deal with their sexual health and relationships with boys. As articulated by McRobbie, the girl who knows what to expect is more likely to be sexually confident and “able to insist on using a condom” (McRobbie 1996: 178). The importance of this subject position is illustrated in *Dolly* by statements such as, “Teenage guys are more clueless than girls when it comes to sex, so trusting him with your sexual and emotional wellbeing is a bad idea” and “If you’re still convinced that sex is going to make him like you even more, have a chat with a counsellor or talk to a friend and find ways to improve your self-esteem” (*Dolly* September 2004: 62). This perspective is reinforced by the reference, “The National Survey of Australian Secondary Students showed that girls were more clued up on STIs than guys, so it’s important for you to be responsible for your health” (*Dolly* March 2004: 102). Despite girls possessing the power of knowledge, it could be argued that this ultimately contributes to the maintenance of patriarchal gender relations. This is due to girls being rendered responsible for sexual issues such as protection against pregnancy, STIs and emotional health, responsibilities of which males are exempt due to their assumed lack of knowledge about and control over their sexuality. This view was shared by theorists such as Ballaster (1991: 143), Tinkler (1995: 167) and McRobbie (2000: 208) and summarised by

Winship who believed that in the magazine genre girls “are drawn in to support the masculine quest: ‘boys will be boys’ whatever the game being played” (1987: 6).

How to ‘get inside his head’

Dolly experts

Another way in which *Dolly* encourages readers’ power over males is through getting “inside his head” (*Dolly* May 2003: 94), something with which *Dolly* experts assist. For example, one *Dolly* Doctor special called “All about boys” (*Dolly* May 2003: 83) begins with “want the low-down on his body? We uncover all the juicy boy info you need to know – plus find out what he *really* thinks about sex.” Other examples include: “5 things he’ll never tell you” (*Dolly* July 2003: 91); “Think you’ve got him sussed? No matter how well you think you know your boy, some stuff will always be off limits. Here’s a taste of secret guys’ business” (*Dolly* May 2003: 91); “6 signs he’s about to kiss you” (*Dolly* May 2003: 87); “you can tell a lot about a guy from his SMS style...yep, they’re that easy!” 6 signs he’s totally into you (*Dolly* November 2004: 99); 6 ways to tell if he’s truly cool...we sussed the *good* signs to look out for...” (*Dolly* November 2004: 99) and Guys love it when we make the first move...” (*Dolly* November 2004: 99). This is epitomised in the regular “Boyspeak” or “Guy speak decoded” which are divided into the sections “He says” and “He means.” The relationship between the editor and reader in this mode of discourse is characterised by ambiguity. On one hand, the boundaries between author and reader are broken down by promoting a collective female group which opposes the ‘other’ male group. This is illustrated by the use of “we,” “us,” “they,” “him,” and “his”, with the final two appearing to be intended to represent all boys or boyfriends. On the other hand, the author is positioned as superior to the readers, who is constructed as one whose ‘girl power’ will be increased with the knowledge and advice of the *Dolly* experts.

External experts

Another technique that renders male views central is intertextual referencing. A common example of this is quoting from well-known sexuality and/or relationship authors to substantiate the editorial. For example, “Find your longest, dangliest earrings. According to Allan and Barbara Pease, author of *Why Men Lie And Women Cry*, ‘Image tests show that the longer a women’s earrings dangle, the higher male respondents rate her sensuality’” (*Dolly* May 2003: 30). Another example is “apply your makeup...Most importantly, get those lips looking kissable...According to Leil Lowndes, author of *How To Make Anyone Fall In Love With You*, boys go ga-ga for lipstick more than any other makeup” (*Dolly* May 2003: 30). Both of these examples are in the article “Operation Party Pash” which provides readers’ with a detailed “make-it-happen guide for guaranteed action” (*Dolly* May 2003: 30). Despite connoting “new forms of sexual conduct” (McRobbie 1996: 177) characterised by boldness, independence and emancipation, such articles ultimately base girls’ power solely on their sexual attractiveness to males. This undermines the feminist undertone of the girl-power discourse and illustrates Machin and Thornborrow’s notion that readers are not really in a position of power given that they are relying on the reaction of a man for their self-image and sense of power (Machin & Thornborrow 2003: 464).

Boys as sources of information

Regardless of the reader and editor subject positions, the notion that girls’ power is undermined through the reliance of a man for their sense of self-image is epitomised by the use of males as sources of that knowledge. For example, a common feature in *Dolly* is the publication of results from polls conducted on boys. Poll topics include, “How much do you tell your mates about your girlfriend? (*Dolly* May 2003: 94); “She was the best pash ever because...” (*Dolly* September 2004: 137), “How many hook-ups make it official?” (*Dolly* November 2004: 14); “What’s the dead giveaway sign you’re into her?” (*Dolly* December 2004: 14) and revelations such as “52% of guys prefer flirting via text messages than in person” (*Dolly* January 2004: 96) and “according to a survey of all the boys we know, shoulder and neck exposure top the list for sexiness...” (*Dolly* May 2003: 30). Other

examples include articles such as “On the Couch” which states, “We can tell you stacks about boys, but it’s better hearing it straight from their own mouths...” (*Dolly* December 2004: 4). Another article exemplifying this is, “How to flirt with guys, by guys” which states, “So, you’re into him but don’t want to look desperate? The boys tell us what really works.” Advice given by the boys includes, “Stick to the dress code...on a night out, he’ll appreciate something that’s sexy, without it being slutty; it works every time. A classy, slightly revealing top with a cute mini should do the trick!” (*Dolly* December 2004: 12). Another example of using boys as a source of knowledge is the regular “Next big fling” section, consisting of a “hot” guy of the month who answers readers’ questions about boys. For example, “Need a boy’s eye view on your dating dilemmas? This month, we asked hottie Alex to help solve your guy probs” (*Dolly* January 2004: 95). Getting a male to solve girls’ problems regarding males not only reiterates the centrality of males to girls’ lives, but also places males in a position of power over the reader. This can be seen in the following reader’s question: “Whenever I go out with my friends, they all seem to hook up with guys and I end up sitting alone. Does that make me look like a real geek?” to which the hot guy of the month answers, “Yes, I’d probably say you do look like a bit of a geek!...” (*Dolly* January 2004: 95). This illustrates the way in which these sections render the male in a position of power to deliver advice which is in his (and presumably other males’) interest.

Conquest

Whether through refusing or gaining a boy’s sexual interest, the idea that girls are superior to boys is one that is frequently promoted. This is illustrated by information and tips such as a “quick put down” (*Dolly* November 2003: 92); “the two highest IQs ever recorded on a standard test both belong to women – helpful when dealing with a total smart-arse” (*Dolly* April 2004: 113) and “look him straight in the eye, smile like you’ve just seen him for the joke he is, flick your hair and walk away from a boy who never deserved you anyway” (*Dolly* May 2003: 85). The vocabulary surrounding this idea is often associated with conquest. For example, “Operation Party Pash” promises that “by the time the party’s winding up, he’ll be begging to get to know you” and provides encouragement for the “mission” such as “trust us, we know you can do it” and “psyche yourselves up for your

night of conquest” (*Dolly* May 2003: 30). Similarly, “The make-him-melt pashing rules” (*Dolly* July 2003: 30-1) promises that “...he’ll be begging for more” and advises the reader who now knows “the secret to a great kiss” to “spread the news to all the ignorant boys who stumble within kissing distance of you. May the force be with you” (*Dolly* July 2003: 31). Another example of the use of vocabulary associated with conquest is, “When it comes to asking out a spunky boy, your best weapon is to use...” (*Dolly* September 2004: 54-5). Similarly, “The get noticed guide” (*Dolly* June 2004: 71) states that “...getting a boys’ attention requires a good deal of positive encouragement...so go forth and conquer!” Another example of this is with regard to being stuck in a situation you don’t like in the article “WARNING: danger ahead” (*Dolly* April 2002: 48-9) “Get armed and dangerous *Dolly*-style and survive any drama.” An example is “the guy that goes too far,” for which a “*Dolly* girl action plan” is provided and informs the reader that “you’re not responsible for his happiness, and you don’t deserve to be mentally tortured – he needs to sort himself and his feelings out” (*Dolly* April 2002: 49).

Saying no to sex as empowering

Despite both the girl-power and desire discourses in *Dolly* illustrating the power derived from sexually attracting a boy, it is also connoted that the reader is empowered through refusing a boy’s sexual advances or attention. This could be seen to illustrate Singer’s view that the “just say no” campaign is a case of the essence of social contract – the demand that individuals learn to discipline and regulate their pleasures in relationship to the reality of social demands” (Singer 1993: 68). In the context of girl-power discourse in *Dolly* the demand is that readers become strong and autonomous subjects who are in control of their sexuality. This position is defined by an ability to resist the sexual aggression of or temptation provided by boys, or if engaging in sexual activity, to make sure it is on the girl’s terms. This is illustrated by the use of doctors’ quotations such as, “There is absolutely no reason why you have to have sex with him unless you want to and feel ready to do so” (*Dolly* February 2005: 126) and “If a guy can’t respect your decision, then it’s better you’re not together” (*Dolly* January 2004: 103). Comments such as, “I think girls that stand up for what’s right for them are really strong and brave and they should be congratulated” (*Dolly*

January 2004: 103); “here’s why the rest felt strong enough to say no” (*Dolly* January 2004: 103) and “it showed she was confident and didn’t need to have sex to impress anyone” (*Dolly* September 2004: 62) reinforce the notion that to say no to sex is empowering. The positive portrayal of female celebrities’ sexual abstinence reinforces this. For example, “Guess who? “Which reality TV star has recently announced she’s a virgin...Rumour is she may be saying it to win over more fans that didn’t like her after the last season...” (*Dolly* September 2004: 23). This depicts virginity as a sexual status capable of winning over fans. The aforementioned article, “How many guys have I slept with?” (*Dolly* November 2004: 62-65), though containing contradiction, reinforces the positive portrayal of girls’ sexual abstinence. This is achieved through the two pages of photos of the girls aged between sixteen and twenty-three in trendy clothes, hair styles, make up, jewellery and accessories and in poses reminiscent of the models in the fashion pages of *Dolly*. The visuals are accompanied by editorial such as, “Think you’ve gotta have sex to fit in and get guys? These gorgeous girls prove you can be popular *and* get a date, without going all the way” (*Dolly* November 2004: 64). According to Durham (1998) the emphasis on girls' sense of "choice" in relation to male sexual ardor is celebrated as being empowering for girls, through “valorising the notions of ‘choice’ and ‘consent’ without, positioning these signifiers in a context of dominance and submission” (Raymond 1994: 133). From this perspective, regardless of intention these representations remind girls that they are defined by their bodies, confirming the ideology that boys' sexuality is uncontrollable while their own must remain in check (Durham, 1998).

Be true to yourself

Celebrities

Another example of the girl-power discourse in *Dolly* is the promotion of the imperatives of being true to and comfortable with yourself and prioritising your values over the perceived or actual values of others. One method of achieving this is through the representation and publication of comments of popular female celebrities. For example, Drew Barrymore is described as “the love guru” and tells the reader to “cut the act” as “anything that’s an act means you’re deceiving the other person and to “make sure that you stay true to your

personality.” She also states that “there’s so much power to gain if you show that you feel good about what you actually have to work with” (*Dolly* June 2004: 76). Through an intertextual reference, Drew’s powerful position is reinforced: “Drew got all political for her Elle Girl story, and was urging the readers to get voting in the upcoming US elections” stating “If all women between the ages of 18 and 24 voted, they could determine our leaders - every time” (*Dolly* November 2004: 33). Other popular stars’ used as vehicles to promote girl-power include Jamelia (*Dolly* June 2004: 130) who states, “I’d say definitely to believe in yourself...Anything’s possible, I can tell you that” (*Dolly* June 2004: 130) and Hilary Duff (*Dolly* December 2004: 23) who says, “I just don’t feel comfortable dressing with a lot of skin showing. It’s important for people to see that you don’t have to dress like that to look great...you don’t have to always go with what is cool, you have to be comfortable.” Similarly, Britney Spears (*Dolly* April 2002: 34) expresses that, “(people) have just got to realise that I’m going to wear what I want to wear and whatever I feel comfortable in.”

Other examples of popular celebrities being rendered vehicles for the promotion of girl-power imperatives include the article “Lesbians? ...or just desperate for fame?” (*Dolly* May 2003: 52-53), which focuses on the authenticity of the sexual orientation of two teen pop stars T.A.T.U. Their answer to, “What message do you want to get across to fans who might be hiding their sexuality?” is “we want to say to everybody that they shouldn’t be afraid of their feelings. This is the message. If it’s a real feeling, then why not? ...it’s just love and we shouldn’t be afraid of people’s opinions” (*Dolly* May 2003: 52). However, their representation in *Dolly* also illustrates the belief, shared by Butler and McRobbie, that in the context of women’s magazines lesbian women are not fully recognized as sexual, desiring women in an easy, automatic, natural way but rather as a sign that, “we now live in a more open, multicultural, sexually diverse society” (McRobbie 1996: 182). In this regard, the emphasis on their controversial lesbian status and in particular its authenticity effectively undermines their advice to readers. Another example is the representation of teen actress Lindsay Lohan who is described as the “queen bee” (*Dolly* August 2004: 22); “The new Hollywood “it girl” (*Dolly* November 2004: 22); “our new fave” and “your new hero” (*Dolly* August 2004: 154). She states that, “You don’t have to go out of your way to try to be accepted, because the more you try to get people to like you the more they know you’re

willing to do whatever they want. People may just use you to do things for them” (*Dolly* August 2004: 22) and “I never felt comfortable in my skin; I hated my freckles! Now I’m much more comfortable with myself” (*Dolly* November 2004: 22). As with the article on T.A.T.U, the girl-power imperative is undermined. In this article, it is by the conflicting visual accompaniments. Lohan is pictured in a skirt short enough to require her arm to be positioned in a way to cover her underwear and wears smokey eye makeup, has her thumb in her open mouth in a passive, submissive pose. She also wears a pink top that says ‘rebel’ despite her comment that she likes, “Being the more mature one out of my friends” (*Dolly* August 2004: 23). In addition, despite stating that used to hate her freckles but is now more comfortable in her skin, the accompanying photograph depicts her wearing a significant amount of makeup, with her freckles concealed. She also states that, “The most outrageous lie” she had heard about herself was that she had, “Gotten a boob job” which she describes as, “Kind of perverted” and that, “It scares me that older men would think about my boobs.” However, she later states that, “If they’re gonna write about anything to bring attention to my chest, why not?” and, “Hey, write about my boobs rather than making up other stuff. Maybe Jude Law will read the article” (*Dolly* November 2004: 22).

The discouragement of promiscuity

Another way in which girl power is constructed (and undermined) is through the encouragement of non-promiscuous behaviour and appearances. Once again popular celebrities are used as vehicles for the promotion of this message. For example, in one article rock star, Pink, is depicted wearing a skull and crossbones design top that covers only her bust upwards, very low riding pants, heavy makeup, an abundance of studded accessories, and is standing in a challenging, aggressive pose. In this regard, she epitomises the sexually aggressive punk rock image (McRobbie 2000: 152). This photograph accompanies her advice to readers to “save part of yourself for the second date,” “don’t sleep around” and “don’t use your body to get to the top” (*Dolly* January 2004: 109). In addition to her sexually ambivalent appearance undermining her rhetorically charged advice, her suggestion that girls should ‘save part of themselves’ for the second date in the context of not ‘sleeping around’ substantiates a common belief, articulated by McRobbie, that there is a sense in the leisure

culture of many young people that “there is no longer a period of waiting for anything more than a week of ‘dating’ before having sex” (McRobbie 2000: 208). Furthermore, it substantiates the notion that how long one should wait before having sex, is borne out informally by teachers, youth workers and media (McRobbie 2000: 208).

There are also contradictions apparent in editorial which attempts to construct independent readers who are in control of their relationships with boys whilst remaining “true to themselves.” For example, in “The get noticed guide” (*Dolly* June 2004: 71) the reader is encouraged to, “forget the girly giggle and the cleavage” when attempting to get a boy’s attention yet is advised immediately after that, “It’s as simple as making the effort to smile, laugh at their jokes and show interest in their pointless boy talk” (*Dolly* June 2004: 71). The reader is also advised to encourage boys as they have “fragile egos, poor loves” (*Dolly* June 2004: 71). In this article, the reader is encouraged to pretend to be interested in things to get a boy’s attention and to make sure not to upset them. The latter point is reinforced by the article, “First Date do’s and don’ts” (*Dolly* September 2004: 54-5), which advises readers to not “say anything to shatter his confidence” and with regard to paying up states that “you can probably still count on a guy paying for you –even if you asked him.” The girl-power discourse in this article is undermined by the simultaneous promotion of a new-age, independent girl who can initiate dates and make sure it is on her own terms and the implication that the reality is more old-fashioned and that the reader can reasonably expect the male to pay. The reader is also encouraged to conceal themselves whilst taking the initiative of asking a boy out on a date by using “some form of clever, cool and non-public communication like MSM or SMS...” as “that way, not only can you carefully construct and edit your words to say *exactly* what you want, but you also totally avoid having to do it in person” (*Dolly* September 2004: 54). Another example is the publication of a reader’s “perfect way” to get around first-pash nerves: “I’d never pashed someone before, so I was freaking. I told him that every boy I’d kissed had been terrible, so he’d have to show me the ropes.” In the next paragraph it states that “being honest about how you feel is a great way to break the ice” (*Dolly* July 2003: 30). Editorial in the form of dating advice such as “Leave super-short skirts at home, along with any tops that announce your boobs with a big, red arrow. You want this guy to think you’re classy...and look at your face, not your

chest/legs/butt!” and “be a lady...No packing on the makeup (*Dolly* September 2004: 55) discourages the reader from sexualising and objectifying herself.

Summary

Through the girl power discourse in *Dolly* attempts are made to construct the (assumed heterosexual and female) reader as a powerful and superior to boys. Ways in which this is attempted include the publication of comments and advice from popular celebrities and the provision of the reader with information about boys, particularly with regard to sexuality. However, the empowering nature of this knowledge is undermined by the fact that the information generally revolves around attracting or resisting the sexual attention of boys. Thus the readers are not only encouraged to make or continue to let boys occupy a central position in their lives, but also to regulate their self image, attitudes and behaviour according to assumed or actual male standards. This is epitomised in the regular features where males answer the questions of readers and/or offer sexual advice. In general, as a result of sustaining and supporting social power dynamics, *Dolly* reflects and reiterates patriarchal articulations of girls' sexuality. More significantly though, through incorporating these articulations into a discourse of girl power, the reality of this inequality creates subject positions that are characterised by instability and contradiction.

All the world's a stage: postmodern performances of identities

According to Butler, identity is temporal, a project continually in the making and is “performatively constituted by the very “expressions” that are said to be its results” (Butler 1990: 25). As summarised by Schirato and Yell, identities are the products of discourses to which people perform in time and that this combination of discursive evaluations and imperatives produces “performances of subjectivity” (Schirato & Yell 2000: 100). It could be argued that, in the fashion, quiz and advice sections, *Dolly* encourages the performance of the various and often conflictive identities and subjectivities it constructs throughout the magazine. In particular, these sections encourage the performance of a passive reader who is naïve and in need of instruction and guidance from *Dolly* experts; an active reader who is knowledgeable, self-reflexive and appropriately detached from the text and a heterosexually desiring and desirable reader. More importantly, the reader is assumed to want to experiment with multiple roles and personalities, resulting in the promotion of a fragmented identity and subjectivity. This results in an emphasis on the proliferation of available sexual identities as lifestyle choices rather than as essential expressions of a sexual ‘nature’ (Tyler 2004).

“Smile: Life’s a Fashion Show” (Dolly, November 2003: 85)

Fashion

The fashion shoots in *Dolly* reflect and encourage the tendency of adolescent girls to become fragmented by splitting themselves into “mysterious contradictions” and trying on “new roles every week” (Pipher 1994: 20). Features on clothing and accessories to purchase or make, encourage readers to perform identities as diverse as “pretty punk” (*Dolly* April 2004: 46); “rock star,” “sport chic,” “surfin’ safari,” (*Dolly* November 2003: 74-81); “mod,” “vintage” (*Dolly* April 2004: 50), “girly” (*Dolly* September 2004: 28); “street” (*Dolly* September 2004: 50); “flirty floral,” “glam chic,” “beach sparkle,” “classy,” (*Dolly* February 2005: 33); “no frills” (*Dolly* May 2003: 66-71); “hot” (*Dolly* March 2004: 63); “wild” (*Dolly* December 2004: 109-11); “heavy metal,” “grunge,” “punk” (*Dolly* May 2003: 80); “gorgeous” and “flirty” (*Dolly* December 2004: 146). Some might argue that this range of identities is simply an attempt to cater for as many readers as possible. However, the following statements indicate that the emphasis is on the process of changing and performing identities, rather than the identities themselves: “School’s out. Go wild, change your style!” (*Dolly* December 2004: 109-11); “Reinvent yourself before school goes back” (*Dolly* February 2005: 64); “mix it up” (*Dolly* July 2003: 72) and “dress up and escape the everyday...” (*Dolly* April 2002: 98-105).

Heterosexually desiring and desirable identity

Despite the range in identities, the performance of a heterosexually desiring and desirable one is legitimated and encouraged in most fashion features. For example, “How to find a prince in 7 days” has a different outfit for each day of the week and for different locations such as the bus stop, soccer field, walking the dog, the beach, skate stop, eating out, watching movies (*Dolly* Jan 2004: 82-90). This is evident even in a fashion shoot that at first glance appears to challenge the usual emphasis on heterosexual desirability. Beginning with “Ditch the girly dresses, borrow your boyfriend’s clothes and get comfy” (*Dolly* May 2003: 66-71), the next page states “turn up the heat in the weekend. Basics guaranteed to make him sweat –

no matter how cold it gets” (*Dolly* May 2003: 72-3). Other examples include an underwear advertisement which states, “If he doesn’t like you, he’s obviously a loser” (*Dolly* September 2004: 15) and a fragrance advertisement which depicts a model wearing no bra and states, “3 more steps and you might never see him again” “Be impulsive” (*Dolly* January 2004: 43). This is also exemplified by advertisements containing statements such as, “Here’s how to sort your skin dramas so you can get back to perving on hot boys at the beach” (*Dolly* December 2004: 66).

The performance of a heterosexually desiring and desirable sexual identity is encouraged by the use of terminology such as, “luscious” “sexy” “primed for pouting”, “lush,” “full” “smooch-worthy at all times” “kisser” (*Dolly* June 2004: 86), “luscious,” “glam,” “totally kissable” (*Dolly* June 2004: 89). Similarly illustrative are statements such as, “Naughty but nice! “They’re cheeky but oh so cute, and that’s why we love ‘em! These gorgeous Playboy singlets and frilly knickers come in pink, white and black, and are available from...”(*Dolly* April 2002: 14) and “Feel gorgeous with the Kissed By Loveable ultra sexy Florentine bra...it will make you feel flirty, no matter what you wear over the top. Like your underwear to match? Add the G-string or boy leg briefs to complete the set...” (*Dolly* December 2004: 146). Similarly, there are advertisements for “Footwear with attitude” which feature girls wearing ug boots with underwear and vinyl corsets (*Dolly* May 2003: 122) and for underwear sets saying “HOT MOMMA” across the chest of the top part (*Dolly* September 2004: 15). In addition, most issues contain advertisements for body wax and shaving products, reinforcing the previously discussed representation of body hair as normal but unacceptable. For example, Nad’s “Start strippin’ off...Don’t let problem hair stop you from having fun this summer. Hair removal couldn’t be easier with Nad’s Natural Hair Removal Gel. A solution for every girl, everytime” (*Dolly* Jan 2004: 78). Despite the emphasis of many advertisements on adult (hetero)sexuality, others encourage the reader to embrace their childhood. For example, “Schoolies: cool for school” (*Dolly* February 2005: 56) is a whole page advertisement for hair accessories, with a conspicuous absence of boys or sexual connotations. Three of the four models in the advertisement clearly have their baby teeth still intact and look no older than eight. The use of buns, ponytails and pigtails to display the ribbons and other hair accessories being advertised encourage the reader to perform and

enjoy performing the role of a child. This also suggests that *Dolly* is catering to a wider readership than adolescent girls. This is likely given the generally accepted view that all girls' magazines are read by a younger readership than the magazines themselves like to acknowledge (Ballaster et. al: 1991: 140; McRobbie: 1996: 187).

***SUPRE* advertisements**

Girls' fashion chain, *SUPRE* is marketed as "The Number One boutique retailer for female youth" (*SUPRE* 2005). Examples of slogans on tee-shirts from *SUPRE* include "Spank me," "I had a nightmare I was a brunette," "Blonde," "Lover not fighter," "Boys are stupid," "AAA: Access All Areas," "Love the O.C," "Don't tempt me," "Bitch," "Babe," "Cute," "Undercover angel," and "Kiss me before my boyfriend comes back." Arguably these slogans do not differ greatly from that on the tee shirt discussed in the victimisation chapter with regard to the wearing being consequently rendered a victim of sexual harassment (*Dolly* September 2004: 52). In spite of this, *SUPRE* is one of the main advertisers in *Dolly*. For this reason and also due to the fact that they are not unrepresentative of the majority of those in *Dolly*, particularly with regard to the way in which they encourage the performance of multiple and often contradictory sexual identities, *SUPRE* advertisements will be used as a case study. On the *SUPRE* website, the emphasis is on "pushing the boundaries" and making shopping at *SUPRE* "an experience." The following description of a "*SUPRE* girl" is provided: "anyone that LOVES to have fun! *SUPRE* girls LOVE fashion, can't get enough of boys, constantly hang out with their friends, listen to the best music and are known for dancing all night long! The *SUPRE* girl is always the life of the party and she knows it!" (*SUPRE* 2005). This emphasis on fun and sociality is reflected in the *Dolly* website's description of its reader as "the fun loving Australian girl who wants to know the latest in everything ranging from fashion and beauty to entertainment news" (*Dolly* 2006). The regular *SUPRE* advertisements in *Dolly* and the joint promotions between the two companies reinforce the fact that they share and attempt to advocate mutual values and consumer identities. For example, *Dolly* provides "backstage" insights into the *SUPRE* section of fashion festivals, which include photographs of the *Dolly* editor and queues of "*SUPRE* fans" lining up to get free tickets at the event (*Dolly* June 2004: 94-5). Other examples include

competitions such as “WIN! The 5 hottest fashion predictions will each win a \$200 *SUPRE* voucher!” (*Dolly* December 2004: 51); “Choose a hot new *SUPRE* fashion outfit every weekend – for a year! (*Dolly* November 2004: 99) and “Win! One of 100 jobs at *SUPRE* thanks to *Dolly*, with the later requiring the reader to answer the question: “Are you a *SUPRE* girl?” (*Dolly* November 2004: 100). The various identities and attitudes that the advertisements and promotions advocate reflect and contradict those constructed by the prevalent discourses in *Dolly* whilst encouraging their performance using *SUPRE* products.

Despite the multiple identities *SUPRE* advertisements promote, those of a heterosexually desiring and desirable reader seem mandatory. This is illustrated in the above description of a “*SUPRE* girl” and in the advertisements’ recurring slogan “For girls who want it NOW!” (*Dolly* November 2003: 93; March 2004: 33; December 2004: 19) which is sometimes modified to “For girls who want HIM NOW!” (*Dolly* July 2004: 27; April 2004: 45). In the latter, the word “it” has a line through it and the word “him” is written above. This intentionally renders the meaning of “it” ambivalent, though in the context of the advertisements the implication is sexual. The models in these advertisements are either depicted with boys or in way that connotes that boys are outside the frame of the photograph. For example, in one advertisement positioned opposite a page headed “how to lure boys” (*Dolly* November 2003: 93) a boy has his arms around two smiling girls. Another depicts a group of girls and a boy sitting on the grass looking at something outside of the picture frame. This is likely to be a friend of the boy depicted as he looks smug and waves to the person outside of the frame to come over (*Dolly* July 2004: 19). Other *SUPRE* advertisements depict a girl with her arms across a boy’s chest and around the back of his head in a dominating position, while he stands with his hands in his pockets (*Dolly* December 2004: 19); a similarly dominating girl standing between a boy’s legs, leaning on him and smiling at the camera whilst he looks at the ground (*Dolly* September 2004: 29) and a group of six girls, sitting on a grandstand in a sports stadium (*Dolly* April 2004: 45). Through these advertisements, readers are encouraged to purchase the clothes and perform the role of *SUPRE* girls who “can’t get enough of boys” and “constantly hang out with their friends.” This also substantiates the notion that in magazines, “the only power which women attain is the power over men gained through tools of attraction” (Duffy & Gotcher 1996: 44). It also

foreshadows the combination of passive and active female sexualities of which the performance is encouraged through *SUPRE* advertisements.

Passive sexual identity

Based on Durham's visual codes used to identify sexualised representations of women (Durham 1998) the *SUPRE* models are usually sexualised and depicted as objects of the male gaze in a traditionally feminine and passive way. For example, the clothes worn by the models in *SUPRE* advertisements usually consist of a combination of low riding, hip revealing pants, short skirts, dresses or shorts, or tops that are tight and/or reveal the mid-drift or cleavage and thus emphasise the feminine features of the girls' bodies. In some cases the skirts of the models appear only just to cover their genitals and buttocks (*Dolly* July 2004: 19; April 2004: 45; August 2004: 127). This illustrates Durham's codes where "the costuming of girls is such that their nudity is emphasized and their vulnerability is increased" and that "exposure of girls' breasts, buttocks and genitals" equates to sexual explicitness (Durham 1998). Facial expressions and poses emphasise the feminine identity advocated in these advertisements. Examples of this include the models' mouths being slightly open and with glossy lips (*Dolly* December 2004: 19), models blowing a kiss or with one finger in the mouth (*Dolly* February 2005: 31); their heads being cocked to one side and looking up through their eyelashes (*Dolly* April 2004: 45; August 2004: 127); in a reclining pose (*Dolly* November 2004: 36) or with their hands clasped together in front of them (*Dolly* February 2005: 31). Other examples include models looking over their shoulders smiling (*Dolly* July 2004: 19) or being in traditionally sexualised poses such as one hand on the hip with the pelvis out and the legs wide apart (*Dolly* June 2004: 94-5). These examples illustrate Durham's codes where "girls' bodies are in positions of sexual submission" or their facial expressions include those of "coyness" or "seduction" (Durham 1998). In this regard, the reader is encouraged to desire the clothes and presumably the sexually desirable and feminine image that they help to create.

Active sexual identity

Another identity of which the performance is encouraged through *SUPRE* advertisements is that of a rebellious, punk “rock chick” (*Dolly* July 2004: 87). This is illustrated through a prevalence of wrist cuffs, studded accessories and skull and cross-bone designs (*Dolly* November 2004: 99; February 2005: 31). Also, the clothes are often made out of washed-out denim or have spray-painted graffiti designs on them (*Dolly* February 2005: 31) and are accompanied by fish net stockings and high heels or boots (*Dolly* July 2004: 87). In addition, the models in these advertisements wear dark makeup and their hair is stylishly messy, often covering their eyes and some of their face (*Dolly* February 2005: 31; January 2004: 39). The text reinforces the rebellious identity being advocated. For example, “Rock chick attitude with *SUPRE*: For girls who like to be a little bit out there...This gear must be worn with attitude! Think patterns, texture and rock’n’roll accessories” (*Dolly* July 2004: 87). McRobbie stated that, “Of all the mass media rock is the most explicitly concerned with sexual expression” (McRobbie 2000: 137) and that “identity with the performer is expressed not only in sexual terms but also as a looser appropriation of rock musicians’ dominance and power, confidence and control” (McRobbie 2000: 143). Thus the encouragement of *Dolly* readers to perform an image and more importantly an attitude that resembles this suggests that to do so would constitute the ultimate challenge to the passive, traditionally feminine identity discussed above.

Contradictory sexual identity

Despite *SUPRE* advertisements encouraging the performance of passive and active female sexualities, they often appear to intentionally blur the two, providing another example of the sexual ambiguity prevalent throughout *Dolly*. Characteristic of post-modern texts, these advertisements seem to “choose to make ideological contradiction their sign” by actively encouraging multiple readings and “encoding messages that are ambiguous, incomplete or polyvalent” (Goldman, Heath & Smith 1991: 341). This is evident in the use of poses and facial expressions that contradict the hard, rebellious image being promoted through the clothing and accessories being advertised. Whilst some are dominating or challenging (hands

on hips or staring at the camera with a challenging facial expression) (*Dolly* February 2005: 31), even within advertisements, some traditionally feminine or reclusive ones are incorporated. These include the aforementioned depiction of models clasping their hands in front of them, blowing kisses or having a finger in their mouth (*Dolly* February 2005: 31). In another advertisement, this ambiguity is foreshadowed in the title “Punk Princess” (a contradictory image in itself). The models in this advertisement wear heavy makeup, messily-styled hair, cargo pants or shorts with pink tops one of which is a fitted glittery tee, and lean on a bar in a ballet studio with a ballet dancer training in background (*Dolly* November 2004: 98). This could be seen to reflect the aforementioned proliferation of identities within one self, epitomised by Madonna, where fashion was a vehicle for fantasy, performance art, dread, desire and fun. Considering the emphasis on “attitude” in *SUPRE* advertisements, this could be seen to encourage the performance of the contradictory subject constructed by the discourses throughout *Dolly*.

Ambivalence surrounding age

This encouragement to perform contradictory identities is also apparent in the ambiguous representation of age and age-appropriate behaviour and appearance in *SUPRE* advertisements. For example, one advertisement contains the text, “Twenty something?...” (*Dolly* November 2004: 36) and features two models in inviting, reclining poses, wearing heavy makeup and long earrings with the apparent intention of making the girls look older and more sophisticated than they are. The prices for the clothing advertised all exceed thirty dollars, therefore the possibility that the text refers to price can be discarded. This advertisement encourages the reader to perform the identity of an older, twenty plus aged, girl. Other advertisements’ emphasis on features associated with childhood and adulthood seem to reflect the transitory adolescent stage in which the reader is assumed to be in. For example, one model is being pushed on a swing by a boy, whilst wearing a short, frayed, mid-drift revealing top and low-riding pants (*Dolly* May 2003: 71). Models in other advertisements wear mini skirts, fishnet stockings, high heels or boots, heavy makeup, and are in sexualised poses, whilst licking pink or red heart shaped lollipops (*Dolly* July 2004: 87). Another example is the advertisement titled “Must-Have Preppy” (*Dolly* August 2004:

127). The models wear very short tartan and denim skirts, hats, necklaces and shirts and ties. All wear heavy makeup and are in sexy, provocative poses. The accompanying text reads, “We’re loving this naughty school girl preppy look, which is so big for winter 2004.” This not only illustrates the ambiguity surrounding age by sexualising schoolgirls, but also that surrounding girls’ sexuality throughout the various issues of *Dolly*. More specifically (and disturbingly), it encourages the reader to replicate the models’ appearance which is one commonly associated with child pornography or commercial male fantasies (Walkerdine 1996: 326) in the same issue that constructs the readers as potential victims of Internet paedophiles (*Dolly* August 2004: 98). It also illustrates Walkerdine’s notion that advertising images are often soft child porn as they exploit childhood by introducing adult sexuality into childhood innocence, constructing a complex contradictory gaze at girls (Walkerdine 1996: 326). From the perspective that, “popular representations of eroticised little girls is the theory and child sexual abuse is the practice” (Walkerdine 1996: 328), such representations are problematic not just with regard to the fragmented subjectivity it creates for girls but also for their personal safety. This concern was articulated by Pipher (1994) who expressed that increasingly women have been sexualised and objectified with soft-and hard-core pornography everywhere and that sexual and physical assaults on girls are at an all time high (Pipher 1994: 27-28). She also described how over fifty percent of respondents in an American study believed that, “if a woman dresses seductively and walks alone at night, she is asking to be raped” (Pipher 1994: 206). If this view is at all representative of teenagers in other parts of the world such as New Zealand, the fact that girls are wearing such outfits (evidence of which can be seen on the streets, in the mall and at school dances) indicates the problematic subjectivity girls possess with regard to their sexuality.

“Make like a celeb...pretending you’re famous and that people should want to talk to you will give you an air of (faux) confidence.” (Dolly April 2004: 77).

Celebrity

Despite the aforementioned emphasis in *Dolly* on encouraging the reader to be true to herself and not to pretend to be someone else, a significant amount of the content revolves around replicating celebrities’ images and performing the identity of a celebrity. This notion is not exclusive to *Dolly* but rather reflects broader popular culture which encourages young girls to model themselves after media stars, not parental ideals (Pipher 1994: 38). This is exemplified in the regular “Who What Wear” advertisements, which consist of pictures of celebrities and advertise clothes, cosmetics and accessories which replicate theirs. Similar sections include “Her way, Your way,” “Dollywood,” “Get that look!” and “WIN that look” which usually relate to whoever is featured on the cover. Other examples include “Stuck for outfit ideas? We’ve found at least 18 looks that are worth ripping off” (*Dolly* December 2004: 28-9); “copy these celebs and find yourself a cute mini” (*Dolly* November 2004: 33); “Shake up your image with two hot party looks, as worn by Bec Cartwright” (*Dolly* May 2003: 106-107); “Dress like a star with a \$100 shopping voucher” (*Dolly* April 2004: 27); “Wanna look like a movie star? It doesn’t take much to copy your fave flick fashions. Here’s our guide to Hollywood’s hottest characters” (*Dolly* April 2002: 88) and “The O.C Chicks: Copy their look” (*Dolly* February 2005: 51).

Sexualised celebrities

In addition to the frequent use of terminology such as “hot” and “hottest,” there appears to be an emphasis on the sexuality of the celebrities featured. Furthermore, the celebrities of whose image *Dolly* encourages the replication are often known for their “sex symbol” status or sexual behaviour. One example is Lindsay Lohan (*Dolly* November 2004: 12, February 2005: 30; September 2004: 26-7; December 2004: 28-9) who is often discussed in the context of her alleged breast enhancement. Another is Paris Hilton (*Dolly* February 2005: 30; June 2004: 13; December 2004: 28-9; December 2004: 35) who is renowned for her promiscuous

sexual reputation, release of her pornographic home video and revealing outfits. For example, one issue of *Dolly* depicts her with a large cleavage, wearing a revealing top with ‘got blow?’ written on the front and in another photograph, wearing a dress that exposes her side so that her breast and buttocks can be seen, with only the front and back covered (*Dolly* June 2004: 22). Other popular celebrities of whose image the imitation is encouraged include Christina Aguilera (*Dolly* August 2004: 159), Nicole Richie (*Dolly* June 2004: 34-5; December 2004: 28-9; December 2004: 35); The Olsen twins (*Dolly* December 2004: 28-9); Jessica Simpson (*Dolly* December 2004: 28-9; September 2004: 30) and Britney Spears (*Dolly* December 2004: 28-9). Their sexualised status is emphasised by comments such as, “Now my boobs are a great accessory to my outfit. Like wearing a great necklace or something” (*Dolly* June 2004: 27), made by Jessica Simpson with regard to her breast enhancement. Other examples include acknowledgements made by *Dolly* of these celebrities’ sexualised statuses. For example, in a *Dolly* interview the Olsen twins were asked how they felt about people saying they had become “sex symbols” (*Dolly* July 2004: 18-20). More blatant ways in which the reader is encouraged to identify with the sexual status of celebrities is evident in editorial such as, “Tara Reid says she hasn’t had a boob job, but in these pics it looks like she either has done it, or she’s invested in a really good push-up bra (and if that’s the case, where do we get one?)” (*Dolly* August 2004: 23).

There are also examples whereby the reader is encouraged to imitate more than just the fashion worn by celebrities. For example, “We’ve sussed the secrets to striking a killer pose” (*Dolly* December 2004: 96-7) and “How to pash like a movie star” (*Dolly* September 2004: 120). Other examples include competitions such as, “Who doesn’t want to live like Paris and Nicole? Well, if you win this awesome prize, you can!” which is promoted with scantily clad Paris Hilton and Nicole Richie pictures (*Dolly* August 2004: 142). The publication of quotations from Paris such as “I always get out of speeding tickets. The cop always ends up giving me his business card. I’ve got a few tickets from girl cops though” (*Dolly* June 2004: 27) further emphasises the centrality of sexual status and reputation to these celebrities. The idolisation of Paris Hilton by *Dolly* in the context of fashion and beyond effectively renders her an icon and thus worthy of being imitated. For example, regarding her book the editorial stated, “By the time this book arrived at the *Dolly* office, there was already a waiting list for

who was going to read it.” (*Dolly* December 2004: 116) and “we just can’t get enough of her show (*Dolly* April 2004: 26) “if you haven’t seen it, check it out on Channel 7 as soon as you can” (*Dolly* April 2004: 139). This is also evident with regard to representation of popular teen television show *The O.C.*, often noted for its sexual nature. This is articulated on the Parents Television Council website which states that, “Sex is rated red for this show and likely to be a theme in each episode” and suggests its unsuitability for viewers under the age of fourteen (Parents Television Council 2005). The *Dolly* editor states that the staff are “officially obsessed” (*Dolly* November 2004: 149) with the television show and encourages the reader to share in their obsession by making the characters a part of their life. For example, one issue of *Dolly* was dedicated to *The O.C.*, with stickers, posters, trend predictions, 31 things you need to know about *The O.C.*, a quiz titled “Who’s your *O.C.* boyfriend?” and editorial such as “We watch it religiously every Tuesday night and feel like its stars are practically our best friends now.” Furthermore, the reader is encouraged to perform the identities of the *O.C.* characters with regard to fashion, speech and tastes in music. For example, “Here’s what you’ll be wearing, saying and listening to this summer,” based on *The O.C.* characters, the imitation of which is also encouraged by the statement, “The *O.C.* Girls: Copy Their Look.” Comments such as, “She wore an itsy bitsy teeny weeny polka-dot...um, is that a skirt or a belt?” (*Dolly* November 2004: 30-1) indicate the underdressed, sexually available image of which the reader is encouraged to copy from the characters who *Dolly* describes as “so incredibly fashionable” (*Dolly* August 2004: 154).

Obsession with celebrities

Characteristic of *Dolly*, there is ambivalence surrounding the replication of celebrities’ images. Whilst an “obsession” with celebrities is encouraged in the fashion pages, articles on cosmetic surgery render it problematic. For example, the article “Would you pay to get Brad’s face, Brit’s boobs or Kate Winslet’s curves?” (*Dolly* November 2004: 102-3) about people that appeared on MTV show, *I Want A Famous Face*, claims that “celebrity obsession” has “gone too far.” For example, one girl wanted Britney Spears’ boobs “to enhance (her) entertainment career,” (*Dolly* November 2004: 102). The article, “Why are 12-year olds having plastic surgery?” (*Dolly* May 2003: 46) quotes young girls as saying, “I’d

like a Britney Spears or Kirsten Dunst nose” (*Dolly* May 2003: 46). Similarly, “Scary New Trend Teen Liposuction” quotes young girls as saying, “I want a stomach that looks like Christina Aguilera’s or Britney Spears...” and includes editorial such as, “while she might not have a six-pack like Pink – who does?” (*Dolly* February 2005: 116). The end of these articles make statements such as “Although she’d recommend surgery to anyone not happy with their appearance, Zahia feels there is pressure to conform to a specific image...we should start a new culture which says you can look good as you are” (*Dolly* May 2003: 47) and “*Dolly* LAST WORD: Cosmetic surgery is a quick fix – only a healthy diet and exercise will give you long-term results” (*Dolly* February 2005: 117). These imperatives contradict with other parts of the magazine which encourage the continual change of image via cosmetics, clothing and hair styles and the performance of celebrity identities. Thus, from Butler’s perspective (Schirato & Yell 2000: 101) *Dolly* could be seen to legitimate the performance of celebrity identities in a non-surgical context but to render those assisted by surgery, mis-performances of identity.

“Breaking up is the last thing you think is going to happen because you’re positive he’s the one. But if it does happen, it will help you heal if you’ve planned ahead” (Dolly August 2004: 38).

Management of sexuality

Tyler observed that managerial discourses have begun to colonize contemporary cultural resources such as lifestyle magazines, evident in the use of sexual efficiency imperatives traditionally associated with the management of work organizations. From a Foucauldian perspective, she argued that this is in line with an intensification of the performance imperatives of late modernity and with an ‘over-investment’ in sexuality (Tyler: 2004). In *Dolly* the management of sexuality is most evident in the areas of dating, love, romance, kissing, pregnancy and the sexual act. This illustrates the encouragement of the reader to perform a rational and calculated sexual identity which results in the emergence of an increasingly instrumental attitude towards the self (Tyler 2004). In addition, the emphasis on sexual management in *Dolly* could be seen to reflect Winship’s observation of *Cosmopolitan* magazine. That is, despite appearing to celebrate the sexual liberation of women, the emphasis on sex also makes it increasingly like another area of personal work, ironically following in the hallowed footsteps of magazine tradition: ‘domestic work’, ‘beauty work’ and now ‘sex work’ (Winship 1987: 112).

Quizzes

Ostermann and Cohen described how quizzes in teen girls’ magazines are not as harmless as they appear to be and in addition to encouraging girls towards self-scrutiny, work as “disciplinary instruments, aiming at the heterosexist socialization of teenage girls”. They also described how the problem-solution structure of quizzes work to “judge, evaluate, and classify girls as either ‘good’ or ‘bad,’ and how they prescribe and proscribe types of behaviour (Ostermann & Cohen 1998: 531). This creates many contradictions, with the most insidious of all being “that the editors repeatedly encourage the reader to be herself while simultaneously advising her to change her behavior.” In other words, reflective of Butler’s

theories on the performance of identity, the reader is encouraged to “perform a personality” (Ostermann & Cohen, 1998: 551). The popularity of quizzes in *Dolly* is illustrated not only by their inclusion in every issue but also by the publication of *Dolly* quiz-books. Encouraging the performance of multiple and contradictory personalities or identities constructed by the various discourses throughout the magazine, the quizzes consist broadly of two topics: readers’ relationships with boys and with themselves.

Boys

Examples of quizzes relating to boys include “What’s your flirting style?” (*Dolly* November 2004: 145); “Are you a champion flirt?” (*Dolly* March 2004: 123); “Will you get some love action?” (*Dolly* November 2003: 136); “Do you pash and dash?” (*Dolly* April 2002: 117); “Could a boy mate be your next date?” (*Dolly* September 2004: 126) and “Are you ready for a boyfriend?” (*Dolly* August 2004: 147). All of these draw on desire discourse and assume a heterosexual reader. Using a multiple-choice and points allocation system, the quizzes require the reader to put herself into one of a limited number of categories in which her identity will be defined and she will be advised on what to do or how to act in particular situations. For example, in “Will you get some love action?” (*Dolly* November 2003: 136), the reader is encouraged to perform the identity of a heterosexually desiring female: “Bare-chested boys in boardies are popping up everywhere you look but, what are the odds of you hooking up with one of them before the end of summer?” The categories available to reader are: “it’s a sure thing” which states that “it’s only a matter of days till you’ll be sharing a snow cone with your hot new summer fling;” “a kissy affair,” which states that “you’ll be scoring yourself at least one hot ‘n’ heavy pash this summer...Just carry on building up your confidence, practising talking to boys (you can never have too much practise – trust us!)...it’ll be one sultry summer in store, guaranteed;” and “maybe next year”, which states “freaked out by the thought of creepy boy hands slithering all over you in a dark movie theatre? Would you rather be perving on stars on the TV with a girlfriend? ...Boys are nothing but trouble anyway” (*Dolly* November 2003: 136). There are contradictions within this quiz. The overall imperative is that the reader’s goal should be to have a romantic relationship with a boy over the summer. In the first two positively constructed identities, the

use of terminology such as “hot ‘n’ heavy,” “fling” and “sultry,” connote some level of sexual relationship. However, the final negatively portrayed identity eventually suggests that this is in fact the desirable state as boys are “nothing but trouble.” Despite this construction, the reader in the final category is still encouraged to be heterosexually desiring, with the assumption that they will be “perving on stars on TV” if not with their own boy. Another example of this ambivalence is in the results for the quiz “Do you pash and dash?” (*Dolly* April 2002: 117). For example, “you like to have a boyfriend (though you don’t need one),” suggests that having a boyfriend is not necessary even if desired by the reader. However, in another category the opposite is implied: “Find thee a boyfriend, pronto! You need to learn the art of commitment because, if you keep running away from relationships, you could end up sitting at the Year 12 formal by yourself (not that there’s anything wrong with that). (*Dolly* April 2002: 117).

The normative nature of the quizzes is illustrated in, “What’s your flirting style?” (*Dolly* November 2004: 145). For example, “freaky flirt: ...you haven’t managed to cover it up very well at all,” “flirty girl: ...but if you really want something to happen with him, you’ll have to make the effort...” and “flirt failure: ...you need to get his attention now and show some interest!” (*Dolly* November 2004: 145). These results suggest that conspicuous flirtation is abnormal or “freaky”, whilst not enough or no flirtation is just as problematic and requires action and behavioural changes to be made. A similar situation is apparent in the quiz “Are you a champion flirt?” (*Dolly* March 2004: 123), which appears in the same issue that, based on his sexual values, glorifies celebrity Guy Sebastian who states that he hates flirting. The introduction to the quiz, “Think you’d win gold at the flirt olympics?” connotes that the ability to flirt well is a positive attribute. This is emphasised in the results which states that the readers who fall under the “flirt failure” category “have a serious case of flirting phobia” and asks “are you shy or do you simply refuse to play the game? Either way, it’s time you made friends with your inner flirt – and probably a few flirt gurus to show you the ropes...remember that you catch more flies with honey, sugar!” Once again to be over-flirtatious (those who fall in the “Flirt guru” category) is rendered negative with the advice stating, “realise that people (lovesick boys especially) fall hard for your fun, flirtatious ways, so respect their feelings and be a little more gentle.” Those with “flirt potential” are advised

to "...try to loosen up a bit and concentrate on being yourself and having fun rather than being a flirt master straight away." The latter point illustrates the aforementioned contradiction that is prevalent throughout the magazine whereby the reader is encouraged to be and know herself yet also perform the identity prescribed by the magazine.

The self

Even within the quizzes that specifically encourage the reader to know and be herself there are contradictory imperatives. Examples of these quizzes include: "What's your personal style?" (*Dolly* December 2004: 132); "Self-respect: have you got it?" (*Dolly* September 2004: 127); "Do you put your friends first?" (*Dolly* August 2004: 146); "How mature are you?" (*Dolly* August 2004: 149); "Get to know the real you" (*Dolly* April 2004: 135); "What's your self-esteem rating?" (*Dolly* May 2003: 118); "Which pop-star are you?" (*Dolly* May 2003: 55); "Are you a fashion victim?" (*Dolly* April 2002: 118); "Which reality TV show is your life?" (*Dolly* May 2003: 143). Within and between these quizzes, the reader is encouraged to know and/or be herself, yet through the format and nature of the quizzes is required to categorise herself in the limited options provided by the magazine. Despite their apparently more general focus, these quizzes ultimately revolve around the sexuality of the reader. For example, in "Which pop-star are you?" (*Dolly* May 2003: 55) the reader is placed in one of the following categories: "Mandy Moore who is "Cute and sensible..." J.Lo who has "style and sex appeal" and knows it, Kylie Minogue who is "Smart, savvy and sexy" and Avril Lavigne "no teeny-bopping babydoll obsessing over being pretty and perfect and nice" (*Dolly* May 2003: 55). These identities which draw on sexy, traditionally feminine or punk discourses, reflect those constructed throughout the various issues of *Dolly*. The quiz, "Self-respect: have you got it?" (*Dolly* September 2004: 127) illustrates the contradictory imperatives surrounding girls' sexuality in *Dolly*. For example, it includes questions such as, "Do you wear skirts so short that you can't sit down without flashing your undies at people? And "would you wear uncomfortable shoes just because they look hot? "do you get drunk at parties and end up dancing on tables or pashing any guy you can find? "Is Paris Hilton someone you think is super-cool?" The 'yes' answers add up to a score that describes the reader as having low self-respect, often making "desperate attempts to get attention" and

warning them of the potential danger of this. In addition to contradicting articles on how to copy celebrities' (such as Paris Hilton) looks, how to "pash" guys at parties, and fashion advertisements featuring girls wearing short skirts, this quiz is in the same issue as an article on how to get attention (*Dolly* September 2004: 127).

Advice

The game of love

In *Dolly* the reader is encouraged to perform love and romance from the perspective that they are games to be played or circumstances to be assessed with goals, scores and the potential for success or failure. The emphasis on rationalising and managing what could be described as a private, emotion-based sphere, illustrates Butler's notion of "social temporality" and substantiates the importance of distinguishing between expression and performativeness (Butler 1999: 179-180). This is summed up in the title, "Your Heartbreak Survival Guide" (*Dolly* February 2005: 83) which provides instructions on how to manage an emotional, romantic situation. This ultimately renders love and romance something to be performed rather than expressed. Another example is in the article "I saw him first! When you and your friend like the same guy" (*Dolly* November 2003: 34) which uses the term "in love" and states that "you can't choose which boy you fall for" (*Dolly* November 2003: 35). However, it then gives five scenarios of "Boy war" with each having instructions on "how to play fair" and incorporating quotations from a psychologist to give weight to the advice (*Dolly* November 2003: 35). It also uses phrases such as "You are, after all, the one who scored the guy" (*Dolly* November 2003: 35) and includes a cut out box at the end of the article describing "...who's more entitled to him" through a point allocation system (*Dolly* November 2003: 35). This construction of subjects as opponents in a game is also evident in the article, "Do you speak the same lurve language?" (*Dolly* June 2004: 62-3) which sets the reader and her boyfriend apart. Quoting a psychologist, each section is divided into "If this is you..." and "If this is him..." sections (*Dolly* June 2004: 62-3). Similar examples are evident in the articles "Rate his love potential" (*Dolly* August 2004) and "Do you really want a boyfriend?" The later has a "Single versus Couple scoresheet" based on the categories "The

good stuff” and “The bad stuff” with the results determined on the “boyfriend evaluator scales” (*Dolly* May 2003: 92-3). The article “14 romance resolutions” (*Dolly* April 2004: 63) states that “Love is grand...and it can also be the pits” and then encourages learning lessons from each experience, with the sections headed by quotations beginning with “I won’t...” “I will...” (*Dolly* April 2004: 64). This reflects the self-motivation, goal setting ethos associated with managerial discourse. The terminology used in articles on love and romance is also characteristic of managerial discourse and game playing. For example, in the article “Is This Love Or Is He On The Rebound?” (*Dolly* March 2004: 69) the information is in sections titled clues and uses terms and phrases such as “tell-tale signs”, “your tactic”, “be clear with him about what you want” and “hold the “action”” (*Dolly* March 2004: 69). There is also contradiction apparent in the simultaneous construction of a naïve reader in need of specific instructions and a “knowing” reader, who is aware of what various sexual terms connote. For example, the use of the terms “hook up,” “action,” “casual,” and “relationship” in a sexual context assumes the reader to be sexually experienced or aware (*Dolly* March 2004: 69).

The dating game

The instructive and prescriptive deliverance of dating advice encourages the reader to perform a managerial role in her sexuality. For example, the article “Yes, you can DUMP him nicely” (*Dolly* May 2003: 85) uses strategic managerial discourse such as “Here’s how to...” “The secret comes down to two Ts: tact and timing,” “Choose your words carefully and avoid specific criticisms” (*Dolly* May 2003: 85). “Nine cringe-free conversation starters” gives specific instructions on what to say, how to say things, and “things to avoid” and substantiates this advice with quotations from a psychologist (*Dolly* February 2005: 45). Other examples of specific ways to manage dating is in the regular “Boyzone” turned “Boystuff” sections which feature instructions on how to impress boys. For example, “how to nab a computer nerd” gives a description of who he is based on what he wears and his physical features and then gives instructions on “how to lure him” which involves reading up on pixels and megabytes then luring him home “under the guise of checking out you new PS2 game...” (*Dolly* November 2003: 92). Other examples of this include the regular “Boyism of the month” which states what the reader should say about a given topic, for

example, rugby or surfing and describes it, the kind of guys that are into it, and terms to use and not use to impress one of these guys (*Dolly* March 2004: 97). Another example is “how to bag a boy” which begins with “What’s their secret? Simple tricks with big impact. Here’s what to do...” Following this are ten steps including specific information such as “Get touchy-feely ...a communication tip is to lightly touch the lower part of his arm” (*Dolly* November 2004:12-13). Despite the prescriptive character of this managerial discourse, within and between articles the performance of contradictory identities is encouraged. For example, the previous article which instructs on how to flirt and “bag a boy” finishes with “give flirting the flick...You’ve got his attention, reeled him in and he’s totally keen....now it’s time to let him get to know you, for real. Be brave and just be yourself (no hair-twirling required!)” (*Dolly* November 2004).

Other articles such as, “What to do...when he cancels on you” (*Dolly* June 2004: 128) and “The new rules for DATING at school” (*Dolly* August 2004: 38) give equally specific instructions on how to manage dating issues. The later is divided into sections titled “Rule #..” and begins with imperatives such as “Don’t” “Deal” “Work out a break-up plan” “Always” “Cut down on” “Do your best” “Avoid” (*Dolly* August 2004: 39). As with the romance and love section, there are contradictory discourses at work, even within single sentences. For example, “Breaking up is the last thing you think is going to happen because you’re positive he’s the one. But if it does happen, it will help you heal if you’ve planned ahead” (*Dolly* August 2004: 38). Here, romantic discourse (“he’s the one”) and managerial discourse (“planned ahead”) are apparent, reinforcing the distinction between expression and performance.

Kissing

In *Dolly* the reader is encouraged to make kissing as calculated and managed an act as love, romance and dating. Articles such as “Operation Party Pash” (*Dolly* May 2003: 30-1), “The make-him-melt pashing rules” (*Dolly* July 2003: 30-1), “How to pash like a movie star” (*Dolly* September 2004: 120), “How to kiss” (the right way), “So you hooked up, now what?” (*Dolly* November 2004: 58) illustrate this. Statements such as “Follow our make-it-

happen guide for guaranteed action this weekend” (*Dolly* May 2003: 30), “read on for ways to do it” and “use our subtle yet to-the-point technique” (*Dolly* November 2004: 58), “Here’s how to deliver a kiss so good that he’ll be begging for more” and “we’ve compiled 10 basic rules based on the most popular pashing techniques” (*Dolly* July 2003: 30-1), reflect managerial imperatives. “Operation Party Pash” is divided into stages containing objectives, for example, “select your target, execute the kiss” times for doing certain things, for example, 7pm “Apply your makeup...Most importantly, get those lips looking kissable...” and 8pm “Practise your flirting skills in the bathroom mirror”. The article begins with “Your mission should you choose to accept it, is to kiss that cute guy before the night is over” and ends with “mission successfully completed, congratulations”, reinforcing the goal-oriented depiction of kissing. Similarly, “How to kiss (the right way)” (*Dolly* March 2004: 105); “The make-him-melt pashing rules” (*Dolly*, July 2003: 30-1); “How to pash like a movie star” (*Dolly* September 2004: 120) and “So you hooked up, now what?” (*Dolly* November 2004: 58) are divided into steps. Through phrases and terminology such as “don’t”, “look for signs”, “approach with...”, “avoid,” “keep kissing confined to...,” “use tongue sparingly,” “vary your technique,” “say no to slobber,” “have fresh breath” (*Dolly* July 2003: 31) “maintain eye contact,” “start slow,” “Tip: when you’re up for it, do it...” (*Dolly* November 2004: 58), “the key,” “damage control,” “try to be clear,” “answer inquiries with...” “your goal in this situation is...” “focus on” and “set the standard” (*Dolly* November 2004: 58) reflects the organisational imperatives associated with management.

The advice given also contradicts with other parts of the magazine hence creating an unstable subject position for the reader. For example, “Operation Party Pash” is in the same issue as an article about how you can catch herpes from kissing yet advises the reader to “get mingling, and that means anywhere and with anyone...” in order to “bag the hottest guy at the party” (*Dolly* May 2003: 30). In addition to undermining the magazine’s emphasis on preventing STIs, it also encourages promiscuity, which is condemned in the context of girl-power discourse. Similarly, in “9 Pashes Every Girl’s Gotta Have” (*Dolly* June 2004: 68-9) the reader is encouraged to deliver mixed messages through “The ex-pash” which is described as “just way too tempting” and lie in the context of “The holiday pash” with the advice stating, “you can make up a whole heap of crap about yourself that he’ll probably

never know isn't true." "The secret pash" states that, "He could be a best friend's ex, old enough to be your dad or the ugliest guy on the planet" (*Dolly* June 2004: 69). These contradict other parts of the magazine which encourage the reader to be true to herself (and presumably others) and render sexual familiarity with older men something dangerous or to be confessed.

Flirting

As foreshadowed by the above examples, the reader is encouraged to perform the role of a flirt. For example, regular "Flirt facts" are delivered which include advice and information such as, "get that guy!" "Does he give good phone?" (*Dolly* August 2004: 153) "It's scientifically proven (no, really) that schools, coffee shops and fast food places are all excellent locations for flirting. This is because people who hang out there are open to being picked up (*Dolly* July 2004: 139). Similarly, articles such as "Flirtology 101" state, "Want to be chilled around guys, a killer flirt and be the girl all the boys want to pash? CONSIDER THIS MAG YOUR CHEATSHEET. You're going to nail this dating stuff now" (*Dolly* December 2004: 79). Others such as, "How to be a party superstar" (*Dolly* April 2004: 129) advises the reader to, "Flirt a little. Then, as the party progresses, flirt a lot! (*Dolly* April 2004: 129) whilst "35 magical ways to change your life" (*Dolly* November 2004: 71) includes becoming a "guy-magnet." In order to achieve this, the reader is advised to "Make lots of eye contact..." not cross their arms or look at the floor, yet not "get too close, too soon, or take up a lot of space" as you will "just come across as overbearing" (*Dolly* November 2004: 71). The motives and means outlined in the context of flirting advice characteristically contradict with other parts of the magazine which discourage promiscuity and suggest that being relaxed with and true to yourself are more important objectives than being the centre of attention with boys. Thus the construction of a fragmented reader is further embedded.

Sex and pregnancy

Whether due to a perceived need at the editorial level or an attempt to balance advice that encourages flirting and promiscuity, *Dolly* also provides instruction on how to deal with situations such as pregnancy. As discussed in the medical discourse chapter, the sex act is denaturalised with instructions, tips and checklists. Teenage pregnancy is similarly characterised by instructions on “how to handle” the situation. For example, the article “When she thinks she might be pregnant” (*Dolly* May 2003: 58-9), is personalised by the use of terms such as “you” and “she” and begins with “Here’s how to handle the first 24 hours”. Phrases such as “Pregnant? Her worst nightmare is now a reality” also construct pregnant teenagers as deviant. Imperatives such as “help a friend through the initial crisis with our emergency action plan...” and instructions such as “find out for sure”, “help her through it” and “explore the options” all draw on managerial discourse. Specific predictions such as “she’ll probably be feeling a mixture of shock and disbelief. In this state, expect her to do (or say) some pretty out of character things” (*Dolly* May 2003: 59) reinforce the managerial discourse. More importantly, it encourages the reader to perform a rational, mature and responsible identity, which arguably contrasts with those constructed in the context of fashion, love, dating, kissing and flirting.

Summary

Throughout the fashion, quiz and advice sections, the reader is encouraged to perform sexual identities which reflect and contradict those constructed by the discourses in *Dolly*. Despite the diverse and conflictive identities of which the performance is encouraged, there are frequently recurring characteristics within these that suggest that particular identities are mandatory. The most noticeable in this regard are those of a heterosexually desiring and desirable reader. Another is a reader who is in need of instruction and advice with regards to performing a sexual identity based on fashion, relationships with boys or the self or the sexual act or its consequences. In this regard, *Dolly* illustrates Butler’s Foucauldian-based theory that identity is productive (Butler 1993: 10). It also illustrates McRobbie’s notion that “sex is now recognized as something which has to be learnt” with both romance and sexual

expertise having been revealed as myths and replaced by a much more frank, even mechanical approach to sex (McRobbie 1996: 186). Most significantly in this context though, is the construction of the reader as one who wants to experiment with multiple roles and personalities with a fragmented identity often the feature around which advertisements and advice are structured. This is emphasised by the emphasis placed by *Dolly* on the processes of producing, managing, changing and acting out identities. As a result, sexual identities are rendered lifestyle choices rather than essential expressions of a sexual 'nature' (Tyler 2004), a view that illustrates the importance, expressed by Butler, on distinguishing between performativeness and expression (Butler 1999: 180).

Conclusion

Dolly illustrates the view expressed by Winship that, “Sexuality is as culturally constructed and learnt as is the language we speak” (Winship 1987: 113). It also confirms its diverse nature with its various components illustrated by their repetition or absence. Through the prevalent discourses in *Dolly*, sexuality is rendered something to be confessed or desired, a medical concern, an epidemic and a source of victimisation or empowerment. The contradiction and ambiguity within and between these constructions are matched by those of the identities discursively produced for the reader, subject and editor of the magazine. Consequently, despite sexuality in its various forms being the feature around which most *Dolly* content revolves, it is also one of the most ambiguous, this arguably bringing to issue its role as a magazine which, according to its editor, “helps guide girls through the often tumultuous times of being a teen” (McCahon 1996).

The construction of normality and abnormality

The various discourses work to construct subjects, readers and their sexual circumstances as normal or abnormal, deviant or non-deviant, acceptable or non-acceptable according to editorial perspectives on the issues around which the text is based. In particular, subjects and identifying readers who are homosexual, gender ambivalent, physically differentiated, promiscuous, virginal, pregnant, sexually abused or in unique relationships are stigmatised and thus rendered abnormal. This is achieved through the celebration or condemnation of their sexual circumstances or as is often the case, an ambivalent combination of the two. As a result, the reader who does not identify with the sexual circumstances of these subjects, despite often being encouraged by *Dolly* to identify in other ways such as emotionally, is constructed as normal. The assumption prevalent throughout *Dolly* that the reader is female, heterosexual and to some extent sexually active suggests that representations of alternative sexualities are unlikely to be more than attempts to show that the magazine is open to covering issues of sexual diversity. Further, the discursive context in which these issues are represented suggests that the motivation behind their coverage is more likely to be a good story than an attempt to foster acceptance of diverse sexualities as normal.

The deliverance of contradictory advice

The sexual advice provided by *Dolly* is often undermined by the ‘experts’ used to legitimise it. This is most evident in their authority being diluted not only by the contrary views of other ‘experts’ but also by their own comments. One such contradiction is their emphasis on sex being a natural act whilst denaturalising it by providing detailed instructions on it should be done. Another is the sexualisation and objectification of the body alongside its portrayal as something precious and to be protected. In *Dolly* both female and male body parts are rendered private and public, a medical concern, a source of shame, pride, humour, entertainment and sexual desire. The contradiction within and between sources of information is also evident with regard to popular celebrities whom *Dolly* uses as vehicles for delivering sexual advice and conveying sexual attitudes. Examples of their contradictions include the discrepancy between their (usually sexualised) appearance and advice and between their alleged sexual values and behaviour. It could be argued that their contradictory subject positions are potentially more problematic than those of the medical ‘experts’ given their popularity and portrayal as role models based on their sexual status, talent, values and physical appearance.

The frequent vacillations in tone and rhetoric that occur between serious and humorous, euphemistic and urgent, contribute to the ambiguity surrounding the advice that is delivered in *Dolly*. An example of this ambiguity is the deliverance of humorous or explicit physical and psychological sexual instruction alongside warnings against the dangers of unwanted pregnancy and STIs or by the encouragement of the reader to perform roles such as that of a “naughty schoolgirl” alongside warnings about paedophilia. In addition to epitomising the term info-tainment, this blurring of the boundaries between information and entertainment could be potentially harmful for readers who, as the questionnaires indicate, use and value *Dolly* as a source of information, particularly with regard to sexuality.

The constructed reader

The various discourses in *Dolly* construct multiple and often contradictory subject positions for the reader. One of these is a sexually naïve reader in need of instruction, a subject position reinforced by its juxtaposition with those of knowledgeable experts from, or referred to, by *Dolly*. However, the reader is simultaneously constructed as sexually experienced or knowledgeable enough to understand the meaning of sexual colloquialisms used or assumptions and implications made by *Dolly*. Another subject position constructed is that of a sexually autonomous and empowered reader. This too is contradicted by the suggestion made throughout the magazine that boys are central to the lives and personal fulfilment of readers. Furthermore, *Dolly* encourages readers to attract yet resist the sexual attention of males and to be independent yet regulate their self-image, attitudes and behaviour according to assumed or actual male standards, the latter epitomised in the regular “Hot Guy” question and answer section. Even the apparently mandatory construction of a heterosexually desiring and desirable reader contains ambiguities. The most obvious of these is *Dolly*’s encouragement of the reader to be sexually desiring and desirable whilst suggesting that girls who cannot control their sexual urges are promiscuous and probably insecure as a result of other issues in their lives. What constitutes the boundary between healthy or ‘normal’ and unhealthy or ‘abnormal’ sexual desire and activity is undefined, contributing to the ambiguity surrounding girls’ sexuality prevalent throughout the magazine. By appearing to encourage an active yet restrained, passionate yet rational sexual identity for the reader, without defining the boundary between acceptable and unacceptable sexual activity, *Dolly* simultaneously condemns and maintains society’s sexual double standard.

Dolly substantiates these contradictory constructions by appearing to reflect rather than produce the concerns and identities of readers. This is achieved by emphasising, throughout the various discourses and sections of the magazine, statistics on and questions and contributions from readers. Thus it could be argued that the amalgamation of diverse tones, rhetorics and subject positions is a possible attempt by *Dolly* to cater to or perhaps exploit the readers who are assumed to want to experiment with various identities and subjectivities. Such an attempt would be understandable given psychological research that suggests that

adolescent girls become fragmented and try on new roles frequently (Pipher 1994: 20). Despite the conflicting messages surrounding the topic, the selection of readers' statistics, questions and contributions for publication in sections such as *Dolly* Doctor and sex survey results, ultimately normalises the sexually active reader. This reflects former *Dolly* Doctor Melissa Kang's observation that there is "an anticipated breadth of experience in this population" (Kang 2000) and effectively works to justify the editorial emphasis on sexual topics and instruction which it could be argued produces and proliferates that which it seeks to control or regulate.

The actual reader

The results of the questionnaires indicate the popularity of *Dolly*, particularly with regard to its use as a source of information. The respondents' demonstration of selection, interaction and application with regard to the magazine could be seen to substantiate *Dolly's* perception of the readers as ones who are active and experimental. However, many respondents appeared to oppose the naïve reader constructed by the magazine. This was most obvious with regard to the awareness demonstrated by respondents of the ideological or manipulative conventions of *Dolly* and other magazines and media. This is consistent with previous studies such as that of Frazer who found that the real readers were "freer of the text than much theory implies" (Frazer 1987: 192). However, their answers also demonstrated contradictions and ambiguities. This was most obvious with regard to their apparent attempts to express a preference for and in some cases loyalty to *Dolly* at the same time as demonstrating an awareness of its conventions and going to more effort to criticise it than say what they liked about it. Although likely to be a sign of adolescence or the novelty of the questionnaire, the ambivalence of their views and expressions and their simultaneous acceptance and rejection of the magazine ultimately reflect the ambiguity prevalent throughout *Dolly* with regard to various sexual issues. Thus it could be argued that the messages delivered by *Dolly* are not as problematic as the way in which they are presented and combined.

Potential implications

Regardless of the degree to which *Dolly* may influence the attitudes and actions of its readers, its construction and proliferation of ambiguous sexual information and representations are potentially problematic for several reasons. Firstly, according to psychologists, adolescent girls do not deal well with ambiguity (Pipher 1994: 92). It is believed that bright and sensitive girls have the mental equipment to pick up cultural ambivalence yet do not have the cognitive, emotional and social skills to handle this information (Pipher 1994: 43) whilst less perceptive girls have the tendency to oversimplify problems and thus rather than process their experiences, tend to seal in confusion (Pipher 1994: 43). Secondly, adolescence is said to be the most formative time in the lives of women, with girls making choices that will have many implications for the rest of their lives (Pipher 1994: 72). Finally, it is generally accepted that all girls' magazines are read by a younger readership than the magazines themselves acknowledge, a point substantiated by comments made by the respondents of the questionnaires. *Dolly's* inclusion of fashion advertisements featuring girls that appear to have not yet lost their baby teeth, and of statistics on the sexual activity of readers as young as ten, suggests an awareness on behalf of the magazine that readers are not only adolescent, but pre-adolescent girls. Thus if *Dolly* is characteristic of girls' magazines in this regard, it seems reasonable to assume that the unacknowledged readership could be even younger. This is potentially problematic when considered in relation to psychological evidence which suggests that most early sexual activity in Western culture tends to be harmful to girls (Pipher 1994: 208). Furthermore, from the perspective that adolescent girls are unable to deal well with ambiguity, how then pre-adolescent girls might deal with it, particularly in a sexual context, could be an issue worthy of research and also one that many would argue should not exist.

The ambiguous representation of girls' sexuality is not exclusive to *Dolly* but is rather a reflection of broader popular culture and in particular the way in which society appears to be caught between discursive figures of sexual liberation and sexual epidemic (Singer 1993: 69). If this is considered the theory, then the sexual behaviour of young people could be considered the practice. In New Zealand this might include the aforementioned decreasing

age for first sexual intercourse and the increase in unwanted pregnancies, abortions and sexually transmitted infections (New Zealand Ministry of Health 2005: 4). Given the importance of peers and other forms of popular culture in the lives of adolescent girls, it is impossible to determine the degree of influence *Dolly's* representation of sexuality has on its readers. It is also impossible to know the intentions of *Dolly* with regard to the way it constructs conflicting sexual identities and encourages or discourages their performance by readers. However, this study does confirm the difficulty, if not impossibility, of capturing the complexity, diversity and intensity of adolescent girls (Pipher 1994: 52). It also raises the issue of whether *Dolly* reflects, produces or exploits these characteristics. Most likely, it does a combination of all of these.

Like most research, this study raises more questions than it answers. However, taking the entire study into consideration, it seems that the representation and construction of girls' sexuality in *Dolly* is best summarised by the title of the magazine. McRobbie said of *Jackie* that, "It is no coincidence that the title is also a girl's name" (McRobbie 1991: 91) and that, "Jackie is both the magazine and the ideal girl" (McRobbie 1991: 82). Similarly *Dolly* is an evocative title epitomising the ambiguity surrounding the depiction of girls' sexuality in the magazine. A childish expression of "doll" it ranges in meaning from the innocence of childhood and playing mother, through to the youthful romanticism of Cliff Richard's "cryin,' talkin,' sleepin,' walkin,' livin' doll," and on into the highly stylised and at times sexualised object of male fantasies. Due to the myriad of identities constructed by the various discourses, the subject positions created by the magazine are as ambiguous as its intentions. However, in the words of a more contemporary song, it does seem that, with regard to the construction of sexuality, this dolly is "not that innocent."

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Appendices**Appendix one: Questionnaires****QUESTIONNAIRE****Girls' use of magazines****Please read the following before completing the questionnaire**

You are invited to participate in a research project about teen magazines, especially 'Dolly,' by completing the following questionnaire. The aim of this project is to investigate girls' use of such magazines for information about fashion, relationships, and health. This could include such topics as hairstyles, clothes, dating and acne!

The questionnaire is anonymous that means you will not be asked for your name or school.

At any time you may decide not to go ahead with the questionnaire, right up until they are handed in. After this you cannot pull out because your questionnaire will not be named and therefore cannot be recalled.

By completing the questionnaire it will be understood that you have agreed to contribute to the project and to the possible publication of the results.

Thanks for your help.

Angela Pyke

PLEASE READ

There are three questionnaires.

Answer ONE ONLY.

**CIRCLE THE NUMBER OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE YOU
WILL ANSWER:**

- (1) If you read 'Dolly' Magazine (pages 3-6)**
- (2) If you do not read 'Dolly' Magazine but read other
magazines (pages 7-10)**
- (3) If you do not read any magazines (pages 11-14)**

QUESTIONNAIRE ONE

(If you read 'Dolly' Magazine)

Age : _____

FASHION

1. Where do you get your information about fashion? (eg. clothes, make up, hair...)

Put the following words in order from where you get most information (1)
down to where you get the least information (7)

School, Friends, Family, Television, Internet, Magazines, Other

I get most of my information about FASHION from (1) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

(4) _____

(5) _____

(6) _____

I get the least of my information about FASHION from (7) _____

2. Do you think the following try to tell you how you should look? (eg. clothes, makeup, hair...)

(Please circle)

Media (eg. TV, Magazines, Movies)	Yes	/	No
Friends	Yes	/	No
Boys	Yes	/	No
Family	Yes	/	No

4

3. Have you ever changed anything about how you look (eg. clothes, makeup, hair...) mainly because of what any of the following have told you:

(Please circle)

Media (eg. TV, Magazines, Movies)	Yes / No
Friends	Yes / No
Boys	Yes / No
Family	Yes / No

RELATIONSHIPS

4. Where do you get your information about relationships? (eg. dates, boyfriends...)

Put the following words in order from where you get most information (1)
down to where you get the least information (7)

School, Friends, Family, Television, Internet, Magazines, Other

I get most of my information about RELATIONSHIPS (1) _____
from

(2) _____

(3) _____

(4) _____

(5) _____

(6) _____

I get the least of my information about RELATIONSHIPS (7) _____
from

5

5. Do you think any of the following try to tell you what you should do in relationships? (eg. dates, boyfriends...)

(Please circle)

Media (eg. TV, Magazines, Movies)	Yes / No
Friends	Yes / No
Boys	Yes / No
Family	Yes / No

6. Have you ever acted a certain way in a relationship (eg. dates, boyfriends...) because of what any of the following have told you?

(Please circle)

Media (eg. TV, Magazines, Movies)	Yes / No
Friends	Yes / No
Boys	Yes / No
Family	Yes / No

HEALTH

7. Where do you get your information about health? (eg. nutrition, fitness, body, sex...)

Put the following words in order from where you get most information (1) down to where you get the least information (7)

School, Friends, Family, Television, Internet, Magazines, Other

I get most of my information about HEALTH from

(1)	_____
(2)	_____
(3)	_____
(4)	_____

6

(5) _____

(6) _____

I get the least of my information about HEALTH from (7) _____

8. Do you think you are told what you should do with your health by:

(Please circle)

Media (eg. TV, Magazines, Movies) Yes / No

Friends Yes / No

Boys Yes / No

Family Yes / No

9. If you answered yes to any of question 6, have you ever tried any of the things you've been told to do by:

(Please circle)

Media (eg. TV, Magazines, Movies) Yes / No

Friends Yes / No

Boys Yes / No

Family Yes / No

10. What is something you have learnt about from 'Dolly'? _____

11. What do you like most about 'Dolly'? _____

12. What do you like least about 'Dolly'? _____

STOP HERE

7

QUESTIONNAIRE TWO

(If you do not read 'Dolly' Magazine but you read other magazines)

Age : _____

FASHION

1. Where do you get your information about fashion? (eg. clothes, make up, hair...)

Put the following words in order from where you get most information (1)
down to where you get the least information (7)

School, Friends, Family, Television, Internet, Magazines, Other

I get most of my information about FASHION from (1) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

(4) _____

(5) _____

(6) _____

I get the least of my information about FASHION from (7) _____

2. Do you think the following try to tell you how you should look? (eg. clothes, makeup, hair...)

(Please circle)

Media (eg. TV, Magazines, Movies)	Yes	/	No
Friends	Yes	/	No
Boys	Yes	/	No
Family	Yes	/	No

8

3. Have you ever changed anything about how you look (eg. clothes, makeup, hair...) mainly because of what the following have told you?

(Please circle)

Media (eg. TV, Magazines, Movies)	Yes / No
Friends	Yes / No
Boys	Yes / No
Family	Yes / No

RELATIONSHIPS

4. Where do you get your information about relationships? (eg. dates, boyfriends...)

Put the following words in order from where you get most information (1) down to where you get the least information (7)

School, Friends, Family, Television, Internet, Magazines, Other

I get most of my information about RELATIONSHIPS (1) _____
from

(2) _____

(3) _____

(4) _____

(5) _____

(6) _____

I get the least of my information about RELATIONSHIPS (7) _____
from

9

5. Do you think any of the following try to tell you what you should do in relationships? (eg.

(Please circle)

Media (eg. TV, Magazines, Movies)	Yes / No
Friends	Yes / No
Boys	Yes / No
Family	Yes / No

6. Have you ever acted a certain way in a relationship (eg. dates, boyfriends...) because of what any of the following have told you?

(Please circle)

Media (eg. TV, Magazines, Movies)	Yes / No
Friends	Yes / No
Boys	Yes / No
Family	Yes / No

HEALTH

7. Where do you get your information about health? (eg. nutrition, fitness, body, sex...)

Put the following words in order from where you get most information (1)
down to where you get the least information (7)

School, Friends, Family, Television, Internet, Magazines, Other

I get most of my information about HEALTH from (1) _____
(2) _____
(3) _____
(4) _____

10

(5) _____

(6) _____

I get the least of my information about HEALTH from (7) _____

8. Do you think you are told what you should do with your health by:

(Please circle)

Media (eg. TV, Magazines, Movies) Yes / No

Friends Yes / No

Boys Yes / No

Family Yes / No

9. If you answered yes to any of question 6, have you ever tried any of the things you've been told to do by:

(Please circle)

Media (eg. TV, Magazines, Movies) Yes / No

Friends Yes / No

Boys Yes / No

Family Yes / No

10. What magazine do you read most often? _____

11. What is something you have learnt about from the magazine you read? _____

12. What do you like most about the magazine you read? _____

13. What do you like least about the magazine you read? _____

STOP HERE

QUESTIONNAIRE THREE

(If you do not read any magazines)

Age: ____

FASHION**1. Where do you get your information about fashion? (eg. clothes, make up, hair...)**Put the following words in order from where you get most information (1)
down to where you get the least information (7)

School, Friends, Family, Television, Internet, Magazines, Other

I get most of my information about FASHION from (1) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

(4) _____

(5) _____

(6) _____

I get the least of my information about FASHION from (7) _____

2. Do you think the following try to tell you how you should look? (eg. clothes, makeup, hair...)

(Please circle)

Media (eg. TV, Magazines, Movies)	Yes	/	No
Friends	Yes	/	No
Boys	Yes	/	No
Family	Yes	/	No

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3. Have you ever changed anything about how you look (eg. clothes, makeup, hair...) mainly because of what any of the following have told you?

(Please circle)

Media (eg. TV, Magazines, Movies)	Yes	/	No
Friends	Yes	/	No
Boys	Yes	/	No
Family	Yes	/	No

RELATIONSHIPS

4. Where do you get your information about relationships? (eg. dates, boyfriends...)

Put the following words in order from where you get most information (1) down to where you get the least information (7)

School, Friends, Family, Television, Internet, Magazines, Other

I get most of my information about RELATIONSHIPS (1) _____
from

(2) _____

(3) _____

(4) _____

(5) _____

(6) _____

I get the least of my information about RELATIONSHIPS (7) _____
from

13

5. Do you think any of the following try to tell you what you should do in relationships? (eg. dates, boyfriends...)

(Please circle)

Media (eg. TV, Magazines, Movies)	Yes	/	No
Friends	Yes	/	No
Boys	Yes	/	No
Family	Yes	/	No

6. Have you ever acted a certain way in a relationship (eg. dates, boyfriends...) because of what any of the following have told you?

(Please circle)

Media (eg. TV, Magazines, Movies)	Yes	/	No
Friends	Yes	/	No
Boys	Yes	/	No
Family	Yes	/	No

HEALTH

7. Where do you get your information about health? (eg. nutrition, fitness, body, sex...)

Put the following words in order from where you get most information (1) down to where you get the least information (7)

School, Friends, Family, Television, Internet, Magazines, Other

I get most of my information about HEALTH from

(1)	_____
(2)	_____
(3)	_____
(4)	_____

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(5) _____

(6) _____

I get the least of my information about HEALTH from (7) _____

8. Do you think you are told what you should do with your health by:

(Please circle)

Media (eg. TV, Magazines, Movies) Yes / No

Friends Yes / No

Boys Yes / No

Family Yes / No

9. If you answered yes to any of question 6, have you ever tried any of the things you've been told to do by:

(Please circle)

Media (eg. TV, Magazines, Movies) Yes / No

Friends Yes / No

Boys Yes / No

Family Yes / No

10. Why do you not read magazines? _____

11. What form of media do you use the most? (eg. TV, Internet, Movies, Newspaper, Radio) _____

12. What is something you have learnt about from the form of media you use _____

13. What do you like most about the form of media you use? _____

14. What do you like least about the form of media you use? _____

STOP HERE

Appendix two: Information sheet for respondents' parents/guardians

Dear Parent/Caregiver

Your daughter is invited to participate in a research project about teen magazines, with a focus on the girls' magazine 'Dolly'. As many of you are probably aware, the topics covered by these magazines range from the trivial, such as the best hair accessories, through to more serious issues, such as sexually transmitted diseases. The aim of this project is to investigate whether girls actually use such magazines to obtain information about fashion, relationships, and health.

Your daughter's involvement in this project will involve her filling in an ANONYMOUS questionnaire, which is expected to take no more than ten minutes. This will be arranged with the assistance of the school guidance counsellor (name of guidance counsellor inserted). Participants will be advised that the questionnaire is voluntary, that they do not have to complete any questions they do not understand or do not wish to answer, that they may withdraw at any time, and that neither they nor their school will be identified in the project, the results of which may be published. In addition all data collected will be kept in a securely locked safe and will be disposed of as soon as the necessary information is obtained.

This project is part of a wider study of the magazine 'Dolly' which I am conducting for my Masters thesis in Mass Communication. My name is Angela Pyke. I attended school in Christchurch and I am twenty three years of age. I am working under the supervision of (name of supervisor inserted) and the project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee. Details of the questionnaire, which is general in nature, may be obtained from (name of guidance counsellor inserted). If for any reason you are uncomfortable with your daughter's participation in the project, please either discuss your concerns with either (name of supervisor inserted) who may be contacted by email (email address inserted) or phone (phone number inserted), myself who may be contacted at (email address inserted) or by phone (phone number inserted) or (name of guidance counsellor inserted). If you do not wish your daughter to participate in the questionnaire, to ensure this happens with minimum embarrassment to your daughter, please contact (name of guidance counsellor inserted), who will arrange for your daughter's discrete exclusion. The questionnaire is general in nature, seeks no intimate or personal information and is to do with reading habits and the use and usefulness of the information in girls' magazines. Your daughter's contribution would be greatly appreciated.

