Gender Representations in the British media: A Post-Feminist Discourse Analysis of Celebrity Academics and the Neoliberal University

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Abstract

This thesis is an investigation into the intersection between celebrity academia, gender and the neoliberal university. A new method of post -structuralist discourse analysis, which includes a post-feminist presentation of self, has been developed to interpret the new phenomenon of celebrity academics. Discourses in the media focus on the young, female body and transformation through aesthetic labour. The 'academprenuer', is a term I have created to describe a new, attractive, successful, academic, entrepreneurial woman. The academprenuer is individualistic, sexualised, young and undergoes transformation of her mind, through extended study, and her image, through aesthetic labour. By her celebrity status and image, academia is characterised as an individual endeavour for self-gain. Where Higher Education is commodified, celebrity academics help to market the 'product' through their glamour and the promise of meritocratic success. The academprenuer acts as a role model who perpetuates the myth that this kind of neoliberal, meritocratic, femininity is how academic woman are, which in turn supports the maintenance of gendered inequality. Older celebrity academic women, unlike older men, are notable by their absence and evidence of stigma exists for those older women who do appear in public life. Surveillance and the disciplinary gaze are prominent in media articles, journalists' comments and social media trolling. Suggestions on how to challenge this and create a more diverse and inclusive representation of academic women, are offered. This is timely, so that academia can be claimed by women as a career of the mind allowing celebrity academic women to become wiser with age, rather than vanishing with the associated costs to careers.

Dedication

In memory of my father who loved learning.

For my daughter – it is your turn now.

Nick and Max, may you strive for equality for the women in your lives.

Acknowledgements

Mum, I hope I have as much passion for life when I am 80!

Thank you to the inspirational women who have supervised me through this journey, Jane Martin and Claire Crawford. Jane, you have been wonderful!

Contents

Contents

Gender Representations in the British media: A Post- Feminist Discourse Analysis of Celebrity Academics and the Neoliberal University 1
Abstract 4
1. Introduction 1
1.1 Thesis overview 5
2. Chapter two – Literature Review 7
Introduction 7
2.1 Gender 7
2.1.2. Performing femininity 11
2.2 Neoliberalism, Higher Education and Society 16
2.2.1 The intersection of higher education and gender in the neoliberal university 16
2.2.2 Academic women and discipline 18
2.2.3 Neoliberalism and the academic celebrity 19
2.2.4. The celebritisation of education 21
2.2.5 Neoliberalism and the entrepreneurs 24
2.3 Culture and Power 26
2.3.1 The gendered process of ageing and stigma 27
2.3.2 A genealogy of education and feminine attractiveness 31
2.3.3 Gender representations and stereotypes 34
2.3.4 Female academic stereotypes 37
2.3.5 Male academic stereotypes 42
Conclusion 43
3. Methodology 44
Introduction 44
3.1 Design 45
3.2 Research Sample 46
3.2.1 Positionality 46
3.2.3. Sample - the celebrity academics in this research 50
3.3.3. The British news and entertainment media forming part of this research 57
3.3 Ethics 59

3.3.1 How the articles were chosen, data management plan and ethical considerations 59
3.4 Data Gathering 60
3.4.1 Post-structuralism 60
3.4.2 Language and Semiotics 61
3.4.3 Discourse analysis 63
3.4.4. Critical Discourse Analysis 63
3.5 Procedure 65
3.5.1 Feminist Post Structural Discourse Analysis and Reflexivity 65
3.5.2 Post-feminism 66
3.5.3 Merging the two methods: Post-Feminist Discourse Analysis 68
Conclusion 69
Chapter Four 70
Introduction 70
4.1 Female Academic Stereotypes and Stigma 70
4.1.1 The Blue Stocking 70
4.1.2 The School Ma'am 75
4.1.3 The older female celebrity academic and stigma 76
4.1.4 Male stereotypes and the hegemonic academic male 81
4.1.4.1. The nerd 84
4.1.4.2The complicit male 85
Discussion 87
4.2 Discipline and aesthetic labour 91
4.2.1 The Thinking Man's Crumpet and the young woman's body 92
4.2.2 A Post-Feminist Sensibility 104
4.2.3 A Post- Feminist Discourse Analysis of the representation of Male Celebrity Academics in the media 119
4.3 The academprenuer and celebrity 124
4.3.1 Celebritisation 124
Mediatisation 124
4.3.2 The academpreneur 135
5.1 Conclusion 137
5.2 Recommendations 143
Reference List 146
Appendix One 173
Appendix two 174

Appendix three 260

Figures

Figure 1. Dr Victoria Bateman 3
Figure 2. Model of Celebritisation in Academia 23
Figure 3. The Thinking Man's Crumpet (Matthews, 2018) 38
Figure 4. The Thinking Woman's Crumpet (Fool, 2018) 39
Figure 5. The School Ma'am 40
Figure 6. The School Master 40
Figure 7. Research Design Process (Adapted from Thomas, 2013, p.129) 443
Figure 8. 'Conceptual trinity of experience, reality and truth' (Adapted from Hughes, 2002) 46
Figure 9. The World, Subject and Object (adapted from Peim, 2018 p. 32) 476
Figure 10. Professor Alice Roberts 721
Figure 11. Dr Victoria Bateman 732
Figure 12. Dr Janina Ramirez 732
Figure 13. Dr Maggie Aderin - Pocock 743
Figure 14. Professor Mary Beard 776
Figure 15. An image of Beyoncé rather than Germaine Greer 798
Figure 16. Professor Catharine Edwards 809
Figure 17. Professor Brian Cox 80
Figure 18. Images of Professor Michael Scott's work 82
Figure 19. Professor Simon Schama 83
Figure 20. Professor Brian Cox 85
Figure 21. David Olusoga 87
Figure 22. The Academic Gender Hierarchy 90
Figure 23. Dr Bettany Hughes 92
Figure 24. Dr Hannah Fry 94
Figure 25. Dr Amanda Foreman 95
Figure 26. Dr Suzannah Lipscomb 97
Figure 27. Professor Kate Williams 98
Figure 28. Dr Lucy Worsley 100
Figure 29. The History Girls 102
Figure 30. Professor Kate Williams, Hallie Rubenhold, Dr Anna Whitelock, Lisa Hilton, Dr Janina Ramirez, Dr Cassie Newland, Professor Suzannah Lipscomb 1033
Figure 31. Professor Alice Roberts 105

Figure 32. Professor Brian Cox 120
Figure 33. Dr Bateman and Dr Foreman appear naked 129
Figure 34. Dr Germaine Greer poses naked 130

Tables

Table 1. Biography of the Celebrity Academics 51
Table 2. Type of Schooling Attended by the Celebrity Academics 566
Table 3. Higher Education Institution attended by the Celebrity Academics 566
Table 4. Age, Gender, Ideology and Popularity of the Online News Outlet (Taylor, 2017) 588
Table 5. Celebrity Academics Use of the Media 1255

1. Introduction

Listening to Kamala Harris in November 2020, announce to a cheering crowd that she was not just the 'first woman' but 'the first woman of colour' to have been elected as the Vice President of the United States of America (USA), felt like a wonderful achievement towards equality. The British press responded to her victory with pictures of Harris in suffragette white with celebratory headlines that Harris would 'not be the last' woman to achieve this success (Gambino, 2020). However, *The Telegraph* responded in a different way. On the momentous occasion of the election of the first woman to such a senior USA office, *The Telegraph* wrote that, 'Kamala Harris is the beauty icon that the world needs' (Haria, 2020). 'From her swishy, low-maintenance hair - that looks polished but not *too* polished - to the subtle touches of make-up, they all provide signals of 55-year-old Harris's relaxed, approachable style. Her fail-safe make-up formula consists of black eyeliner, thickened lashes and a neutral-looking, glossy lipstick' (ibid). The article continues this theme describing in detail the make-up routine that allows her to 'look fresh and youthful' and 'every inch the modern beauty icon legions of women and girls can look up to' (ibid). What was so disheartening about this article is that female success is automatically linked to their looks. If Harris were not a 'beauty icon' would women be unable to 'look up to her' for her achievements? As more women move into senior positions and have the potential to act as role models, this is a timely question. This thesis is about exploring the intertwining of intellectual achievements and physical appearance and how this is applied to academic women in the British public eye.

I first pondered this question in 2010 watching Professor Mary Beard present 'Pompeii: Life and Death in a Roman Town' on BBC2. Beard is a classicist Professor at Newnham College, Cambridge and she appeared on television (TV) at the age of 55 (the same age as Kamala Harris) but with long grey hair and no make-up. She was reviewed by A.A. Gill in the Times as, 'too ugly for television' (Gill, 2012). This public ridicule continued and became more extreme after Beard appeared on Newsnight in 2013. After giving her opinion about the effect of immigration on services in Lincolnshire, vicious online abuse began on a website called 'Don't Get Me Started' where a picture of a vagina was superimposed over her face (Dowell, 2013). The public ridicule over the appearance of an ageing woman and the abuse she received on social media for expressing her views, provoked me into considering what it means to be an academic woman in the public eye, how one should look and what happens to those intellectual women

who are not considered attractive? This was the start of my research journey into the intersection between celebrity academia, gender and the neoliberal university.

Thirty years ago, women such as TV presenters Selina Scott and Joan Bakewell, were acknowledged to be educated graduates by the media, but none were scholars attached to a university. The female celebrity academic (FCA), who is linked to a university, is a relatively new phenomenon. Academia is described by the Cambridge Dictionary (2021) as 'the part of society, especially universities, that is connected with studying and thinking, or the activity or job of studying' (Cambridge Dictionary, 2021)[1]. At this point it is necessary to consider what is meant by the term 'celebrity' which is not a term usually associated with academics (Lewis, 2001). Many people would relate to the definition suggested by McClerking and Block (2020) who argue that if people know your name and your achievements, from reading newspapers or books or watching TV, then you are a celebrity. A celebrity can be famous for simply being famous or for the mark they leave on society (Friedman, 2014). Marshall (2014) believes that the concept of celebrity is more profound than this and is associated with the advent of modernity, capitalism, and democracy. He sees the celebrity as, 'an actor in the public sphere' who represents 'flags, markers, or buoys for the clustering of cultural significance through patterns of consumption.' (ibid, p. 243 & p. 245).

It is still unclear how this relates to academia until the changing nature of Higher Education (HE) is considered. Over the last two decades, HE has transformed under the ideology of neoliberalism, to become part of 'knowledge capitalism', where education becomes a culturally valued commodity that is both sold and bought as a personal investment (Brown, 2016, p. 10). Neoliberalism, as a political ideology, believes that the regulation of the market should be kept to a minimum and that all areas of society, including HE, should be open to the marketplace (Olssen & Peters, 2007). Lewis (2010) claims that the proliferation of the media, alongside a change in the function of HE, has resulted in the creation of the academic celebrity. It is interesting to consider Marshall's (2014, p. 243) observation that celebrities 'work to organize the markets of the cultural industries'. Celebrities can be a promotional tool and Marshall (ibid) proposes the idea that celebrity academics are an advertising device used in the

[1] This broad definition of academia allows for the inclusion of David Olusoga (who does not have a doctorate) and Lucy Worsley (who is not attached to a university) into the research sample, as both are celebrities connected with studying, thinking and publishing.

marketplace of the neoliberal university[2]. In 2012, an Australian academic, Richard Miles writing in the online news outlet *The Conversation*, described celebrity academics or 'the rise of the super Profs' as potentially 'a very good thing' able 'to enrich the national conversation'. Whether this is really the case, or whether they serve as promotional tools, is one of the issues that this thesis will explore.

FCA have become part of the national news and entertainment industry. A recent example of the visibility of the gendered nature of the celebrity academic is Dr Victoria Bateman, an economist at Cambridge University. To give a platform to her opinions on leaving the European Union, she appeared naked on the TV, radio and the stage. In this picture from *The Times* (Billen, 2019) Bateman poses naked with her books.



Figure 1. Dr Victoria Bateman

She is not the first academic woman to use her naked body to promote her ideas. Dr Amanda Foreman appeared naked in 1998, to publicise her book 'Georgina The Duchess of Devonshire' (Chittendon, 2008).

In both these examples, the women have posed naked to promote their ideas and work, and themselves as individual academics. Rosalind Gill and Angela McRobbie, both sociologists and feminist cultural theorists, are interested in the representation of women in the media. Gill (2007) raises the point that when women remove their clothes it is much harder to object that they are being exploited, if the women have chosen to present themselves in this way. Objectification of the female body is a

[2] Lucy Worsley is the only celebrity academic in this study who does not work at a university. She is a Joint Chief Curator at Historic Royal Palaces. However, her media role helps to promote the palaces in much the same way that the universities are publicised.

traditional refrain of radical feminists[3] but something different is happening when intellectuals choose to promote their ideas and themselves though their naked body.

McRobbie's work on the media and gender reveal that frequently there are both feminist and anti-feminist attitudes present in articles on women. She termed this entanglement of two different discourses as 'post -feminism' (McRobbie, 2009). Cultural Studies, as an area of academic study, has a history of being a contested area for women, with gendered power relations framing discourses. During the 1970s, McRobbie, then working at the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies had argued that women were invisible in Cultural Studies and that any consideration of women's representation in culture necessitated a feminist inquiry into a 'culture of femininity' (Thornham,2000, p. 64). A consideration of a culture of femininity and McRobbie's (2009) more recent work on 'faux-feminism' and the concept of post-feminism, will be used to consider the representation of FCA in the media.

My understanding of the media is that it constructs reality rather than reproduces it. As McDonald (1995) points out, for the media to reproduce reality there would have to be a 'real world' out there to reflect. Any discussion of the media must consider concepts of culture and power. A key point in studying culture is to consider, 'texts and representations' and the formation of 'ideas, images and practices, which provide ways of talking about forms of knowledge and conduct associated with, a particular topic, social activity or institutional site in society' (Hall, 1997, p6). Television, radio, newspapers and magazines use representation to, 'simplify, filter and distill those very few people in our culture who act as representatives' (Marshall, 2014, p xxxii) thus giving rise to stereotypes. British society is used to the idea of academic stereotypes with terms such as 'girlie swot' and 'blue stocking' being used to represent certain kinds of people. These stereotypes are gendered raising questions about gender, culture and power that need exploring. Moreover, the use of academic stereotypes in the media, to represent celebrity academics, have not been considered. This seems like an omission given that Kanter identified as far back as 1993 that stereotypes have been implicated in restraining people's opportunities (Kanter, 1993) and Hepp, Hjarvard and Lundy's (2015) more recent work that the media has a role in shaping perceptions which can then pigeonhole people into stereotypes. Social representations of people and contexts in the media can transmute into ideas so that they become

[3] The radical feminists of the 1960's argued that women were objects of the male gaze and experienced oppression from the patriarchy (Whelehan, 1995).

belief systems (Radu and Redien-Collet, 2008). With this in mind, stereotypes can create a view that this is how academics are. Hughes (2002, p.3) explains how discourses, much like stereotypes, can be 'a way of being in the world which shapes who and what we are' and illustrates this with the discourses that shape the lives of women such as, 'having it all' and 'doing it all'. I will consider how these discourses apply to celebrity academic women. Due to the word count restriction, this thesis will concentrate on the British press (newspapers and magazines) rather than radio or television.

The overall focus of this research is to consider the ways in which female celebrity academics are represented in the British press so that new knowledge is developed which gives insight into the form the current trend is taking. Gender inequality intersects with other social categories such as race, class, age, sexuality, and disability (Crenshaw, 1989; Cruikshank, 2009; Gill, 2007). When these categories combine, inequality is magnified (Crenshaw, 1989). These intersections will be analaysed in this thesis as part of the depiction of women and the female body. My experience as an older woman (see 3.2) prompted me to look at age in more detail and make it one of the research questions. It is of tremendous significance that the interplay of inequalities of power can frequently be observed as an absence or an under-representation of these social categories. The analysis of media articles on celebrity academics is likely to demonstrate this .

The questions which form the focus of this research are as follows:

- Might the UK press be using academic stereotypes in gender representations?
- Might older celebrity academic women be stigmatised by the UK press?
- Is there indication of a post-feminist 'double entanglement' (feminist and antifeminist representations of female celebrity academics) in the UK press?
- What might the role of celebrity academics be for a neoliberal university?

1.1 Thesis overview

In chapter two, the literature will be reviewed and divided into themes relevant for this research. These are gender, culture and power and neoliberalism. Chapter three is structured around the topics of design, participants, ethics, data gathering and procedure (Thomas, 2013). I will explain the chosen methodology of post structuralism and a new discourse analysis method created for this research

project, termed a ‘post-feminist discourse analysis’. In chapter four I will identify and comment on the discourses operating around the representation of celebrity academic women in the British press. To answer the research questions, I will be investigating the representation of 19 celebrity academics in 28 news and entertainment articles from a range of sources. Chapter four will be a combination of the research findings and an analysis of their implications, as it seemed counter-intuitive to attempt to separate these into distinct chapters. Chapter four is divided into sections relevant to the research questions. These are:

1. female academic stereotypes and stigma
2. discipline and aesthetic labour
3. celebrity and the ‘academprenuer’.

I will explain the heuristic term ‘academprenuer’ which I have created to describe a particular type of academic woman who is most valued in the media. The final chapter will be a discussion of the issues raised and the conclusions that can be drawn. I will demonstrate that some forms of femininity are valued over others which creates an ideal type but also creates stereotypes and stigma in the representation of academic women. The most valued form of femininity acts as a celebrity advert for the neoliberal university, creating a new neoliberal academic, an ‘academprenuer’. I will argue that there are parallels here with Connell’s (1987) gender hierarchy, reflecting the operation of power and culture in society.

2. Chapter two – Literature Review

Introduction

The literature review has been divided into themes to provide a context, and to ascertain the current level of knowledge, around the research questions. Gender will be considered from the perspective of what it means to be a woman and how the self is presented through the performing of femininity, with a focus on aesthetic labour. Neoliberalism will be analysed for its relevance to education and society in the 21st century. A section on culture and power will include the representation of women who are marginalised through the use of academic stereotypes, stigmatised through the gendered process of ageing and by tracing a genealogy that links ideas about female attractiveness with higher education.

2.1 Gender

The gendered, sexed and aged female body has been understood from different perspectives in the literature and these will be examined. This is significant for our understanding of being a young woman and the gendered process of ageing.

A woman's female body and her feminine nature have not always been regarded as separate. American sociologist Talcott Parsons (1955) saw the two as being the same. For Parsons, women's biological roles were also their social roles. It was this confinement and limited opportunities for a woman's life that prompted American feminist Betty Friedan in 1963 (p. 1) to ask, 'Is this all?'. She was not the first to ask this question. British feminist Mary Wollstonecraft wondered this in 1792, dreaming that one day women might have the same opportunities as men.

French philosopher Simone de Beauvoir (1953) argued that the female will always be judged and compared against the male, who is seen as the true human being (de Beauvoir, 1953). The male is appraised as being associated with reason and as such is closer to culture (Ortner, 1974). Woman's ability to reproduce and lactate and her monthly menses places her closer to nature (ibid). Over time in most societies, women's biological ability to reproduce places her as the carer of young children (Parsons, 1955). This view had been embedded in the British post-war welfare state (Spencer, 2009). Despite this prevailing view de Beauvoir declared 'One is not born, but rather becomes a woman' (de Beauvoir, 1953, p. 295).

In the 1960s the idea of gender developed alongside second wave feminism (Segal, 1999). Gender is the separation of social roles from biological sex differences and includes notions of masculinity and femininity and the arrangement of the private/public life where women inhabited the domestic sphere of dependent wife and mother (Pilcher and Whelehan, 2017). Feminist thought over the decades cannot be addressed without considering the concept of the three, or perhaps four (Phillips and Cree (2014), feminist waves. The idea of waves is contentious in feminism (Pilcher and Whelehan, 2017). They can be understood as ideological, generational or as culturally significant changes. Baumgardner (2011) argues that cultural shifts were in evidence during each wave. The first wave saw great social change following a world war and is associated with Liberalism, rights and suffrage (Whelehan, 1995). The second wave (1960 to around 1988) rose from the civil rights movement, popular culture and access to birth control and goes hand in hand with modernism where there is a 'truth' in the understanding of oppression and the associated demand for social justice (ibid). Maynard (2006) believes that second wave feminism is often simplified into 'narrow stereotypes' rather than understood as complex theoretical positions (ibid, p. 261). She argues that the second wave is usually divided into Marxism, Socialism and Radical feminism but that at this time there was plurality of thought around essentialism, black feminism and lesbianism, all of which are usually associated with the third wave. The concept of patriarchy and its link with the oppression of women was another feature of the second wave (Walby, 1989). As the second wave of feminism gave way to the next generation of feminists, voices from lesbian women and black women became more prominent in a form of feminism often called the third wave[4].

The third wave (1988 to around 2010) has been related to postmodernism, pluralism and difference and belonged to women who wanted their differences and individual rights acknowledged, shifting from collective feminism to individual feminism. (Pilcher and Whelehan, 2017). The dates of the waves

[4] Are we currently in a fourth wave? Phillips and Cree (2014) argue that the fourth wave (2010 and ongoing) is a manifestation of diversity and inclusiveness alongside concerns about equal pay and gender equality. This can be seen as a merging of the ideology of the second and third waves. The fourth wave belongs to the advance of social media which has opened up spaces for feminist discussions, such as the #metoo movement and the claiming of feminism by celebrities such as Beyonce, performing against the word Feminist (Blair, 2016), and Emma Watson addressing the United Nations in 2014 as a Feminist (Herman, 2014). A question to consider is where the fourth wave leaves postfeminism? Gill (2016, p. 2) argues that within the fourth wave there includes discourses of 'corporate culture, celebrity and feminism as a stylish identity' and that an 'individualistic, entrepreneurial ideology' is present, making a postfeminist analysis of celebrity feminism crucial.

suggest that a different generation of women was present at each wave. Although this is self-evident, it is also simplistic as it does not consider that women of one generation might associate with the ideology of a different wave. This literature review will not consider feminist theories within the concept of waves but will instead focus on the different ideas presented.

Walby (1989) identified that patriarchy had different meanings for different cultures. She argued for the use of a more flexible concept of patriarchal relations which includes six different forms of patriarchy, which would allow the theory of patriarchy to be applied through history and cultures. bell hooks, writing in 1982, had identified that the concept of patriarchy was more reflective of white women's experiences in the family and that for black women the family can be a source of comfort away from racism (hooks, 1984). hooks gave voice to the difficulty black women faced by recognising that they experienced oppression through both racism and sexism. The term 'intersectionality' was developed by the Critical Race Theorist, Kimberle Crenshaw (1989), as a metaphor for the collision of different identities that are discriminated against, to enable people to realise that together these stigmatised identities can amplify discrimination.

Beard (2017) argues that gendered inequality dates to the Ancient Greeks and Romans. There are currently 7.7 billion people in the world (World Population Clock, 2019) and such is the variation between ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation and education that it is impossible to generalise this power relationship to all men and women. However, Connell claims that there is truth in the statement that men and women are connected through one 'structural fact', which is that men have a 'global dominance over women' (Connell, 1987, p.183) but that different types of masculinity need to be considered. Connell (1987) developed the concept of the 'hegemonic male' to explain how power could operate through gender, social relations and ideology. The hegemonic male is the idealised male who is given value by the society. A current UK example is the white, heterosexual, womanising, smartly dressed, physically fit and brave spy, James Bond. The hegemonic male does not have to be real but is a recognised stereotype that other men (the complicit male) aspire to. Central to the hegemonic ideal is that men and women go along with this. Other types of masculinity and all types of femininity are subordinated and marginalised. Connell (1987) does not believe that there is a hegemonic female, as any identification of the female is against the backdrop of a patriarchal society. However, one type of female most valued by the hegemonic male is that defined by compliance and subordination. Connell calls this 'emphasised' femininity. The emphasised female is sexually responsive when a young adult and

a mother in later adulthood. Lesbians and feminists belong to a category known as 'resistant femininity' which is less valued than emphasised femininity. Thus, there is a gender order with the hegemonic male at the top, with the complicit male beneath and all other forms of masculinity (such as gay men) and femininity below. However, this is not a fixed order. Key to the idea of hegemony is the possibility of social change (Connell, 2005). Evidence of a representation of the gender order, with consideration of emphasised and stigmatised femininity, will be studied when analysing media articles.

Butler (1999a) however argues against this kind of binary gender system by arguing that it cannot be automatically assumed that masculinity will belong to a male sexed body or that femininity will belong to a female sexed body. Once gender is unanchored from a sexed body, it is apparent that a sexed body has no other meaning than that given to it by the culture. Both gender and the biological body become social constructs. 'Sex, by definition, will be shown to have been gender all along' (Butler, 1999b, p.82). Butler contends that femininity is a learned behaviour that is acquired through repeated performance. It is an unconscious act and by performing gender it becomes who we are. It is the, 'regulated practices of gender formation and division (that) constitute identity' (Butler, 1999b, p.85). For Butler, the body is discourse and serves as a symbol.

Moi worries that the woman had been deconstructed out of existence and that we are still left with the issue of what, 'the sexually different body has to do with being a woman, or with women's oppression' (Moi, 2005, p. 25). For Moi, the political, social and cultural embodiment of woman falls between the gap of gender and the sexed body. In Moi's view it is this that is missing from the social constructionist account of woman offered by Butler. Moi (2005) sees de Beauvoir as offering a solution to this issue. When de Beauvoir writes that, 'the body is not a thing, it is a situation' Moi (2005, p 59) perceives this concept to be located halfway between essentialism and social constructionism. De Beauvoir (1949) argued that biological facts are important but are not a woman's destiny. The body is the vehicle by which we live and experience the world, but it does not have to tie us to a certain destiny. We can be free to experience the world as we want to, if we are given the opportunity to do so. Moi (2005, p. 65) believes that Sartre's understanding of 'situation' (which is a relationship between our freedom and the world, which includes bodies) is the same as de Beauvoir's. Budgeon believes that the body should be viewed as an 'event' rather than an object upon which culture and choice are enacted (Budgeon, 2003, p.51). By seeing the body as an event, it become more than a symbol and gives embodied agency to women's lives and situations. Moi and Budgeon both argue for understanding what it is to be a woman

as somewhere between essentialism and discourse. This allows the woman to be socially constructed but also to be a collective identity, which encounter universal experiences such as misogyny. It is this perception that will be used in this thesis.

Despite feminist thinking around gender and the sexed body, a focus on biological sex differences between men and women did not disappear. Instead, it was picked up and developed into socio-biology (Shilling, 2016). Socio-biology alleges that human beings behave in a way that brings them evolutionary advantage (Alcock, 2001). According to evolutionary theory, a woman who has spent nine months pregnant and risked her life to give birth has more invested in ensuring the child survives to adulthood and so is likely to be the primary carer. Fine (2017) reveals the faulty thinking in this viewpoint indicating that poor science is the cause of these assumptions. Gill (2006) demonstrates how sex differences have re-established themselves into popular culture after the backlash of the 1990s, which gave rise to 'lad culture'. These differences have become established in the public mind with books like '*Men are from Mars and Women are from Venus'* (Gray, 1992). Gill argues that these sexual differences are presented as erotic and inevitable in a way that serves to disadvantage women (Gill, 2006).

Gill (2006) argues that the female body has immense importance in our understanding of what it means to be a woman. She believes that post-feminist culture is eternally preoccupied with the female body, to the point that the body becomes a woman's sole identity. McRobbie (2009, p 84) writes of the need for women to, 'invest time and effort in the crafting of a self which ensures desirability (and a) youthful female phallicism'. The female body on show is an essential part of this female phallicism. In post modernity, the body is central to an identity where the body can be changed and adapted according to consumer culture (Giddens, 1991). Consumer culture is key in the discourse of McRobbie's (2009, p73) 'working girl' who operates in a 'landscape of self-improvement'. Thus, this feminist discussion of women's place in society can almost be seen to have come full circle, from Parson's view of the sexed body being linked to social roles to a post-feminist view of the female body as key to her identity. These are important considerations in the representation of female celebrity academics in the media.

2.1.2. Performing femininity

The normative feminine 'look' that most people in western society are familiar with is a young, white woman (Rhode, 2016) with unblemished skin (no flaws or wrinkles (Twigg, 2013), wearing make-up. The

ideal ‘she’ has full, glossy lips, which cover perfect white teeth. Should she not have these they can be acquired through cosmetic lip fillers, lipstick and cosmetic dental surgery. Her eyes are large and bright, wearing fashion coloured eye shadow. Should she prefer blue, green, light brown or violet coloured eyes, she can purchase coloured contact lenses (Bordo, 1993). She should have glossy, thick hair in a fashionable style that can only be achieved though visiting a hairdresser. It might also be in a fashionable colour. This could include grey hair on a young person, but never on a woman in her middle age (Beard, 2016). The normative hair is Caucasian hair and there are many products available to achieve the desired look (Bordo, 1993). Lester (2000) writes about the long association of hair with skin colour and slavery. ‘Good hair’ was always long and straight whereas ‘bad hair’ was short with tight curls. Research by Opie and Phillips (2015) suggests that in the USA both black and white people will give lower rating of professionalism for black women who have an Afrocentric[5] hairstyle. This is of interest when it is considered that famous black women such as Kamala Harris and Megan Markle both have Eurocentric hairstyles with long, wavy hair. The perfect woman should smell of a fashionable or expensive perfume (Faludi, 1991). She is always slim and toned (Bordo, 1995). The body should be smooth and hairless (Wolf, 1991). Every part of the body from ‘arm pits to love’ (Dove, 2018), to the ‘designer vagina’ (Dobson *et al*, 2017), to preventing ‘thick, dry, scaly skin’ on the heels (Scholl, 2018), has a desired appearance that can only be acquired through time, effort, money and often pain. There are thousands of products and beauty treatments to help the individual to achieve the desired image for every part of her body. In her lifetime the average British woman will spend £70,294 on the way she looks to emphasise her femininity (Young, 2017). The cost of this aesthetic labour is not only a financial one, but also involves many hours spent in hairdressing salons and beauty rooms to achieve a desired form (Rhode, 2016).

In fashion, wearing high heels makes the leg look longer, causes the pelvis to tilt forwards and the buttocks to become more prominent (Woolf, 2014). All of these are considered desirable attributes. However, wearing heels for prolonged periods is associated with backache, foot pressure and pain (Yung-Hui and Wei-Hsien, 2005). Women account for 80% of all foot surgery which is mostly attributed to wearing high heels (Rhode, 2010). The Equality Act (2010) prohibits gender discrimination at work. Regardless of this, employers can still expect that women wear heels as an essential uniform

[5] An Afrocentric hairstyle is a term used for a black hairstyle that does not attempt to alter the hair texture of people who are from African descent. Straightened hair, which is chemically processed, is described as Eurocentric as it is more like the hair of people from European descent (Opie and Phillips, 2015). The legacy of slavery results in discrimination of Afrocentric hairstyles (Lester, 2000).

requirement in some jobs, despite a recent campaign by a British woman who was asked to leave her job as a receptionist for refusing to wear heels (York, 2017). McRobbie (2009, p. 73) explores how women are expected to 'attend to body image' so that they remain employable.

Chapkins (1986) wrote about the tyranny of beauty which evokes shame for a woman if she cannot achieve the current normative look. With surgical advances, the medical profession has been able to step in and offer a solution to change any part of the body to a desired image. In 2017, 25,898 women underwent cosmetic surgery (British Association of Aesthetic Plastic Surgeons (BAAPs), 2017). This compares with 2,417 men, indicating what a predominantly female activity this is. This does not reflect the increase in the number of women having non-surgical anti- ageing procedures (ibid). As far back as 1993, Bordo argued that we are living in an ideology of a 'plastic body' where power lies in the illusion that by buying products, we can have the body or appearance we want (Bordo, 1993, p. 246). She contends that this results in a 'normalising discipline' of beauty which is presented as fun and playful, but which is in fact based on a 'pedagogy of inadequacy and lack' (ibid, p. 254). The normative look has cost implications and consequences for women who cannot afford the money and time investment. Women from lower socio-economic groups are often unable to achieve the desired look. Poverty can also result in premature ageing (Dyhouse, 2011). This is of concern because research indicates that people considered unattractive, are less likely to receive job offers or be promoted at work (Rhode, 2016). Young people are also considered more attractive than older people (Rhode, 2016). The desired beauty image for women disadvantages older women and women on low incomes but rewards younger women who have the time and money to invest and consume the products needed.

Nearly fifty years ago Berger (1972) saw glamour as an integral part of consumerism which worked to inspire envy and desire in order to sell products. Giddens (1991) saw beauty and glamour as labour within the project of self, to embody a desired identity. Giddens argues that modern society is characterised by people being expected to choose careers, which would previously have been decided on by class, family and inheritance. Consequently, appearance has become more important. This is especially true for less privileged groups such as women, who still benefit today, more than men do, for the way they look. This was an aspect of individualism and neoliberalism not picked up by Giddens but it does link to the gendering of social and cultural power. Dyhouse (2011) believes that women look younger and healthier than they did one hundred years ago, and that alongside diet and healthcare, beauty and fashion have played a part in this. She argues that mass consumption of glamour and its

products allows women to enter fantasy and daydreams (ibid). This thesis contends that it becomes impossible to comprehend the adornment of the body as simply self-expression given the cost, time and effort that is required to look desirable and the consequences of not achieving it.

Rhode (2016) is concerned with how beauty dominates women's lives. She writes about the injustice of appearance discrimination and how a focus on appearance reduces the contribution that women can make to a society, by giving them value not on their ability and achievements, but on their looks (Rhode 2016)[6]. She believes that the solution to this is a structural change that makes work-based discrimination based on feminine clothing and cosmetic appearance against the law, unless the job in question is sex work. Protective legislation would undoubtedly help women wishing to reject the normative female appearance but would not help women who feel pressure to conform to the socially prescribed appearance of a woman. Relying on individual agency to bring about change, as Wolf (1991) suggests in the *Beauty Myth*, also underestimates these societal and cultural pressures. De Beauvoir (1949, p. 816) understood this when she described that by not conforming 'a woman devalues herself sexually and consequently socially' and that the only solution is to 'live her woman's condition as a woman'. Thus, the societal demand to be able to transform into a particular kind of desirable young feminine woman, is met through the consumption of beauty products for aesthetic labour.

Over time, the trend for using cosmetics has shifted from the young, to the middle aged and the elderly. It is very unusual to see a woman in public life or in the media who is not wearing makeup. Hilary Clinton writes about the need to use makeup, visit the hairdressers and to wear contact lenses (rather than glasses) as a woman in public life (Clinton, 2017). Indeed, her desire not to do these things is credited with being a contributing factor to her husband, Bill Clinton, losing the Governor's race in 1980 (ibid). Bodywork and aesthetic labour helps to ensure that the appearance of youth is preserved, and that the woman can continue to look like a girl well into her middle age.

McRobbie (2009, p 73) argues that women are encouraged to embrace individualisation and to spend time and effort on preventing the 'inevitability of ageing'. Bodywork and body labour have increased over time among older people (Clarke & Griffin, 2008; Twigg & Majima, 2014). Gilleard (2016) describes

[6] It is interesting to reflect on the recent statement by former footballer Luke Chadwick whose achievements in football were less of a focus than his appearance (BBC Sport, 2020). He found the comments affected his self-esteem and indicate that this is a problem not experienced solely by women.

attempts to look youthful as 'life affirming' following research by Levy *et al* (2002) that indicated that feeling and looking old were detrimental to wellbeing. Macia, Duboz and Cheve (2015) suggest the three main stigmas of old age are wrinkles, changes to the body shape and grey hair. Nearly all the French women interviewed in their study used cosmetics, hair dying and fashionable clothes to hide their stigma and to avoid 'letting yourself go' (ibid, p180). However, the women revealed that they felt stigma not just for the ageing body but also for a body improved through surgery. The women had to tread carefully to strike a balance between these two stigmas. This theme appears again for hair (Griffin, 2008) and clothing (Twigg, 2013).

Women aged over 65 years are the largest consumer group of face creams (Twigg and Majima, 2003). Adverts on TV show wrinkles as something that can be avoided through self-care (ibid). Research by Clarke and Bundon (2009, p.205) suggest that American women use lipstick into their old age because they associated it with self- care, maintaining a 'respectable appearance' and to 'defy the ravages of age'. Hair also has a huge symbolism for women and plays a significant part in the technology of self. Grey hair is associated with the elderly and discrimination (Ward and Holland, 2011). Clarke's and Griffin's (2008) discussions with elderly women reveal that long grey hair is associated with being a witch and that the micro-penalties of mockery and derision are used on women who leave their hair in its natural state or who attempt to look too young and fashionable. Beard (2016) has received derision for her long grey hair. She comments that there is no 'silver fox' term for women and while grey hair gives men authority and gendered power, it has the opposite effect for women (Beard, 2016).

Clothes and fashion are another area for older women to navigate. The production of cheap clothes in the Far East has given rise to a surplus of clothing, which has required new markets. This has brought older people and children into the mainstream of fashion clothes consumerism (Twigg, 2013). As with hairstyles, there are micro penalties for not wearing age appropriate clothing. Twigg (2013) found that despite the marketing of fashion to older women, the fashionable normative woman was young. Women over the age of 55 years felt the need to be cautious and to buy clothes conservative in style. There appears to be a sound reason for this. When Beard wore sparkly trainers on TV, *The Times* printed, 'the awkward Mary Beard trying to belie her years in her trendy trainers' (Brooks, 2018). For older women there is a difficult balance to play between praise for self-improvement, mockery for resisting old age and invisibility with conforming to old age.

The literature suggests the significance of the female body has both waxed and waned in its importance for being a woman. Currently, a crucial part of performing a feminine gender is the requirement for bodywork. All generations of women are likely to use the beauty industry, but the literature suggested that they do so for different reasons. Many older women's use of bodywork is linked to hiding ageing, as the ageing body and gender intersect to cause stigmatisation. For many younger women the use of aesthetic labour is part of the performance of gender for a valued normative look. The representation and visibility of young and older academic women in the media is significant as it helps to set the tone and value given to the careers of current and future academic women. This area has not previously been considered in the literature.

2.2 Neoliberalism, Higher Education and Society

The ideology of neoliberalism is pervasive in all social and political life. 'Neoliberalism has taken deeper root in subjects and in language, in ordinary practices and in consciousness.' (Brown, 2015, p. 47) The following section examines the literature around neoliberalism, education and gender.

2.2.1 The intersection of higher education and gender in the neoliberal university

HE has changed dramatically over the last century. There has been a change in the ideology surrounding the funding and purpose of universities. This change has been from state funding, for the public good, to private funding by individuals for individual gain (Brown, 2016). This can be regarded as a movement from one episteme to another (Foucault, 1970). This new episteme is neoliberalism. The political philosophy of neoliberalism is the prevailing paradigm of our time (Giroux, 2002). It involves a guarantee to free market economics that extends to education. Governments should not interfere, and state regulation should be kept to a minimum. Society is regarded as consisting of many self-interested individuals (Olssen & Peters, 2005). Under neoliberalism the purpose of education is an individual investment and achievement. It belongs to values such as meritocracy, competition and choice (Littler, 2018; Savage, Sellar and Gorur, 2013). An important consideration is how does the neoliberal university intersect with gender and what does it mean for the female celebrity academic?

Statistics indicate that women are working in the neoliberal universities, but that gender and intersectional inequalities exist. Women are more likely to be teaching in the less prestigious post-1992 universities and are more likely to be on part time contracts and teaching in subjects traditionally seen as female, such as nursing and education (Acker and Webber, 2006). In 1990, research by the Hansard Society revealed that only 14% of permanent academic staff at universities in Britain were women (Dyhouse, 1995). This had changed dramatically by 2015 when 45% of permanent academic staff were women (Equality Challenge Unit, 2015). In 2016/17, 41% of full-time academic staff were female and 56% of part time staff were women (HESA, 2018). Some gender inequalities persist, however, with 10% fewer female academic staff than male academic staff in HE during this period (ibid). It is in the more senior positions that the differences become stark. In 2018/19, only 27% of those with a professorship were women (HESA, 2020). In 2015, 80% of vice chancellors were male (Equality Challenge Unit, 2015) and initiatives such as Athena SWAN,[7] have been introduced to try and redress this gender imbalance. However, the prioritising of one social category over another has led to a lack of attention on other inequalities. Bhopal and Henderson (2019, p. 153) believe that gender has been allowed to take the ascendency over race in what they describe as 'competing inequalities'. They argue that issues around supporting women returning to work following the birth of a child are easier to address than the confronting of 'uncomfortable and deeply embedded practices' of institutional racism (ibid). There are merely 25 black female professors in the UK (Rollock, 2019). Only 0.8% of Vice Chancellors are from a BME background and just 5.5% of academic managers and directors in HE are BME (Bhopal and Henderson, 2019). Research by Bhopal and Pitkin (2020) supports this, finding racism and a maintaining of white privilege at universities.

An area that is not usually considered as a social category is the appearance of the professional woman. This has implications for all women (see 2.1.2). Being a woman is more than having a female body. There is also a requirement to perform a certain kind of femininity (see 2.1.2). Research by Hamermesh and Parker (2004, p. 373) suggests that even in a job where intellectual practice should matter more than appearance, such as HE lecturers, students consistently rated more attractive lecturers higher scores for their module evaluations than they did for less attractive teachers[8] and that female lecturers received a

[7] Athena SWAN is a charter set up by the UK Equality Challenge Unit in 2005 to promote gender equality in Higher Education.

[8] Students were asked to rate photographs of lecturers from 10 (the highest) to 1 (the lowest) for attractiveness. From this a composite standardised beauty rating was developed for each lecturer, which was then compared with the evaluations they received from their teaching modules.

'significantly lower rating' than male lecturers. Student evaluations have implications for the lecturers' careers and highlights the significance of the way women look and are represented in the media. The focus on female appearance can lead towards a culture that emphasises looks over ability (Rhode, 2016). This has implications for all women, including academic women working in the neoliberal university.

2.2.2 Academic women and discipline

The high profile of celebrity academic women makes their performance of gender an area of interest in the intersection of gender and the neoliberal university. As has been discussed the performance of femininity and the reasons for the use of aesthetic labour varies with age but is a requirement particularly for working women (McRobbie, 2009). Foucault did not address the issues of gender directly but his thinking on power, knowledge and language have tremendous relevance for gender issues (McNay, 1992). Foucault rejected the grand narrative view of power as a force bearing down on people through capitalism or patriarchy but saw power as existing in people's relationships and interactions as a kind of capillary force which was played out in all social relations (Pilcher and Whelehan, 2017). Power 'comes into play in the machinery of production, in families, limited groups and institutions' and 'comes from below' (Foucault ,1976, p. 94).

Foucault (1975) developed the idea of a watchful modern society illustrated by the case of the Panopticon Prison. The Panopticon's power was that the prisoner never knew when the guard was watching them. Thus, they constantly self-monitored. It is through observation by others and self-discipline that the category 'woman' is created. In this formulation, the pressure to conform to society's cultural norms produces the 'docile body', which is manipulated and designed to become a social text. The body is not a 'natural' material object but is a cultural creation that is 'read' and interpreted by the reader. The internal and external gaze is 'disciplinary' in that it normalises what is expected of the social body. Institutional monitoring is seen in cultural media such as newspapers, TV programmes and social media with comments about people's appearance and actions. They provide a clear commentary on how people should look and behave according to their gender. This is illustrated in 'makeover' programmes such as 'What Not to Wear'[9] (McRobbie, 2009), fashion advice and celebrity news. This

[9] What Not to Wear was a BBC makeover reality tv show in 2001. Two female presenters helped to show, usually women who were over- weight and working- class, the 'correct' way to look. It was very

constant narrative re-enforces the social script for gender. There is a clear expectation that men and women are different, and that part of this difference is manifest in their appearance and behaviour. The use of make-up, hairdressing, fashion and cosmetic surgery adapts the social body so that the text is read to stress female or male. Consequences exist for those who step away from this social script, such as in the case of celebrity academic Mary Beard (see chapter one).

Having a high profile and a public voice, as a woman, is an example of stepping away from the social script (Beard, 2017). The use of social media to 'talk back' to the celebrity has had a significant impact on female celebrities. With the proliferation of social media, new methods of silencing women have become apparent in online trolling (Jane, 2014). Jane (2014) argues that a mixture of sexual violence and misogyny is prevalent and makes women think twice about expressing themselves online. Online abuse disproportionally affects women (Jane, 2016) and is something that high-profile women, such as celebrity academics, are affected by. It is often seen as an individual problem that requires an individual solution. Mary Beard met her online troll after she named and shamed him for calling her a 'filthy old slut' after an appearance on News Night (Ellis- Petersen, 2014). This approach is widely supported, and it has even been suggested that there should be a prize for people who call out their online abusers in this way (Ellis-Petersen, 2014). Jane (2016) sees it differently. She argues that this approach shifts the blame onto the individual when in fact this is a societal issue, of the kind tackled collectively by second wave feminists. Cole (2015) sees trolling as a form of disciplinary rhetoric which results in women monitoring themselves. If a woman identifies herself as a feminist, the trolling can be particularly harsh. Between December 2013 and February 2014, over 100,000 tweets mentioned rape (Cole, 2015). In 2013, 60% of victims of cyber-stalking were women (Working to Halt Abuse Online, 2015). Lumsden and Morgan (2017) believe that not printing the words used by the trolls and instead printing them as **** results in a silencing strategy. Mindful of this, the Twitter trolling comments that celebrity academics have received will be written out in full in this thesis. Beard believes that the experience of trolling is enough to put women off giving a political opinion (Ellis-Petersen, 2014).

2.2.3 Neoliberalism and the academic celebrity

It is necessary now to focus on the role of celebrity in the intersection of gender and the neoliberal university. Neoliberal universities exist as distinct legal entities as there is a business requirement to

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successful and gave rise to other reality TV programmes such as Ten Years younger, where older women underwent a transformative makeover to reduce the stigma of looking older.

ensure their survival (Brown, 2011). As research and teaching become unattached, most of the costs of teaching is met through private means (with an increase amount of information being made available for the student to choose a provider), and more systems of measurement are in place so that differences between institutions are apparent, enabling more competition (ibid). This is set out in 'Success as a Knowledge Economy' (BIS, 2016). Increasing student numbers is a necessary pre-requisite for an increased 'supply' to the market (Brown, 2011). The lowering of entry tariffs and the removal of student number controls for HE creates this increase in 'supply'. In a competitive market, universities must compete for students.

Institution advertising becomes an important part of recruiting students. Advertising has a successful history of using celebrities to promote products (Zipporah & Mberia, 2014). A celebrity can transfer credibility and positive attitudes to a product. A celebrity academic can provide a useful marketing tool to promote the brand and product on 'sale'. This was seen with the 'Brian Cox Effect' which resulted in Manchester University being in a position to ask for higher A' level grades for an undergraduate degree in Physics, than Oxbridge (*Greater Manchester News*, 2013). Thus, the celebrity academic provides an excellent marketing tool to increase 'supply' and celebrity academics must be considered against this backdrop. As well as general advertising to recruit students, some universities use celebrity academics to endorse both the 'product' (education) and their Institution. This is an under-studied area and is a focus of one of my research questions.

There is a history of using the naked female form to sell products and this marketing device has been extended to female celebrity academics. The female body has a history of being viewed in western society (Berger, 1972). This is so much the case that the nude is nearly always female. Berger (1972) points out that not only is the female body surveyed but that she also surveys herself. She is both surveyed and surveyor. She becomes a nude, which is an object to be viewed by others (Berger, 1972). The nude celebrity academic cannot be taken out of context. Her female body plays a part in the consumerist culture and glamour of academia. The use of the female body to sell the product and brand of academia will be examined as part of this research. Berger (1972) argues that glamour is based on envy and desire. Thus, a glamourous female academic must be one we desire to become through the transformative technology of academia. These ideas have not previously been applied to the celebrity academic.

It has been argued that the cult of the celebrity dates to the eighteenth century with the Romantic poets (Barry, 2008). Others contend that it is a new phenomenon linked to modernity (Hollander, 2010). What cannot be disputed is that celebrity is much more widespread than at any other time and has moved into areas where it previously did not exist, such as academia. This is part of the 'mediatisation' of society and corresponds with consumption and the spread of the neoliberal discourse (Driessens, 2012). Celebrities are both 'labour and the thing that labour produces' (Dyer, 2004, p. 5). They help to sell the commodities of education and themselves. The freely chosen nature of this, which allows some 'ideal' female types to self-promote ideas and books, makes her a subject as well as an object (Gill, 2007). Their glamour inspires viewers to grasp a future that could be theirs if they 'bought' a university education. This is a silent theme that runs throughout the neoliberal discourse of education.

Neoliberalism focuses on individual actors rather than the idea of a collective (Savage, Sellar and Gorur, 2013). The growth of the neoliberal university has had implications for all academics. Lewis (2001) suggests that a useful means of understanding these changes is through the lens of the celebrity academic. The celebrity academic speaks directly to the public through the media, and social media and TV viewing figures allows the public to speak back. The celebrity academic has also had a direct impact on how academics are perceived. They entertain through scripted speech and stunning locations and artefacts. Lewis (2001) argues that this expectation of 'entertainment' has penetrated the lecture theatres. Lectures must use video clips, pictures, engaging activities and have an appealing presentation style. 'The material reality of contemporary intellectual practice is coterminous with, rather than separated from, the sphere of mediatized celebrity.' (Lewis, 2010, p. 239) Thus, the celebrity academic is not 'other' but is one that has a direct impact on academics working in academia. This makes the representation of FCA an area for concern, as their representation is likely to have an impact on the way female academics are seen in the workplace and on their career prospects. The Covid -19 pandemic has emphasised this with the requirement for online lectures. Anecdotal evidence indicates that academics have been given advice on how to look good in front of the camera for the viewing 'audience'.

2.2.4. The celebritisation of education

Driessens (2012) believes that it is important to consider that celebrification occurs not only at the level of the individual but also at a structural level. When a domain becomes celebritised, only some individuals become celebrities. This has to do with power as 'celebrity is distributed unequally'

(Driessens, 2012 p. 643). This is apparent in universities. Not all universities have a celebrity working in the university, although some have several. Research I have carried out indicates that none of the post 1992[10] universities have a celebrity academic attached to their institution.

Driessens' (2012) model illustrates how an area becomes celebritised. Celebrities should reflect the society they belong to. Driessens refers to this as democratisation. There is a diversification of the domains that are celebritised. New areas are incorporated into the realm of the celebrity. It is expected that a celebrity will cross over into different subjects as they become famous. As a society undergoes celebrification, celebrities will become visible on many media platforms. They are known as individuals rather than as a collective of famous people. This happens alongside the domain becoming commodified. Driessens' model has been adapted to illustrate the celebritisation of academia.

[10] The Further and Higher Education Act of 1992 granted former Polytechnics university status and became known as Post 1992 Universities.

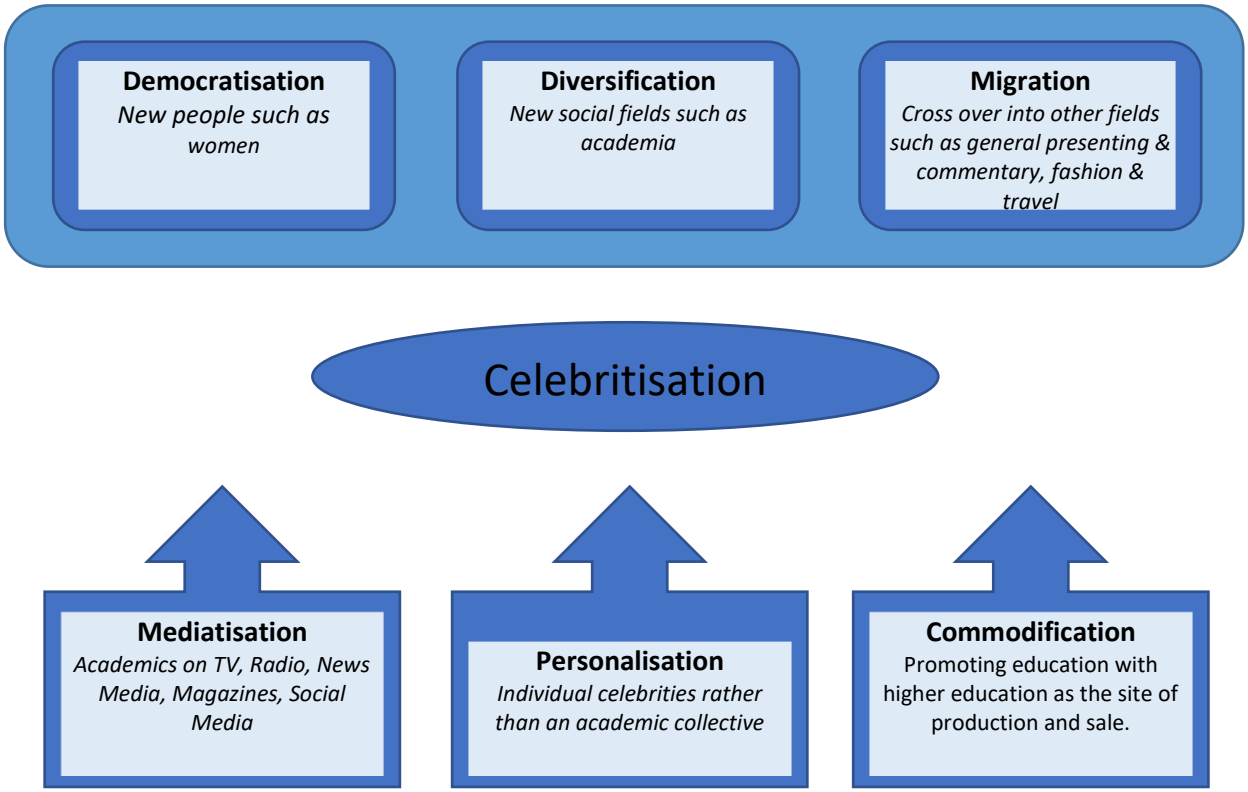


Figure 2. Model of Celebritisation in Academia

(Diagram adapted from Driessens' conceptual model of celebritization, 2012)

An important feature, missing from Driessens' model, is the flow of power. Power exists at both the macro and micro level. In the model mediatisation, personalisation and commodification refer to celebrification at the societal level. I would suggest that this level reflects macro, structural power. Using a Foucauldian concept of power, it is at this level that discourse operates in the production of knowledge and regimes of truth (Barker and Jane, 2016). The discourse produced is neoliberalism with its associated impact on gender and education (see sections 2.2.2, 2.2.5 and 2.2.3 respectively). The media, and commodification of sites, operate as disciplinary technologies to produce the docile body of the individual celebrity (Foucault, 1975). The normalisation of the docile celebrity body produces the female celebrity academic subject, with the aspects of femininity particularly valued by neoliberalism. It is this normalisation, which results in people regarding her as the 'way academic women are'. Through the technologies of self, the individual turns herself into a subject who self-monitors. At the micro level power operates in people's social relationships with others and themselves. In Driessens' model, democratisation, diversification and migration operate at the level of the subject.

The media are the producers of celebrity, but they are not the only factor in its creation (Driessens, 2012). Individual personality also plays a part. Image and trademark are important characteristics in making the individual celebrity (Hollander, 2010). 'Gestures, ways of speaking, hair styles, facial expressions, items of clothing – anything that can be defined as a trademark is eagerly made use of' (Hollander 2010 p 390). Image and trademark correspond with 'branding' and having something unique to sell (Genz, 2015). Branding and self- branding allows the individual an opportunity to exploit a niche in the market. This is part of an 'experience economy' where the consumer buys not just a product but an experience that goes along-side the product. Self-branding and self-advertising allow 'the construction of identity as a product to be consumed by others' (Genz, 2015 p. 546). This is an important factor in celebrity culture and product endorsement. The consumer buys not just the product but 'buys into' the experience of being a celebrity.

The celebritisation of HE is an under- researched area. Discourses of celebritisation and celebrification of academia will be considered as part of the thesis. Trademarking and branding of celebrity academics will also be examined. These are significant discourses for gender and the neoliberal university.

2.2.5 Neoliberalism and the entrepreneurs

Dardot and Laval (2013) claim that neoliberalism is more than ideology and economics. They see it as a rationality, which is defined as a feat that, 'tends to structure and organise not only the action of rulers but also the conduct of the ruled' (ibid, p. 8). Thus, it is a discourse that establishes people's conduct in line with economic competition, making us all entrepreneurs. Foucault argued that market values have extended to include all the social body (Littler, 2018). Brown described this as, 'neoliberalism transmogrifies every human domain and endeavour, along with humans themselves, according to a specific image of the economic.' (Brown, 2016, p10)

Accordingly, neoliberalism acting as a rationality ensures that people's conduct is monitored alongside the ideas of discipline. Discipline includes both regulation by others and self- regulation of behaviour. Littler (2018) describes how a meritocratic discourse encourages ideas of entrepreneurship and competition as a key determinant of neoliberal behaviour. The intersection of neoliberalism and gender has consequences for women requiring of them more self-discipline. Neoliberal behaviour is gendered with an expectation that women are not just entrepreneurs but also 'aesthetic entrepreneurs' (Elias, Gill and Scharff, 2017, p. 5) creating a desirable image and identity in a post-feminist world. The body work

is constant and lasts a lifetime. Genz believes that, 'gender identity and celebrity media' 'gives rise to a distinctly regulated - entrepreneurial, classed and sexualized -formations of feminine identity.' Genz (2015, p. 546) Despite advances in women's role in public life and higher education, beauty and the aesthetic are issues that persist in the life of women. Rhode (2010) suggests that this prominent role has grown over the last ten years. A post-feminist analysis suggests that the beauty industry is the result of a discourse of neoliberal individualism, which targets women as the ideal subjects for transformation and commodification (Gill, 2007, Gill and Scharff, 2011, Elias, Gill and Scharff, 2017).

The term post-feminism can have different meanings. Post-feminism can be aligned with other 'post' philosophies such as post-structuralism, post-modernism and post-colonialism. It implies a change from what went before. It can also be used as a pejorative term as part of a backlash against feminism (Gill and Scharff, 2011). For a post-feminist analysis as used by McRobbie (2009), Elias, Gill and Scharff (2017), Gill (2007, 2007b) and Gill and Scharff (2011, 2017) there is a merging between an understanding of feminism and neoliberalism. Gill and Scharff (2011) consider that the discourse of neoliberalism is so pervasive and entangled with the ideology of individualism, that it has become a normalising cultural view. As a society, we take for granted our right to be individuals, to choose how to live and to be empowered in a world of infinite possibilities. This has become part of the common-sense narrative of our time (Harvey, 2005). Choice and empowerment have also been part of the feminist ideology of the third wave. Harvey (2005) argues that these concepts have enormous appeal, which ensures that they are easily absorbed into our values and desires, to become part of a dominant ideology. It was McRobbie (2009) who made explicit that the concepts of choice and empowerment had been altered into an individualistic discourse, which was acting as a replacement for feminism. McRobbie uses the term post-feminism to describe a belief system which incorporates both feminist and anti-feminist attitudes and is a kind of 'faux- feminism' (McRobbie, 2009, p. 1). Gill (2007b, p. 147) describes it as a 'sensibility', which includes the interrelated themes of the body as being central to a woman's identity. This involves a shift from the objectification of the woman to her subjectification, the monitoring and self-surveillance of the external and internal body (Gill and Orgad, 2017), an emphasis on individuality, a focus on transformation and makeovers and a re-appearance of the idea of 'natural' gender differences between men and women (Gill, 2007b) (see 3.5.3).

The transformative makeover plays a key role in neoliberalism. The individual creates their gendered body against a norm for the society (Giddens, 1991, p. 7). The body is viewed as something that can be

transformed. In effect the human body becomes 'liquid' to be altered through effort, will and money (Bauman, 2013). Any 'imperfections of your body are your shame and guilt' which can easily be altered to become an 'exemplary body' (Bauman, 2013, p. 67). Consumer culture is twinned with individuality (McRobbie, 2009). The individual identity can only be acquired through shopping and by buying the same things that everyone else is buying (Bauman, 2013). By so doing, individuality is fore fronted but ironically, consumerism places the person into a group defined by taste, income, gender and social class.

The beauty industry is central to the makeover and to transformations into the 'exemplary body'. Gill and Scharff (2011, p. 7) argue that women are the 'ideal subjects' for neoliberalism as culture allows them to maximise the use of the artefacts needed to 'transform' and 'self- discipline' into the cultural ideal. Tincknell (2011) believes that consumerism has created more opportunities for women to take part in the public world but that this has come with the cost of the hyper-commodification of the female body.

2.3 Culture and Power

Culture is about 'shared meaning' and meaning is communicated through language (Hall, 2013, p. xvii). The way some members of society are represented through language and images can result in stigma, marginalisation and limited opportunities. The following section will discuss the women for whom representation results in stigma and marginalisation. Age in our society is stigmatised and has a gendered intersection (Krekula, 2007). This has an impact on the older academic woman. Representation of women can be characterised according to stereotypes (Baxter, 2018) and stereotypes operate to constrain (Heilman, 2001) and can cause harm (Culhane and Bazeley, 2019). Education has been seen by many women as an opportunity to escape the constricts of stereotypes. However, a genealogy of education and feminine attractiveness suggests that beauty is a requirement that educated women have been unable to escape from.

2.3.1 The gendered process of ageing and stigma

All young women, should they live, will eventually become old[11] women. The literature on the experience of contemporary older women follows the themes of stigma, ridicule, invisibility, surveillance and attempts to reach self-acceptance. These themes can be viewed in the lives of older women at both the macro and micro level. Stigma entwines itself through the social structure of the society (Arber & Ginn, 1991) and in the individual lives of women (de Beauvoir, 1963) in the form of ageism. Ageism is the term used by Butler (1969) to explain the concept of discriminating against the elderly quite simply because they are old. Invisibility is a theme that emerges once women have lost their value as sexual beings (Clarke & Griffin, 2008, Twigg & Majima, 2014). It is a discrimination that is triggered by grey hair and wrinkles and it renders the older woman invisible (Bytheway, 2005, Clarke & Griffin, 2008). Many women cope with the invisibility either by hiding from the public world and retreating to the private realm (Gilleard, 2016) or by undergoing age defying 'beauty work' (Clarke & Griffin, 2008). The prevalence of the beauty industry for older women can be viewed as self-surveillance and part of a 'technology of self' (Foucault, 1977) (see 2.2.3). The theme of self-acceptance is mostly apparent in the individual agency of older women (Greer, 1991, Segal, 2013, Beard, 2013). Ageist attitudes by some parts of society to old women, such as the long, grey-haired, wrinkled and make-up free Mary Beard, can be witnessed in online trolling (Dowell, 2013) and some press editorial comments such as those of A.A. Gill (Gill, 2012) and Camilla Long (Long, 2018) in *The Times.*[12]

Goffman argues that the idea of stigma originated during the time of the Ancient Greeks, where a mark upon the body came to symbolise the moral worth of the person, and that during modern times the symbolism of stigma changed to become the disgrace itself, rather than its physical manifestation (Goffman, 1968). However, the physical appearance of a woman ageing and the need to hide this evidence, is more in line with the original Ancient Greek meaning of the word. Research indicates that older women feel the need to hide their visible signs of ageing to avoid stigma (Clarke & Griffin, 2008). Faircloth (2003) discusses how the signs of ageing signify to others the status of the individual and causes people to respond by dealing with the aged person as an 'other'. This is key in stigma in that the

[11] I use the term 'old' with caution as it is often used as an insult. However, this leaves people in the absurd position of becoming older and older, but never becoming old. This feeds into the stigmatised state that is old age.

[12] The editorial comments are discussed in 4.1.3 but A.A. Gill described Beard as 'too ugly for TV' and Long described her as having had a 'boil wash'.

visible signs of ageing signify that the person is ritually polluted. Indeed, they have a spoilt identity (Goffman, 1968) and are judged to be less human than younger people. Goffman argues that the person responds by either trying to hide the stigma or that the 'normals' in society (the younger adults) arrange life so that there is little contact between the 'normals' and the 'stigmatised'. Both responses can be seen in the way society reacts to older people.

Arber and Gill (1991) use a political economic approach to understand the experience of older women in English society. Thus, they are concerned with the macro social structure. Women live longer than men in Britain (Office for National Statistics (ONS) 2017), making old age a predominantly female experience. Female old age is also more likely to be one of financial difficulty. The pension system is not set up to meet the needs of women (Altmann, 2019) who are more likely to take employment breaks because of their caring role in the society (Price, 2006). Divorced older women are a particularly vulnerable group. The median amount of money that divorced older women live on, is below the official poverty line (ibid).

The ageing population is not seen as a success story but as a problem (Arber and Gill, 1991). Due to their longevity, the framing of the elderly as a drain on welfare resources particularly impacts on elderly women. The average age for a woman to die in Britain is eighty-two years, compared with seventy-nine years for men (ONS, 2017). For women living in the poorest areas, life expectancy fell between the years 2010-12 and 2016-18 (Marmot, 2020). Women are also more likely to live with a disability (Guzman-Castillo et al, 2017). Conditions such as dementia have a greater impact on women as 65% of the elderly with dementia are women (Prince et al, 2014). Between 60 and 70% of carers of someone with dementia are women and 20% of women have had to reduce their working hours to care for someone with dementia (Alzheimer's Research UK, 2015). This fits with the discourse of a woman's subjectivity (Hughes, 2002a), where care is seen as a woman's work and as part of being a 'good woman'. Being an elderly woman is also identified as a risk factor for loneliness (Victor et al, 2000). These statistics give an indication of how life is for many elderly women, particularly low-income elderly women. The Covid -19 pandemic has exacerbated this situation (European Commission, 2021).

The media compounds this where it is rare for older women to be depicted positively. Images of older women are seldom seen on TV. In 2013, a Commission on Older Women (COOW) was launched to investigate the conditions for older women in the workplace and in public life. The Commission found that fewer than one in five of presenters at all the main TV and radio channels were women over 50.

The equality figures for male and female presenters under the age of 50, on TV, were promising with 48% of presenters being women. However, this changed dramatically once a woman reached 50. For those over 50 years of age, only 18% of presenters were women compared with 82% of men. The Commission gave a clear message (COOW, 2013, p.31)

> '…there was a broad agreement that when women are visible in public life, they are frequently valued on the way they look rather than as experts on a subject. The image of women as decorative rather than illustrative is brought into sharp focus when the absence of older women is acknowledged.'

This feels particularly concerning when the presenter is on the TV because of her expert knowledge. When 'Civilisations' was sold by the BBC to American Channel PBS, Beard was removed from the PBS version. She was replaced with a 50 year-old, non-historian, male actor. This can only be explained if one believes that it is unacceptable to see an old woman on TV. There are many examples of this in the British media. Miriam O'Reilly won a discrimination case against the BBC for her dismissal from 'CountryFile' at the age of 53 (Plunkett, 2011). In her tribunal hearings it was claimed that she has been asked if it were, 'time for Botox' (Ross and Carter, 2011). The MP Harriet Harman raised the issue of discrimination in Parliament, after the sacking of 66 year-old Arlene Phillips from 'Strictly Come Dancing', who was replaced by a 36 year-old woman (Holmwood, 2009). Harman raised the issue again in 2020 referring to women in the media over the age of 50 as 'rare as hen's teeth' (Weaver, 2020). At 57 years of age, Selina Scott reached a settlement with Channel Five, after suing them for age discrimination when she lost her job as a news presenter (Ross and Carter, 2011).

Tortajada, Dhaensens and Willem (2018) describe how age and gender link together in a loop, where the body becomes a platform of exertion and toil in a struggle to hide the stigma of ageing. Youth and the appearance of youth is most valued (Edstrom, 2018). As a result, the ageing female body is of little interest and is hidden. Jermyn (2012) defines the older woman as suffering from a 'double absence' by being neither young nor male. A 2011 survey by the UK Film Council indicated that 69% of women aged between 50 and 75 years, who were surveyed, believed that their age group was underrepresented in the media and 61% disliked that this age group were portrayed as not having sexual desire (Griffiths, 2011). Vasil and Hannelore (1993) found that in 28 studies of TV characters, older female characters were underrepresented and often portrayed negatively. The US Screen Actors Guild (2009) found that

there were two male roles for every one female role (Jermyn, 2012). In the same year, Age Concern found that 71% of older women would like to see more older women on their screens. Perhaps in response to this *Grace and Frankie*, a Netflix comedy about two old women who become friends after their husbands leave them, was commissioned. It has run for six series since 2014, demonstrating its popularity (Petski, 2019). However, when older women appear on TV they are most likely to be advertising products for mature women, where the discourse is one where ageing can be avoided by self-care (Tortajada, Dhaens and Willem, 2018) and corresponds to women's spending power (Edstrom, 2019). Edstrom (2019) argues that invisibility does not just refer to older women's absence in the media and the absence of positive roles played in public, but also refers to the fact that when older women do appear, they are rendered ageless due to the use of cosmetics, fashion, and cosmetic surgery. There is certainly some evidence of this in *Grace and Frankie* where the 83 year old Jane Fonda and the 81 year old Lily Tomlin can hardly be described as typical octogenarians. Edstrom uses the powerful term 'symbolic annihilation' to describe what happens to older women in the media and believes that because older women's lives are seldom portrayed, they become a stereotype which re-enforces that their annihilation does not matter. Edstrom (2019) found that when older women were written about it was as ordinary women living private lives. In contrast, older men were likely to be written about as experts or spokespersons in the public world.

The older woman in much of our media is made invisible by being removed altogether or by being transformed into an ageless woman. Sontag (1972) writes about the double standards women experience as they age. A woman is valued more for her youth and beauty than a man is and as she ages, she experiences not just ageism but sexism. Krekula (2007) comments that in gender theory the woman is always white, middle class, heterosexual and young, indicating that Sontag's arguments still contain relevance today. Butler (1990) argues that gender is not performed without the added components of race, age, class and sexuality. These cannot be separated out to consider gender alone. Butler calls these components 'feminism etc' (Butler, 1990, p. 143). Black feminists have linked race and gender together to show how one impacts on the other to create greater social injustice (Crenshaw, 2016, Hooks, 1982). However, the same has not been achieved for age and gender which Krekula (2007) argues results in an invisibility for the older woman in gender theory. Thus, the older woman is rendered invisible in public life, in academic discussions, in cultural narratives and images which tell the stories of people's lives. This allows stigma to flourish and many older women attempt to hide their stigma through aesthetic labour.

This leaves many older women trying to come to terms with age as an individual project. One of Beard's successes has been to make visible a grey haired, make-up free woman on TV. Beard (2017) argues that there is a history of silencing women and that women must refuse to be silenced. Other feminist authors have attempted individually to come to terms with age, such as de Beauvoir (1963), for whom old age was an unhappiness to be fought and then endured, leaving the woman 'bereft of all future' (de Beauvoir, 1963, p. 702). She argues that at 50 a woman must accept her old age and give in to the 'evil' that has made her 'ugly and deformed' and find peace to 'indulge in food' and forget about the 'hairdresser', 'diets and beauty treatments' (de Beauvoir, 1963, p. 710). Greer (1992) is more optimistic and argues that being post-climacteric (a term she uses rather than the medical term, menopause) has many benefits. Krekula (2007) contends that the old woman in gerontology is usually given a misery narrative, whereas her research found that among the difficulties there were encouraging stories of being old. Segal (2014, p. 12) writing in her autobiography describes the stigma of old age and how the expression, 'you are looking old' is always an insult. She believes that there is a need for different, more positive stories, of old age and looks forward to still having time 'to think, write and act' (Segal, 2014, p. 280). As the literature has shown, their optimism exists in a culture that does not value old women.

2.3.2 A genealogy of education and feminine attractiveness

Foucault believed that theory could be used as a toolbox for working on specific problems (Garland, 2014). Theory, then, can be a tool to think abstractly and to contemplate and explain the social world. Utilising a theory can help the researcher to explain the social world, as 'facts do not speak for themselves' (May, 2001, p. 31). Foucault saw people as being the products of their time and space (Gutting, 2005). He argued that history should be considered as an archaeological site where each unique stratum gave rise to different ideas and ways of thinking. He called each layer of thinking an 'episteme' (Gutting, 2005 p. 40). Foucault suggested that by carrying out an archaeological and genealogical analysis over an extended period, changes in thought and ideas become apparent. Archaeology investigates the way people think and use language at an identified point in time, as a kind of cross section. Genealogy is interested in revealing the longitudinal study of power relations and ideology over time (Jager and Maier, 2016). Tamboukou (2003) describes genealogies as the details in history that depicts how 'things are' through the prevailing systems of power and control. A genealogy allows a disregarded voice to emerge from the past and is useful for considering power relations (Foucault, 1975; Garland, 2014). The struggle for access to HE has been well documented (Martin and

Goodman, 2004; Robinson, 2010). I am interested in considering how discourses around femininity and appearance have been present from women's earliest struggles to find a voice through education and how they might still be in operation today, but under a different guise.

During the eighteenth-century education was considered the platform that would allow women to enter the male world of reason which women, belonging to the private, domestic world, were denied (Wollstonecraft, 1988). Education provided an opportunity to gain both power and authority (Spencer, 2010). Women's efforts to access education can be seen as a reflection of embedded gendered, power relationships (ibid, 2010). Attempts were made to prevent women from having access to HE as it was considered harmful to their health, a threat to their femininity and would destroy universities for men (Steinbach, 2005). Despite this, to meet the demand for qualified governesses and teachers, Queen's College in London was founded in 1848 and teaching was a popular choice for middle class women as it gave them economic independence (Robinson, 2010). However, when a female student died in 1874, Henry Maudsley, a medical doctor wrote that this was due to 'over education' confirming the prevailing belief that education was harmful to women because of their femininity (Steinbach, 2005, p. 190). While women were being educated, they were kept in the domestic sphere of the female world. The women's halls were furnished to give the appearance of domesticity where women behaved like 'ladies' (Dyhouse, 1995). At London University, the robe wearing female graduates were praised as 'sweet girl graduates' who had made their own robes (Robinson, 2010, p. 37). The 'sweet girl graduates', also dubbed 'undergraduettes' (Dyhouse, 2014) had managed to keep their feminine desirability by both studying and undergoing domestic duties. There might well be whispers of the discourse of 'having it all' (Hughes 2002a).

In 1898, American Charlotte Perkins Gilman argued that without economic independence women would always be in a state of slavery (Thornman, 2000). Without the means to provide even food for herself, Gilman argues that a woman's only commodity was her looks (ibid). There is a clear hope here that education would enable women to abandon the commodity of youthful beauty. Wealthy feminists, such as Elizabeth Jesser Reid, Emily Davies and Barbara Bodichon, helped to establish higher education opportunities and, therefore, economic freedom for predominantly middle-class women, by opening Bedford College in 1849 and Girton College in 1869 respectively (Robinson, 2010). University College London opened to women in 1878. Although women could access lectures, they had to wait until 1919 for Oxford and 1948 for Cambridge to become full university members (Robinson, 2010). The opening of

these institutions is a celebration of female success but as Spencer (2010) points out this should not take away from the marginal and less powerful status experienced by both historical and many contemporary women.

In the 1930s the idea that education was harmful for women became one that education was wasted on them, as it was believed that a degree was being used as an opportunity to find a husband (Dyhouse, 1995). University student magazines in Liverpool between 1944 to 1959 described women at the university as being unattractive and only in search of a husband (Aiston, 2006). It is interesting to consider how the desire to forget looks and beauty in the quest for education had become the discourse that education was an opportunity for unattractive women to find a husband. Presumably, attractive women had no need for education as they could find a husband unassisted. This idea of the university as an opportunity to find a husband has persisted. In 2013, Boris Johnson, as the Mayor of London during a trip to Malaysia, joked that so many women attended university in Malaysia for this very reason (Topping, 2013). Aiston (2006) reveals from her analysis of Liverpool University student newsletters that during the 1960s sexual attractiveness was viewed as a benefit to women. Female undergraduates, posing for photographs, frequently appeared in the newsletters. One newsletter featured a student female pop group who appeared naked apart from a short skirt and boots (ibid). Femininity, first seen as a disadvantage that caused health problems due to 'over education', changed to become considered an opportunity to accrue benefits, if she were considered attractive by men.

In the present day, the neoliberal university, like all neoliberal organisations, requires its institutions and employees to be entrepreneurs working in competition with each other. Donaghue (2017) and Brown (2017) discuss the role of beauty in academia. Brown (2017) believes that she was required to hide the stigmatised characteristics that did not conform to a composed, well-groomed, academic woman. She needed to undergo discipline to alter her 'messy appearance', 'flushed skin' and 'energetic presence', to acquire the image needed to interview research participants as part of a funded PhD opportunity (ibid, p. 151). Donaghue (2017, p. 243) investigates how an academic woman should dress and the labour required to ensure she sends the right 'signals' to her audience. The academic celebrity, with her gendered body, plays a key role in the promotion of this discourse in the public gaze. The 'academpreneur', a term I have created to describe this kind of attractive, successful academic, entrepreneurial woman, is the current example of how academic women should be (see 4.3.2).

These examples illustrate that although women might have hoped that education would afford them the opportunity to be judged on their intellectual merit, a genealogical analysis suggests that a discourse of femininity and female beauty has consistently been present. I believe that the 'academprenuer' can be seen as an 'emergence' (Brown, 2015) of a discourse of femininity and education that can be traced back to the nineteenth century when women accessed formal HE for the first time.

2.3.3 Gender representations and stereotypes

Spencer (2010) comments on the slow progress achieved in breaking down the binary opposition of men and women. As recently as 2003, a psychology professor from Cambridge University stated that the female brain is more empathic than the male brain, which is more attuned for politics and systems (Baron-Cohen, 2003). This kind of statement serves to emphasize the differences between men and women and gives rise to stereotypes. Stereotypes are 'strongly held over generalisations about people in some designated social category' (Baslow, 1992, p.3). In this case they rely on there being a male and female and comparing them with each other. Gendered stereotypes describe our 'beliefs about the personal attributes of women and men' (ibid). These attributes are the characteristics that are regarded as both typical and normal for men and women. Gender stereotypes tend to be binary with men and women taking up opposite positions on the spectrum. Stereotypes can be both prescriptive and descriptive and control the way the culture determines what the normative action, behaviour and appearance is (Heilman, 2001).

With increasing numbers of women participating in the workforce, education and politics, one would expect that gender stereotypes are changing. However, research carried out by Haines, Deaux and Lafaro (2016) indicates that this is not the case. Their results suggest that gender stereotypes remain as ingrained today as they did three decades earlier. The enduring stereotype is that the male is associated with agency, action and ability. Women are associated with nurturing, emotions and communication (Baslow, 1992). These gender stereotypes are resistant to change, are linked with social desirability (ibid) and have implications for women's career choices (Culhane and Bazeley, 2019). Gender stereotypes are consistent with gender discourses. Hughes (2002a) describes how women's contemporary lives are characterised by the gendered discourses of having 'made it', being 'caring' and that 'having it all' and 'doing it all', gives them 'the best of both worlds'.

It is worth considering where these stereotypes come from. The literature has several explanations for this. One is that the stereotype is based on 'truth' about the way people are and that these behaviours are then exaggerated to become a stereotype (Martin, 1987). However, this explanation is based on gender behaviour being intrinsic and feminists have long argued against this point of view. Another account suggests that stereotypes are based on social roles and these behaviours have become regarded as 'natural' because men and women take on different gender roles (Eagly and Steffan, 1986). This approach fits better with the view that gender is socially constructed. It also explains how gender roles and behaviours can be mutually re-enforcing and act as a tautology. Women and men carry out certain roles and behaviours because it is considered natural to do so and it is considered natural to do so because men and women carry out these roles. It has also been suggested that people view behaviours with 'perceptual filters' (Baslow, 1992 p.11) so that behaviour that re-enforces the stereotype is remembered and behaviour that does not fit is disregarded. This is another reason why stereotypes are slow to change and can be present even when society has adopted new gender roles (Haines, Deaux and Lafaro, 2016).

In the media, women working as journalists are more likely to be given 'female interest' topics such as health or celebrity stories (Ross and Carter, 2011). If women are featured in the news, they were more likely to have their age, family status and biographical details included (ibid). This re-enforces the idea of women as homemakers concerned with caring and the family. Baxter (2018) writes about gender stereotypes for women in authoritative positions in the workplace. She examines the incompatibility of female gender stereotypes against the perceived skills needed for leadership. Kanter (1993) suggested that women are forced into 'gender roles' to reduce the threat of being women in authority (authority is traditionally associated with maleness). Kanter (1993) named these gender roles as iron maiden, seductress, mother and pet. Baxter (2018) develops these for British female politicians. She creates the female leaders' stereotypes of iron maiden, the seductress, school ma'am and the pet. She argues that it is important that we recognise these stereotypes for the impact they have, as they serve to undermine women in leadership and re-enforce the idea that women are not suited to leadership. These examples of stereotypes suggest that when advances are made that could result in social change; stereotypes are evoked to raise suspicion and slow progress.

Academic women have moved into the media spotlight in TV documentaries in what was previously a male role. This has the potential to be a gender threat in much the same way as women in leadership

and requires analysis. As Hughes states, 'Through deconstruction we can recognise how discourses work to shape how we know and how we envisage what we might become.' (Hughes, 2002 p. 149). Deconstruction of the use of stereotypes for academic women requires consideration.

The way people are represented are often based on stereotypes (Sunderland, 2004). Role models can be representations based on familiar gender stereotypes. A familiar role model for many women is the 'superwoman' who successfully juggles a busy career with family life and looks gorgeous while she does so. Byrne, Fattoum and Diaz Garcia (2019) research into role models, such as the superwoman, suggests that they reproduce prevailing gender stereotypes. The superwoman is empowered, enjoys work and her life by being successful, making the right choices and doing good in the world. There is an emphasis on the female qualities of nurturing and kindness, which also supports gender stereotypes. Any obstacles that might hinder success such as gender, class, race, and age are ignored. The discourse is that any obstacle can be overcome on the journey to being like other role models and that women should emulate rather than critique them (ibid). This empowered, successful woman is a component of a new neoliberal femininity (McRobbie, 2009). A neoliberal role model must look good, do well and be good at her career.

Genz (2010) suggests that feminist and anti-feminist ideals come into conflict for young women over their choices about how much energy to put into a career or relationships (Genz, 2010). There is a further complication when this is applied to married, working women with children. A discourse exists that it is difficult to 'have it all' (Genz, 2010). The new post-feminist woman must struggle with the following seemingly dichotomous objectives of 'having it all', which creates stress and anxiety in her life (Genz, 2010). Genz recognises that a conflict is portrayed between having feminist values versus a feminine body, collective achievements versus individual achievements and a professional career versus personal relationships.

Hughes (2001) discusses a discourse of 'the best of both worlds' which encourages a woman to be both mother and worker. Hughes sees the 'best of both worlds' as 'both an amelioration of discourses of the 'good' mother and an accommodation towards the market'. 'The best of both worlds' allows a woman to be a good mother by putting her children first. However, the changing nature of work and the neoliberal market has adapted this to allow the good mother to have 'intermittent separation rather than continuous attachment' to allow for her career (Hughes, 2001 p. 71). Littler (2018, p. 179) refers to

the ‘mumprenuer’ who ‘establishes her own business from the kitchen table whilst her children crawl beneath it’. The mumprenuer is highly valued in society with the DM running ‘Mumpreneur of the Year’ Awards (Littler, 2018). These gender representations and discourses can be applied to the celebrity academics, many of whom are working mothers.

Binary stereotypes do not only exist for gender but also exist around race, with white and black people set as opposites (Hall, 2013). As is the case with gender, the creation of binary opposites does not mean that each side holds equal status or position. There is a power relation with one group possessing more power than the other. Hall (2013) suggests that this could be written as **white**/black, **men**/women, **masculinity**/femininity and **young**/old with the bold text illustrating who holds social and economic power. This binary positioning of opposites also creates categories of difference and ‘Other’. It is from this ‘Othering’ that meaning arises (ibid). Bell (1992) accounts for this by explaining that it is only through whiteness that blackness is given legitimacy. Establishing meaning can help to create an essentialist order and stereotypes arise from the distilling of a few characteristics of the ‘Other’. Racial stereotypes, created during slavery, can still be traced in today’s media representations in what Hall (1981) refers to as a ‘racialized regime of representation’. Bogle (1973) identified five racial stereotypes that appear in films. These were the Toms (the good negroes who never turn against white people despite being treated appallingly), Coons (unreliable and good for nothing), The Tragic Mulatto (a mixed race woman who usually meets a tragic end), Mammies (who serve in households and are big and bossy) and the Bad Buck (who is physically strong and full of rage). Bogle’s research is nearly 50 years old and black people are now more positively visible in contemporary British culture, such as in music, fashion and sport. This more positive depiction does not mean that racism and stereotyping has vanished. This became painfully clear during the Euro 2020 final where England’s black footballers became the target of racist abuse (McVeigh and Hall, 2021). Hall (2013) states that inequities in economic and social power remain. I have discussed that academia is traditionally a male domain (see 2.3.2), but it is also a white male domain (Bhopal, 2016). It is of concern to see if a ‘racialized regime of representation’ (Hall, 1981) is apparent in any of the media representations of black celebrity academics today.

2.3.4 Female academic stereotypes

As a society, we are aware of the academic stereotypes of the ‘blue stocking’ and the ‘girlie swot’ but the impact of their use in the media is not widely acknowledged in the literature. This is an important

consideration for the representation of academic women. I have used thick description (Geertz, 1975) with an insider's historical and cultural knowledge, to name academic stereotypes that many people will be able to recognise in British culture. These are the female stereotypes of 'the blue stocking', 'the thinking man's crumpet' and 'the school ma'am. Male stereotypes include the 'hegemonic academic male' and the 'nerd'.

The blue stockings were some of the first women to come together in an organised fashion to discuss books and ideas (Robinson, 2010). In 1750, Elizabeth Montagu, the original bluestocking met with other upper-class society people in their houses to discuss subjects of academic interest. The term 'blue stocking' came from a male member of the group, Stillingfleet, who wore cheap woolen blue stockings to one of the meetings (ibid). The group took this up as a badge. Over time, a blue stocking became regarded as a sexless, bookish woman whose main interest in life was reading and learning. Mary Beard revealed that she wore blue stockings to all her academic job interviews as a play on this stereotype (Beard, 2017). The stereotype of blue stocking suggests that there is something not quite right with a woman whose main interest is learning. She is also very likely to be viewed as earnest, boring and eccentric. Hence, the insult of 'girlie swot'. The studious woman is presented in the media as having an enthusiasm for learning, which, I believe, results in a silent discourse of her not being fully aware or part of the 'real world'. There is an element of monasterial devotion to a deity of learning which makes her a nun like, sexless oddity.

In 2019, a hand-written note by the current Prime Minister Boris Johnson was leaked, which referred to the then Prime Minister, David Cameron, as a 'girlie swot' (Walker, 2019). The term was used as an insult. Cohen (1998) explains the worldview behind this. For the English elite schoolboy, attending Eton (which both Johnson and Cameron did) a boy's achievement should be perceived as 'effortless' to illustrate his natural superiority above 'swots', who can only achieve through over work such as non-elite boys and all females. To be a swot is to be considered the opposite of the active, energetic male leader and as such to be a swot is to be effeminate (ibid). The term gives rise to discourses of power and culture with the English male elite firmly at the top of the gender hierarchy, not because of his expert knowledge but because of his natural ability.

A thinking man's crumpet is a term used for an intelligent and attractive woman who has a media presence. The term has class connotations as it implies that not all men think and that there are distinct

types of crumpets, a crumpet for thinking men and a crumpet for non-thinking men (Galub, 2012). Thinking men are likely to be educated and middle class. A crumpet is a type of sweet bread and its use might be a metaphor for hunger and sexual desire (ibid). It is not unusual to use food and hunger in this way. The term 'tart' is used to describe both a promiscuous woman and a decorated pastry. The first thinking man's crumpet was Joan Bakewell who was given the term by Frank Muir while she was on the BBC in the 1960s (BBC, 2008). Bakewell was attractive and had a degree from Cambridge (ibid). Crumpet might also be cockney rhyming slang for strumpet who is also a sexually promiscuous woman (Golub, 2012). On using the Google search engine and putting in the term 'thinking man's crumpet' I came across these images on 'pin interest'. Except for three women (Clemency Button Hill, Julia Bradbury and Cele de Pablo), the rest are academic historians who appear on TV and are included in this research project.

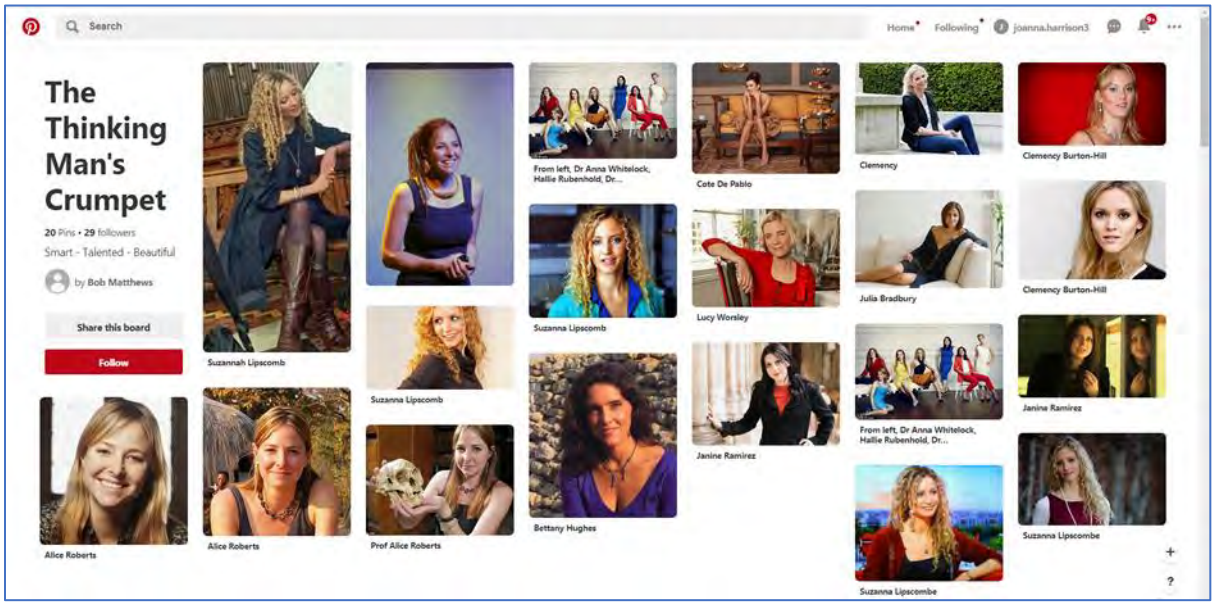


Figure 3. The Thinking Man's Crumpet (Matthews, 2018)

The thinking man's crumpet stereotype undermines the woman's intellectual ability by suggesting that her main appeal is the way that she appears to men. Under the guise of equality, the term 'thinking woman's crumpet' has also come into use. When this term was put into the same search engine the

following images were found.

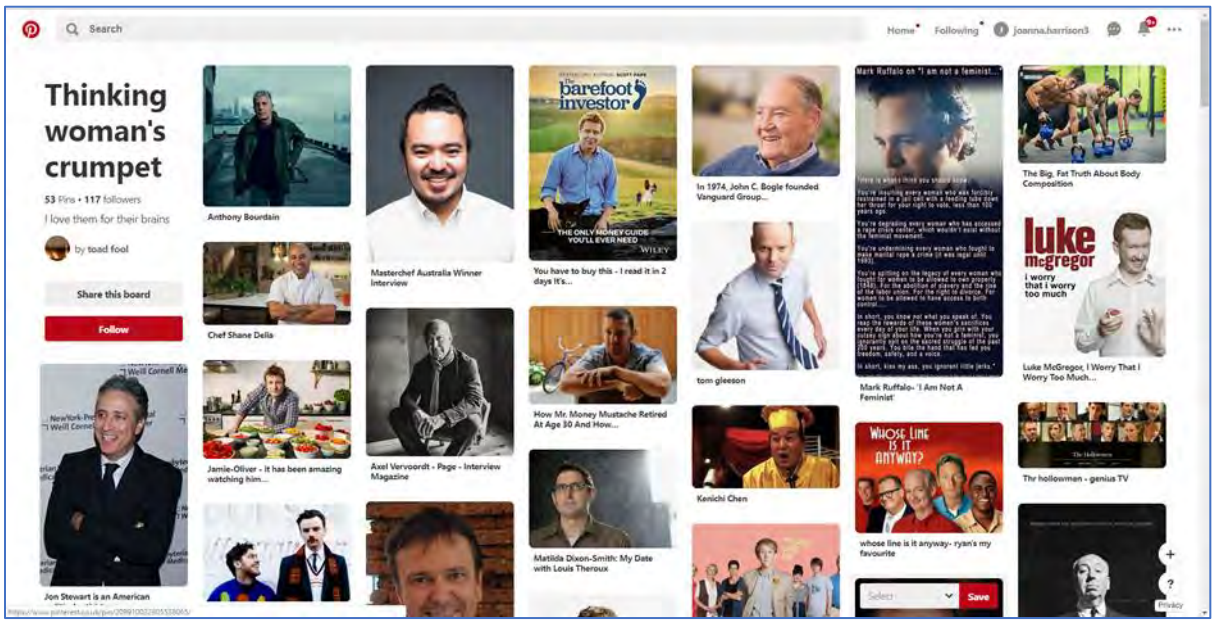


Figure 4. The Thinking Woman's Crumpet (Fool, 2018)

It is of interest that none of these men work in academia. There are four chefs, three comedians, a sports man, a businessman and TV presenters. It could be argued that a woman must be very clever before she belongs to the category of 'thinking man's crumpet'. Several of these men appear significantly older than any of the 'thinking men's crumpets'.

Another familiar academic stereotype is the school ma'am. Baxter (2018) argues that the school ma'am is a combination of the domestic mother authority figure and emotional comforter. However, images from the search engine google reveal that the school ma'am also holds the sexual desirability of an unattainable woman. She might be considered unattainable because of her age and that she holds an authoritative position in the classroom. There is something of the sexual fantasy about her. She is also somewhat 'unnatural' which is likely to be because of the power her status gives her. These google images for the school ma'am suggest an old-fashioned authority figure, a frightening woman with power and an element of sexual fantasy and fetishism. All of these have the effect of undermining the academic woman.

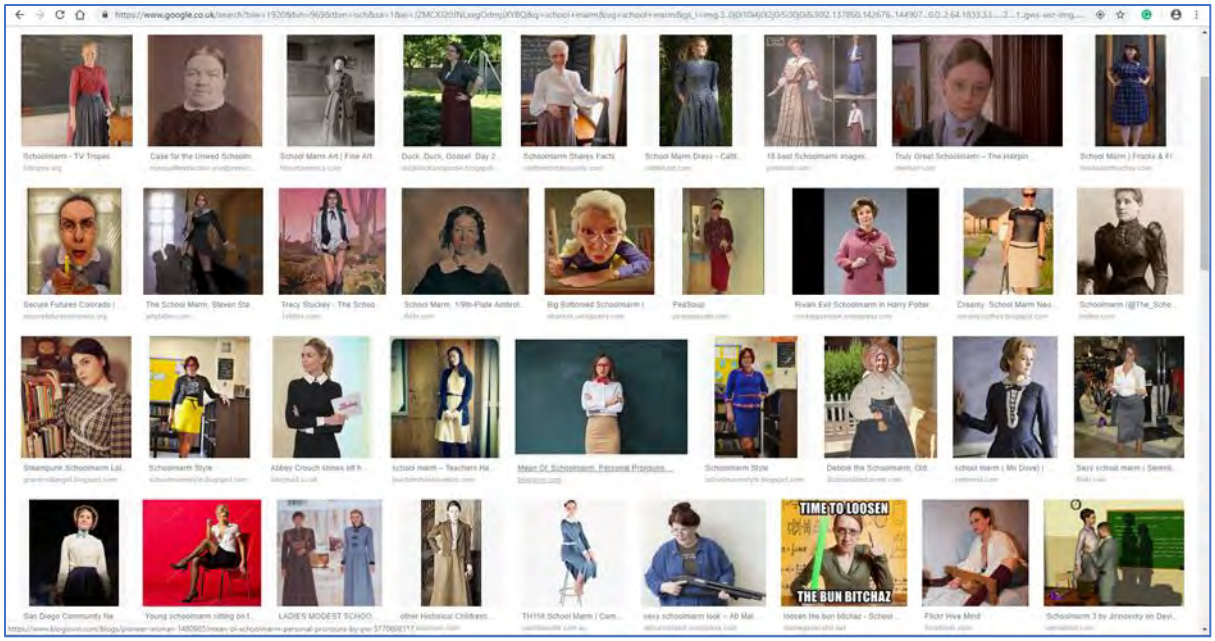


Figure 5. The School Ma'am

(Original Research, Google Images, 2018)

It is interesting to note that the google images for school master contain a much more positive image of happy children, historic figures and buildings. Both the threat and the sexual imagery is missing.



Figure 6. The School Master

(Original Research, Google Images, 2018)

Weber and Michell (1995) suggest that popular culture has helped to create a style of dress that indicates to the viewer the occupation and personality of a person, such as a teacher. This stereotype then influences what we expect to see and understand of the person's occupation. Stereotypes undermine academic women by making their long years of study, their intelligence and ability seem unnatural, sexually appealing or both. Heilman (2001) argues that stereotypes prevent women from breaking through the glass ceiling into leadership. I would suggest that academic women's stereotypes serve to diminish their intellectual contribution by making them seem sexually desirable, unnatural or the objects of mirth.

2.3.5 Male academic stereotypes

The hegemonic male is one that the society can recognise as the male ideal (Connell, 1987). Connell argues that this idealised male is at the top of the gender order and that all other types of masculinity and femininity are subservient (see 2.1). The stereotype of an academic is that they are male, white, middle class and middle aged. The hegemonic male is stereotypically regarded in western culture to be heterosexual, macho and sporty. However, this does not typically represent the university academic whose profession can lean towards sedentary, self -reflective and solitary activities. I would argue that a significant number of academic males fall into the complicit male category and the emergent category of 'nerd'. The 'nerd' is a stereotype that has gained acceptance since the advance of computer technology with individuals such as Steve Jobs and Bill Gates personifying success and wealth. The 'nerd' represents another desirable category of maleness because computer technology is a highly valued, respectable discipline. The 'nerd' presents a gentler masculinity whose value comes from expertise and knowledge, rather than a physical embodiment of maleness (Morris & Anderson, 2015). Ensmenger (2015) argues that the computer 'nerd' has created a new and elevated form of masculinity, although this is still below the hegemonic male. The stereotype of the 'nerd' has become understood enough in society that it can be applied to other academic disciplines where a 'bookish' nature is an asset.

The literature suggests that stereotypes continue to operate and that they are serve to disadvantage women in particular. Academic stereotypes exist in British society but with the possible exception of 'the nerd', they are not widely acknowledged. The presence of academic stereotypes and their discourse in the media warrants further examination.

Conclusion

The review of the literature has suggested that the sexed body has gained in significance over the last decade. Young women in the media are increasingly being seen through the lens of sexual difference with the female body becoming the focus of her identity (Gill, 2006). Youth, in women, is given greater value than experience. A genealogy of education and feminine attractiveness suggests that it has always been difficult for women to be judged on their intellectual abilities without their femininity also being part of the consideration. The older woman is stigmatised by her ageing body (Ward and Holland, 2011) and she becomes almost invisible in public life once she reaches over the age of fifty (COOW, 2013). These ideas have not been applied to female celebrity academics who appear in the British media. It is of interest to see if the celebrity academic women, whose contribution should be on their knowledge rather than their looks, experiences the same inequalities as other women in the public gaze. Research on stereotypes suggests that they are used to slow social change (Kanter, 1993). Although the public is familiar with academic stereotypes there is currently no suggestion in the literature that there are academic stereotypes in use in the media, or that these might have a negative impact on the representation of academic women. The research on celebrity suggests that the celebrity academic could be viewed as part of a glamorous advertising campaign for HE, although this is not explicit in the literature. The role of the celebrity academic as an entrepreneur in the neoliberal university is of interest and presents as a gap in the literature.

3. Methodology

Introduction

This chapter seeks to explore how the research questions will be answered. It is important to be clear about the methodology and methods so that the research perspective and the tools used to carry out the research are evident (Thomas, 2013). For clarity, the chapter is divided into sections suggested by Thomas (2013) which include the design, research sample, (Thomas names this section 'participants' but as the celebrity academics are not knowingly involved in this research it has been decided to call this section the research sample), ethics, data gathering and procedure. I will explain my use of post-structural theory, a flexible design framework and the creation of a new discourse analysis method developed from using grounded theory. This discourse analysis method has been used to analyse media articles on celebrity academics so that dominant, competing and hidden discourses are revealed to suggest some of the different ways FCA are represented.

The following diagram describes the research design process used for this research.

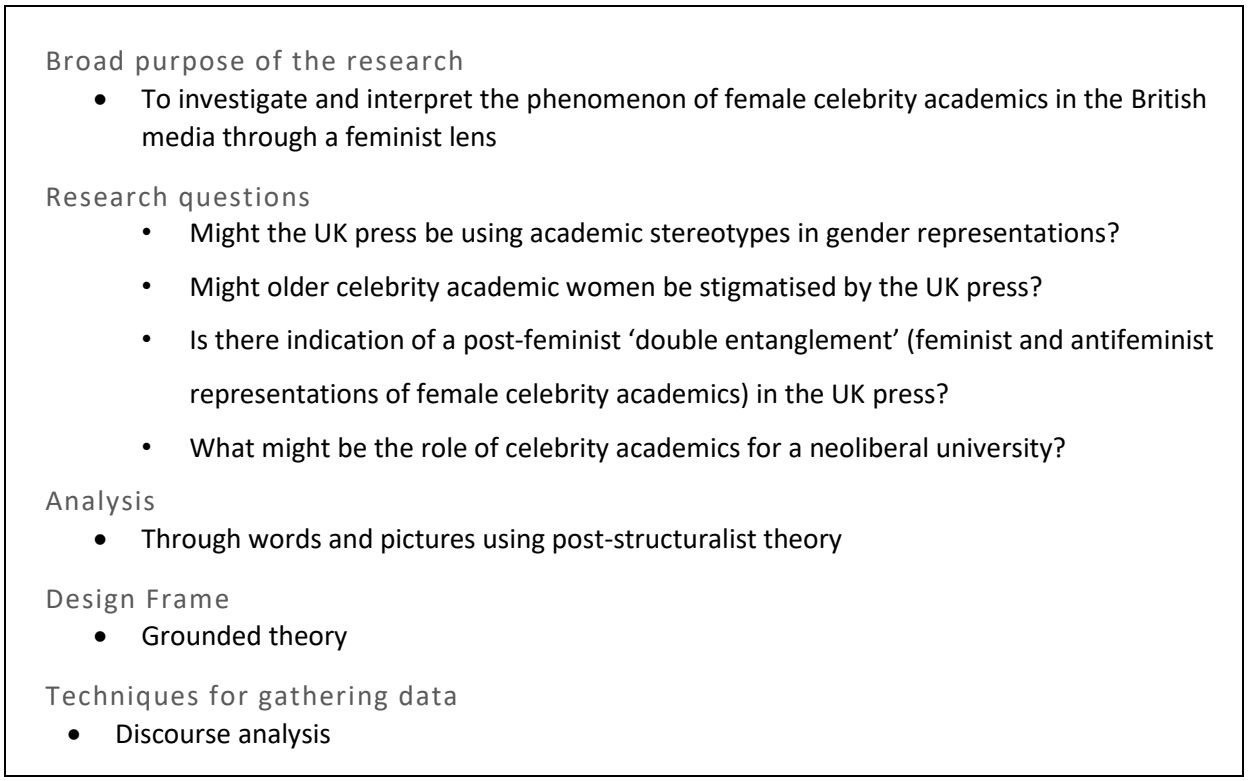


Figure 7. Research Design Process (Adapted from Thomas, 2013, p.129)

3.1 Design

A question is often the start of a research inquiry. However, before the research question there is the issue of the nature of the question being posed. How should the issue be viewed and studied? In the case of this research, the ontological issue is what we mean when we refer to a woman and a female celebrity academic. Does she exist and what is she? Do others perceive her in the same way? The ontological stance taken in this thesis is that gender is a social construct and that biology is a 'situation' (Moi, 2005), halfway between essentialism and a social construct.

The issue then takes an epistemological turn by interrogating what we know and understand about being a woman and a female celebrity academic. Where does this knowledge come from and can it be trusted? This is a particularly pertinent question in feminist inquiry where there exists a tradition of experiential knowledge (Hughes, 2002). Feminism has a history of using the personal to understand the political and this was a slogan used by feminists (Whelehan, 1995). This raises questions about the nature of experience in feminist epistemologies. Does the woman exist as a fixed entity who has an experience of inequality that reflects the way the world is, or does every woman's individual experience make her who she is? This matters, because the latter view makes it impossible to discuss a collective feminist experience that reflects social reality, as 'experience is the site of subject formation' (Hughes, 2002b, p154).

The understanding of knowledge in this thesis is that it is subjective and changes according to time and place. This is an interpretivist position. This means that any answers to the research question provide only one version of reality and there can be no claims to 'truth'. This is different from the positivist tradition where objects have a fixed understanding and where reality exists out there to be grasped and known. However, within the feminist tradition there needs to be some concept of truth and objectivity to allow for a collective movement for social justice (see 3.4.1 for a discussion on this). Hughes (2002b, p173) offers a solution when she describes a 'conceptual trinity of experience, reality and truth'.

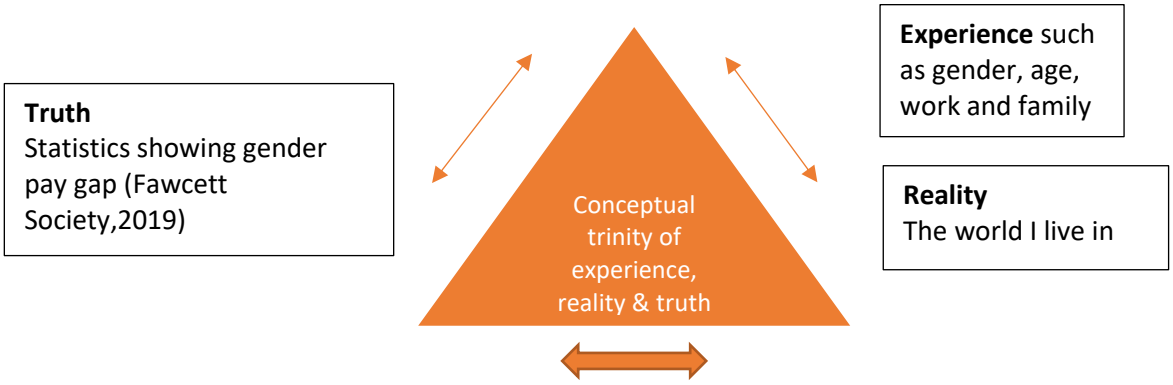


Figure 8. 'Conceptual trinity of experience, reality and truth' (adapted from Hughes, 2002)

Hughes's trinity allows a solution between subjectivity and objectivity, countenancing many subjective experiences but within a feminist reality, with some objective truths. Hughes (2020) sums this up very well when she considers Moi's (1999) argument that there is a difference between claiming, 'there is subjectivity in every belief' and that 'every belief is purely subjective.'

Robson (2002) claims that the research question is key to the design of any inquiry. A flexible design allows the research questions to develop as the research progressed. This research started with deductive reasoning in that Connell's gender theory (1987), Driessen's theory of celebrification and celebritisation (2012) and Gill's (2007) post-feminist sensibility, would be used to analyse the representation of celebrity academics in the media. As the research progressed it became apparent that a post-feminist sensibility could not be used to analyse different generations of women, so a new theory was developed. Thus, elements of grounded theory became part of the research design, as a theory was developed to meet the needs of obtaining data to address the research questions. Robson (2002, p. 190) explains that, 'Grounded theory seeks to generate a theory which relates to the particular situation forming the focus of the study.'

3.2 Research Sample

The researcher is a research 'instrument' in a flexible design (Robson, 2002) alongside the research sample who generate the data for the research. It is, therefore, necessary to consider myself as a research participant.

3.2.1 Positionality

Peim (2018) argues that it is necessary to position oneself within the research so that one's connection with the topic is thought through. Thus, it has been necessary for me to think about my place in this research. Peim (2018) refers to the researcher as the 'subject' and the research as the 'object'. The 'world' is the context within which the subject and object exist.

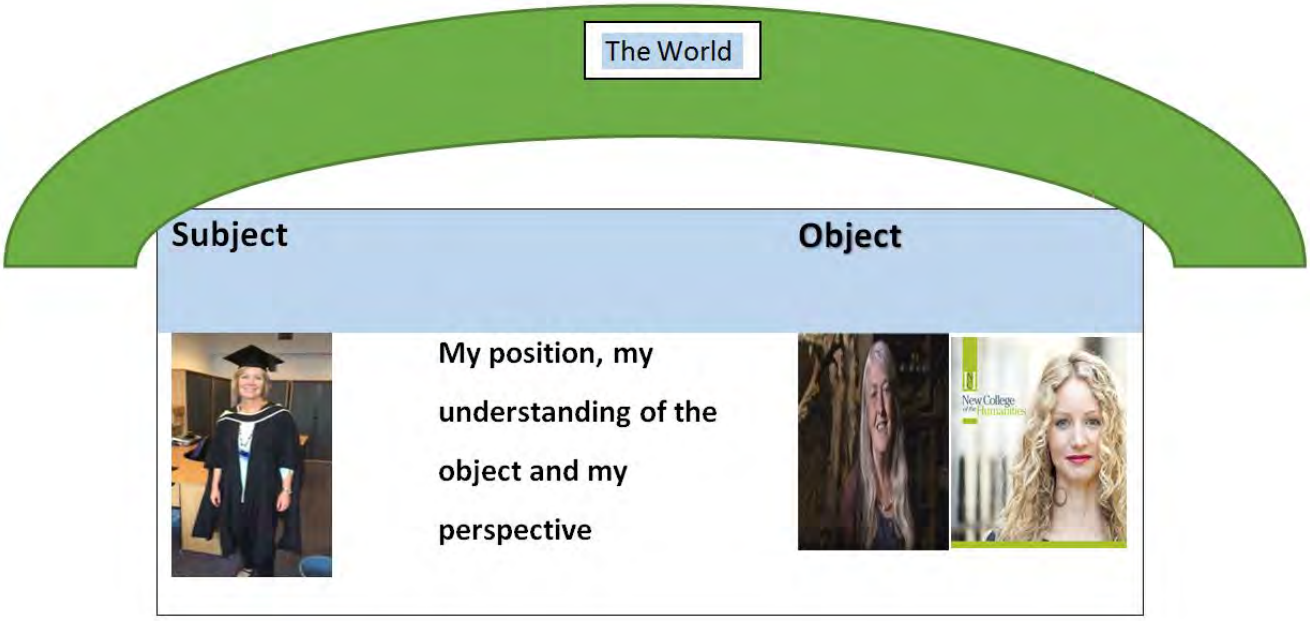


Figure 9. The World, Subject and Object (adapted from Peim, 2018 p. 32)

In this diagram I am the subject. I am the person experiencing and thinking about the object (the thing being studied). Both 'subject' and 'object' exist within the 'World'. The 'World' in this research is the neoliberal university and the British news and entertainment media.

Foucault considers that we need to ponder not on why the world is the way that it is, but on why we perceive it in this way (Landau, Szudek and Tomley, 2011). Both subject and object have a personal interest for me. I am carrying out the research and I am also an academic woman working in the neoliberal university. An advantage of being aged 50 is that I have more experiences upon which to draw. I am mindful of Moi's comment that, 'only when the personal is in the service of original thought …… do we experience it as illuminating rather than embarrassing' and only when the context 'on what the personal is taken to mean' and for what function 'the personal performance is taken to serve' is

made clear (Moi, 1999, p164). Martin (2001) reflects how her choice of biographical subject reflected her world view in an explanation of why a subject is chosen for research over others. The purpose of my autobiography is to make it clear how my personal interest and experiences have influenced my choice of research subject. Martin (2012, p. 87) writes that, 'Placing of memory in the wider political and cultural milieu allows for interconnection between personal stories and historical pasts'. This will be the focus of my autobiographical positioning.

My mother believed that as a girl my career choices were limited to the predominantly feminised professions of teaching and nursing or secretarial work. This was in line with her educational experience as a school-girl in the 1950s (Spencer, 2006). Heeding my mother's advice, I was happy to become a nurse but on finding it unfulfilling, I left at the age of twenty-two to go to university, taking advantage of there being a student grant and no tuition fees. Having a skill as a qualified nurse, I could be financially independent, so I was able to choose a degree in Anthropology for the love of the subject, rather than for a requirement to find employment. I supported myself by nursing during the holidays and living on my grant during term-time. The neoliberal university, with the requirement to pay fees and take out a loan rather than receiving a grant, would have limited the opportunities available to me. I have been mindful of this when reading about the study paths of the celebrity academics.

During my studies, I took part in four archeological excavations and this interest in history has continued, leading me to watch history programmes. This is how I encountered Mary Beard. At this stage in my life, I believed myself to be unrestricted but found myself constrained by a desire to have children and an obligation to earn an income. Once again, I was operating under the constraints of my gender but also of my social class. I turned down an opportunity to do a PhD and studied for a master's degree for a career in Public Health. I was ambitious for a successful career and like many other twenty something women, I also looked for a partner. My cultural reference points of this time were 'Ali McBeal' and 'Bridget Jones'[13]. The discourse of these TV dramas was of the difficulty of 'having it all' (Young, 2018) as the two career women tried fruitlessly to find love and start a family. I found that I could relate to these stories and became aware that I had a 'body clock', a pressure created by the passing of linear time (Hughes, 2002b). Once I became a mother, I found that my body and my time

[13] Angela McRobbie (2009) described how these narratives combined the feminist perspectives of economic independence and sexual freedom with the anti-feminist perspectives of the anxiety of not finding a husband and the desire to be feminine.

became my children's and I experienced a femininising of time that included the circular recurring tasks of care. Influenced by my education and parenting books such as 'Three in a Bed' (Jackson, 1989), I tried to be a 'good mother' and 'put the needs of others' before myself (Hughes, 2002a, p.72.) I had a 'natural birth', carried out 'on-demand breastfeeding' and practised 'attachment parenting' (Phipps, 2014). I have three children and spent two years as a housewife and five years as a part time worker. I agree with Hughes (Hughes, 2002a) that whilst caring I was operating under a 'discourse of submission', as I missed my career but felt the need to be regarded as a 'good mother'. My drop in salary due to a career break and part time work supports the national narrative on gender pay inequalities (ONS, 2018). I learnt the difficulty of juggling childcare with a career and the double burden of work and domestic chores often called the 'second shift' (Hochschild, 1989). Young (2018) investigating the role of the family life balance for working women found that women struggle to achieve this balance and that despite the promise of flexible working, a balanced work and family life were out of reach for most women. The difficulties that working mothers experience helps to expose the lie of 'having it all' (Hughes, 2002a). Working at the University of Wolverhampton as a Lecturer in Public Health, I became one of a group of academic women who are more likely to teach in a post-1992 university, on subjects traditionally seen as female (Acker and Webber, 2006).

Reflecting on my female experiences encourages me to be aware of my subjectivities while carrying out this research. I can see how discourses around gender impacted upon my career choice, motherhood, time, identity and my cultural reference points of TV and books, have influenced my world view. Reading feminist literature has also shaped my understanding of the experiences. Thus, my memories have been both shaping and shaped.

By thinking and learning it is possible to see things from a new perspective. Peim (2018, p. 117) suggests that it is the ability to see things from this unfamiliar perspective that allows new knowledge to develop and that, 'in a research context, seeking to know is often seeking to know differently.' I am seeking to understand the intersection of gender, celebrity academia and neoliberalism and their interplay with power and culture. The literature review on the object of my research has shown what is already known. However, the review has also indicated that there are areas for this research focus that are less known about. It is intended that this research will lead to new perspectives.

3.2.3. Sample - the celebrity academics in this research

A cursory glance at a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) television (TV) guide for a week in July (26th of July until the 1st of August 2019) revealed that one could watch a surprising number of programmes presented by academics. These included the Historian, Doctor (Dr) Lucy Worsley (The First Georgians), Classicist, Professor (Prof) Mary Beard (Ultimate Rome), Mathematician, Dr Hannah Fry (Size Matters), Paleontologist, Prof Richard Fortey (Secret Life of Rockpools) and Paleoanthropologist, Prof Alice Roberts (Woolly Mammoths) on BBC 4. During the same week on BBC 2 one could watch the Archeologist, Neil Oliver (Coast), the Physicist, Dr Helen Czerski (Orbit Earth), Physicist, Prof Brian Cox (Stargazing), Astronomer, Dr Maggie Aderin-Pocock (Children's BBC Stargazing) and Primatologist, Mat Pines (Living with Baboons). More surprising still is that out of these ten academics, six were women. Eagleton (2005) suggests that historically it has always been the male who is the intellectual. This view is supported by Beard (2017) who indicates that the wise voice has always been male. Something interesting was happening which I believed warranted investigation.

Detailed below is a short biography of many of the well-known academic celebrities and most of the FCA currently on British TV. It is these nineteen celebrity academics that will form the basis of the male and female sample. They have been selected because of their frequent appearance in the media and to represent a range of ages and ethnicities. However, with a few exceptions, the women are mostly white and aged in their 30s or early 40s.[14] I have chosen four male celebrity academics as a means of comparison. Where possible, parents' occupations have been included to that the socio-economic background can be considered. This suggests that most of the academics had a middle-class childhood. The age, class and type of schooling and higher education received by the academic celebrities has been very revealing and is analysed in chapter four.

[14] The ages given are the ages that the celebrities were at the time of the article.

***Table 1**. Biography of the Celebrity Academics*

Name of academic	Demographic information	Employment in HE and public recognition	Most well-known Publications	Selection of TV appearances
Dr Maggie Aderin-Pocock	44 years of age, a black, heterosexual, married woman with a young child. Both her parents emigrated from Nigeria. She attended a nonselective state school. (Baker, 2012)	Research Fellow at University College London (UCL). Awarded a Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (MBE)	Book: *The Knowledge: Stargazing*, 2015 And numerous journal publications	BBC 1 since 2013 *The Sky at Night and Children's BBC Stargazing* (BBC, 2019)
Professor Mary Beard	65 years of age, white, heterosexual, married woman with two children. Father an architect and mother a headmistress. She attended a grammar school. (Laity, 2007)	Professor of Classics at the University of Cambridge Awarded a Dame of the British Empire and the *Wolfson prize* for history. (Thorpe, 2012)	Numerous books, the most recent *Women & Power: A Manifesto* 2017 *Civilisations: How Do We Look / The Eye of Faith* 2018 (University of Cambridge 2017)	*Pompeii: Life and Death in a Roman Town* (2010) *Meet the Romans* (2012) *Rome Empire without Limits* (2016) *Civilisations* (2018) (TV Guide 2019)
Professor Brian Cox	Aged 51, white, heterosexual married man with a son. Father was a bank manager. He attended a grammar school. Had a hit single used by the Labour party as their campaign song 'Things can only get better' in 1998. (Lamont, 2014)	Professor of Particle Science at the University of Manchester (UoM).	Cox has won awards for his books and BBC TV series, '*The Big Bang Machine'* (University of Manchester no date (ND). He has an Officer of the British Empire (OBE). Recent books include, *The Quantum Universe: Everything That Can Happen Does Happen* (2011)	*BBC 2 Wonders of the Universe* (2011) *Stargazing Live* (2011) *Wonders of Life* (2013) *The Planets* (2019) *Infinite Monkey Cage*, BBC Radio 4

Professor Hannah Fry	34 years of age, white, heterosexual married mother. Father made hydraulic lifts for lorries. Of Irish decent. Grew up in Hertfordshire. She attended a nonselective state school. (Elle, 2017)	Associate Professor in the Mathematics of Cities at the Centre for Advanced Spatial Analysis at UCL. (Fry, ND)	*Hello World: How to be human in the age of the machine* *The Mathematics of Love: Patterns, Proofs, and the Search for the Ultimate Equation* (Fry, ND)	BBC2 *City in the Sky Britain's Greatest Inventions* *Horizon: How to Find Love Online* *Calculating Ada: The Countess of Computing* (2005) BBC4 *Climate Change By Numbers* *The Joy of Data* (Fry, ND)
Professor Germaine Greer	79 years old, white heterosexual, divorced woman. Born in Australia where her father sold advertising space in a newspaper. She went to private school. She came to Cambridge to do her PhD. (Wallace, 1997)	Retired feminist academic. She worked at both the University of Warwick and Cambridge	*The Female Eunuch* (1970) *The Change Women, Ageing and the Menopause* (1991)	She has appeared on numerous TV programmes over the decades such as three series of *Nice Time* with Kenny Everett in 1968/9 (Nice Time, 2016) and *Germaine Bloody Greer* 2019 (BBC, 2019)
Dr Bettany Hughes	She is 49 years old and is a white, heterosexual, married mother of two daughters. Her father was an actor. She attended private school. (Hughes, 2010)	Tutor at The Institute of Continuing Education, University of Cambridge,	*Helen of Troy: Goddess, Princess, Whore* (2005) *The Hemlock Cup: Socrates, Athens and the Search for the Good Life* (2011) Received the *Naomi Sargant Award* for excellence in educational broadcasting. Received an OBE in 2019.	Ancient Ways, 2005 *Venus Uncovered: Ancient Goddess of Love* (BBC 4, 2019) She has written and presented over 50 TV and radio documentaries (Hughes, 2009)
Professor Susannah Lipscomb	34 years old, white, heterosexual,	Professor of History at the University of	*The King is Dead: The Last Will and Testament of*	*Hidden Killers of the Victorian Home and Hidden*

	married mother. She was privately educated at Epsom College (Lipscomb, 2016)	Roehampton	*Henry VIII*, 2015 *Witchcraft,* 2018. *The Voices of Nîmes: Women, Sex and Marriage in Reformation Languedoc,* 2019. (Lipscomb, 2016)	*Killers of the Edwardian Home,* 2013. *Henry and Anne: The Lovers Who Changed History* 2014 *Witch Hunt: A Century of Murder*, 2015. *Henry VIII and His Six Wives*, 2016. *The Great Fire of London* - 2017 *Elizabeth I* 2017 (Lipscomb, 2016)
Professor David Olusoga	Aged 49, mixed race heterosexual married man. He grew up on a council estate in the North East. He attended a nonselective state school. Awarded an OBE. (UoM, 2019)	Professor of Public History at the University of Manchester. (UoM)	*Civilizations: Encounters and the Cult of Progress,* *The World's War,* *Black & British: A Forgotten History,* *The Kaiser's Holocaust: Germany's Forgotten Genocide and the Colonial Roots of Nazism.* (UoM, 2019)	*Black and British: A Forgotten History,* *The World's War,* *A House Through Time* and the BAFTA award-winning *Britain's Forgotten Slave Owners.* (UoM, 2019)
Dr Janine Ramirez	Aged 39, white, heterosexual married mother. She attended a selective school.	Course Director of Continuing Education at the University of Oxford (UoO)	*Julian of Norwich* (2017) *Private Lives of Saints* (2016)	Documentaries on TV which include *Anglo- Saxon treasures, Viking Sagas* and *The Hundred Years War* (University of Oxford ND).
Professor Alice Roberts	Aged 41, white, heterosexual, married mother. Her father was an aeronautical engineer. She attended a grammar school.	Professor of Public Engagement at the University of Birmingham	*Don't Die Young* (2008) *The Incredible Human Journey* (2010) *Evolution: The Human Story* (2011)	*Coast* *The Incredible Human Journey,* *Origins of Us* *Ice Age Giants, Horizon* *Digging for Britain* (Roberts, ND)

	(Lewis, 2013)		*The Celts* (2016) (Roberts, ND)	
Professor Simon Schama	Aged 74, heterosexual, married man of Jewish descent. As a boy he won a scholarship for private school. (Snowman, 2004) He has a CBE.	Professor of Art and History at the University of New York. He has won the *Wolfson Award for History*, the *W.H Smith Prize for Literature* and *The National Academy of Arts and Letters Award for Literature* (Columbia University, ND)	*Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves and the American Revolution (*2006) *Hang-Ups: A Collection of Essays on Art (*2004) *A History of Britain vol 3 The Fate of the Empire,* (2002).	*Landscape and Memory (1995)* *A History of Britain* (2000) *Rough Crossings* (2005) A stage version opened in 2007 *The Power of Art*. (2006) *Civilisations* (2018) (Columbia University, ND)
Professor Michael Scott	36 years of age, white, married man. He attended a private school belonging to the Eton group.	Professor of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Warwick	*Ancient Worlds: An Epic History of East and West* (2016) *Delphi: centre of the ancient world* (2014) *Space and society in the Greek and Roman worlds* (2012)	*Lectures on Ancient Greek* and *Roman society*. Has presented on TV documentaries (University of Warwick 2017).
Professor Kathy Sykes	40 years of age at time of the article. She attended a nonselective school. Awarded an OBE 2009	Professor of Public Engagement at the University of Bristol	Helped to establish the *Cheltenham Science Festival & NESTA Famelab* (Gold, 2007) She is a member of the Council for Science and Technology (Performing Artistes, 2018)	*Rough Science* *Ever Wondered About Food, Alternative Therapies, Alternative Medicine* *Brave New World* with Stephen Hawking (Performing Artistes, 2018) No recent work on TV
Professor Catharine Edwards	Aged 50 at the time of the article. No record of the school she attended.	Professor of Classics and Ancient History, Birkbeck College, University of London	of *Suetonius: Lives of the Caesars* (2000) Edited with Greg Woolf, *Rome the Cosmopolis* (2002) *Death in ancient Rome* (2007)	'*Mothers, murderers and mistresses: empresses of ancient Rome'*, BBC Four 2013 (Birkbeck, 2018)

			Translation	
Professor Kate Williams	39 years of age, white, heterosexual, mother. Father was a solicitor. She attended a grammar school. (Membery, 2018)	Professor of Public Engagement at the University of Reading.	*England's Mistress*, 2005 was selected as a *Book of the Year* in *The Times Becoming Queen*, *2008 Book of the Year* in The *Spectator* *Young Elizabeth: The Making of Our Queen* (2012). *Josephine: Desire, Ambition, Napoleon* (2013)	*Restoration Home Young Victoria* (2008) TV coverage of the Prince Williams' Royal Wedding (Williams, 2012)
Dr Amanda Foreman	42 years old, white, heterosexual, married mother. Father was a playwright. She attended a private school. (Foreman, 2019)	Honorary Research Fellow at the University of Liverpool	*A World on Fire: Britain's Crucial Role in the American Civil War* *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire* (ibid)	*Victoria's Palace* 2019 *Stories from the Royal Collection* 2018 *The Ascent of Woman* 2015 *The Georgians* 2014 (ibid)
Dr Lucy Worsley	40 years of age, white, heterosexual, married woman. No children. Father was a university lecturer. She attended a private school. (Wintle, 2013)	Joint Chief Curator of English Palaces Awarded an OBE in 2018 (BBC, 2018)	*Cavalier: The Story of a 17th Century Playboy* (2008). *Courtiers: The Secret History of the Georgian Court* (2011). *If Walls Could Talk: An Intimate History of the Home* (2012). *A Very British Murder: The Story of a National Obsession* (2014). *Jane Austen at Home* (2017). *Queen Victoria: Daughter, Wife, Mother, Widow* (2018).	*Elegance and Decadence: The Age of the Regency* (2011), *Harlots, Housewives and Heroines: A 17th Century History for Girls* (2012), *The First Georgians: The German Kings Who Made Britain* (2014), *A Very British Romance* (2015), *Six Wives with Lucy Worsley* (2016). (Worsley, 2019)
Dr Charlotte	35 years old, heterosexual and	Involved with animal	*Talking with Animals* (2002)	*Cousins* (2000) *Congo's Secret*

Uhlenbroek	married at the time of the article. Now she is 51 and has not done recent TV work. Father an UN agricultural specialist. She attended a private school.	conservation charities (Natural World Safaris, 2019)	*Jungle (2004)* *Animal Life* (2008) (ibid)	*Chimps* (2001) *Talking with Animals* (2002) *Jungle* (2003) (ibid)
Dr Victoria Bateman	Aged 39, white, heterosexual, married woman. She is descended from cotton workers. She attended a none selective state school.	Research Fellow at Cambridge University	*The Sex Factor: How Women Made the West Rich* (2019) *Markets and growth in early modern Europe* (2016)	Naked appearance on radio 4 and Breakfast TV (Bateman, 2019)

Table 2. *Type of Schooling Attended by the Celebrity Academics*

Private schooling	**Selective state school**	**Nonselective state school**
Germaine Greer (scholarship) Bettany Hughes (scholarship) Simon Schama (scholarship) Alice Roberts Michael Scott Amanda Foreman Lucy Worsley Charlotte Ulhenbroek	Mary Beard Brian Cox Susannah Lipscomb Janina Ramirez Kate Williams	Maggie Aderin-Pocock Hannah Fry David Olusoga Kathy Sykes Victoria Bateman
Eight celebrity academics received a private education. This is 44%	Five academics received a selective state education. This is 28%	Five celebrity academics received a nonselective state education. This is 28%.

Table 3. *Higher Education Institution attended by the Celebrity Academics*

Attended Oxbridge	**Attended a Russell Group University**	**Attended a Post 1992 University**
Germaine Greer (Cambridge)	Alice Roberts (UoW and Bristol)	

Simon Schama (Cambridge) Michael Scott (Cambridge) Mary Beard (Cambridge) Catherine Edwards (Cambridge) Bettany Hughes (Oxford) Lucy Worsley (Oxford) Susannah Lipscomb (Oxford) Amanda Foreman (Oxford for DPhil) Janina Ramirez (Oxford) Kate Williams (Oxford) Victoria Bateman (Cambridge and Oxford)	Charlotte Ulhenbroek (Bristol) Brian Cox (Manchester) Maggie Aderin-Pocock (London) Hannah Fry (London) David Olusoga (Liverpool) Kathy Sykes (Bristol)	
12 (63%) of the celebrity academics attended Oxbridge	7 (37%) attended a Russell Group university	None attended a post '92 university.

3.3.3. The British news and entertainment media forming part of this research

Articles have been used from the following online news outlets; *The Independent*, *Daily Mail*, *The Telegraph, The Times* and *The Guardian*. These were media outlets most likely to include articles on celebrity academics. The following table provides information on the political ideology, readership and popularity of the newspaper press. Research by Tewksbury and Althaus (2000) suggest that American online news tends to mimic that of the parent printed newspaper. While the number of readers of political stories changes in the audiences of online and printed news (8% vs 17% for printed news), their research suggested that the numbers reading the category 'sports, arts and leisure' (which is likely to include celebrity academics) did not change (23% vs 22% for printed news).

Table 4. *Age, Gender, Ideology and Popularity of the Online News Outlet (Taylor, 2017)*

The online news outlet and the number of articles used in the research	**Age of the reader (Taylor, 2017)**	**Gender of the reader (Taylor, 2017)**	**Ideology of the news media (YouGov, 2017)**	**Popularity of the newspaper (YouGov, 2018)**
The Guardian Three articles	Even age split 28% under 34	60% male readers	Left wing	Second
The Times Four articles	19% under 34	60% male readers	Right wing	Third
The Independent Three articles	Average age of 43 years	61% male readers	Centre	Seventh
The Telegraph Four articles	Average age of 61 years	60% male readers	Right wing	Eleventh
Daily Mail Thirteen articles	Average age of 58 years	53% female readers	Right wing	Sixth

A striking finding is the older age of the readers and except for the *Daily Mail*, most readers are male. The news outlet most likely to be read by women, the *Daily Mail*, was founded in 1896 with the intention of attracting female readers by providing information on subjects that it was believed women would find interesting (Bingham, 2016). Bingham (2016) argues that this approach still exists today. The average age of readers of the *Daily Mail* is 58 and it would be reasonable to expect that this would be reflected in the images of women used in articles. Nearly half of the articles used in this research come from the *Daily Mail*. Apart from *The Guardian*, the rest of the news media are right wing in orientation which is likely to reflect a more conservative view of gender issues.

3.3 Ethics

3.3.1 How the articles were chosen, data management plan and ethical considerations

Over the last few years (September 2016 to April 2019), I have been collecting online news articles on celebrity academics. I have subscribed to *The Times*, *The Telegraph* and *The Guardian* to ensure that I have full access to the articles. I have also collected online articles from the *Daily Mail* and *The Independent,* which have open access. I follow the academics on Twitter, read their tweets and take a picture of the ones that seem interesting for this research. I started the research by attempting to be objective. I was concerned that I could be criticised for choosing articles that provided what I was looking for. The method used was to type the academic's name and the newspaper's name into the Google search engine. The first article that was not a book review was the chosen article for research. I did this for 12 of the articles. However, I realised that this method of choosing articles meant that I was missing out on some of the articles that were more relevant to the research but did not come up first in the list. My research questions are explanatory in that they require an explanation of the way social reality appears (Thomas, 2013). The issues being explored help to develop an understanding of the social world and use interpretivist research techniques (ibid). An interpretivist approach does not require the use of variables or the need to achieve validity or reliability. There is also no requirement to appear neutral. This is because there is no attempt to be objective but rather to explore the socially constructed world (ibid). Following this consideration, the second half of the article collection were chosen for their relevance for the research questions. Please see appendix two for the articles chosen. In total 28 articles were selected for analysis from five news and entertainment media outlets. The same analysis method (a post-feminist discourse analysis) has been used for both the men and women.

The articles were saved in a folder on a computer hard drive and on two memory sticks. The research adheres to the British Educational Research Guidelines (BERA) who state that, 'seeking consent would not normally be expected for data that has been produced expressively for public use.' (BERA, 2018, p. 10). The press articles and the twitter sites are open forums where the intention is to be visible to the general public, removing issues around consent and confidentiality. The research also adheres to the University of Birmingham via the Ethics Self -Assessment (ERN 19-0788).

3.4 Data Gathering

This section explains the theories upon which my analysis is based.

3.4.1 Post-structuralism

Post- structuralist thought is the foundation for this research. Hughes (2002b) argues that post structuralism allows the theorist to move beyond binaries as it is a theory that includes contradiction and process and looks at the world as an 'either/and' rather than an 'either/or'. This approach is useful for an understanding of academic women as it leaves behind the binaries of victim/oppressor and passive/agentic. While modernism, used by many feminists of the 1960s, was concerned with theories that could explain the social world, post modernism saw any 'truth claim' as impossible (Whelehan, 1995). Mills and Mullany (2011) describe an 'identity turn' which was the result of a move from the modernist ideas of 'What can be done?' and 'We- feminism' to the postmodernist 'Who am I?' and 'I-feminism' (ibid, 2011 p. 4). Despite it being women who are placed in the passive, victim role, Whelehan (1995) has argued that binaries have been hard for feminists to let go of as it enabled a direct route into challenging the status quo. The binaries of woman and man allow feminists to argue that, 'It remains the case that women in the UK as a group continue to experience greater inequality when compared to men as a group.' (Clisby and Holdworth, 2016, p.1)

To use the binary terms of oppressed and oppressor is overly simplistic when describing educated middle-class women and it creates the risk of re-enforcing an essentialist view of gender, where women remain the second sex. Baxter (2017) and Hughes (2001) would argue that not all women experience greater inequality than all men, at all stages in their lives. A post structuralist approach allows a greater complexity of social reality to be addressed by seeing women as both victims and oppressors and both passive and agentic at different points in their lives. This is not to deny collective experiences of injustice but aims to recognise 'shared forms of social oppression rather than shared identities' (Weedon, 1999 p. 106). Post structuralism allows these issues to be addressed by deconstructing the grand political narrative of social justice to include a multifaceted approach. Post structuralism allows multiple realities to be considered (Baxter, 2017). It is by embracing differences and diversities but keeping in mind commonalities, that a more coherent and nuanced story of what it means to be a woman can be told.

Clisby and Holdsworth (2016, p. 4) describe this as, 'Where women are able to offer both alternative accounts of their social and material conditions and where these accounts share common ground.'

This is a useful approach to addressing the representation of a privileged group of celebrity academic women who nevertheless experience inequalities.

3.4.2 Language and Semiotics

This research looks at how words and images are used to describe and depict celebrity academics in the British media. It is, therefore, necessary to consider what words are and how images convey meaning. Language is a central part of human life. The study of language is another example of the subject and object being connected. We can study language, but we do so through language. We are both 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. Saussure, a structuralist, was interested in how language was used synchronically (a frozen snapshot in time) rather than how it evolved over time, diachronically (Chandler, 2007). Although he realised that language as a sign creation can change over time, he believed the thing being signified remained the same (Bignell, 2002). For example, a biological woman was always a woman.
A post-structuralist view turns this on its head. The interpretation is that the sign can create that which is being signified and the name creates the thing itself (Bignell, 2002). This is interesting as it poses the question of whether revealing stereotypes in a text might actually create them. However, it is my contention that academic stereotypes already exist in the culture, but their use is often unseen. A post-structuralist perspective of stereotypes is one where history, culture, people and context are brought back into a contested and unfixed analysis of language.

What is not said can be as important as what is said. Foucault (1970, p. 25) describes this as, 'a voice as silent as a breath, a writing that is merely the hollow of its own mark'. This has great relevance in newspaper articles as it means what is not stated can have as much significance as what is. Signs also create meaning by indicating what they are not (Bignell, 2002). The society and the people using them determine the way signs are used. The patterns and structures of their use give the signs their meaning in a social context. Studying the way meaning is transferred helps us to understand the way culture is operating within the society. Signs are part of an intricate code. They are cultural constructs that are understood as part of the society. A good example of a cultural code is a dress code where the clothes

worn make it clear to the members of the society if the participants are involved in a wedding, funeral or party.

Barthes applied the understanding of signs to popular culture such as the performance involved in wrestling, photographs and clothes (Thody, 2013). He used the term 'denote' to describe the image and what was being depicted and 'connote' for the concepts and the extra cultural associations the image carried (Machin and Mayr, 2012). The bringing together of signs, the cultural meanings the signs connote and the resulting message that is given, Barthes calls a myth (Bignell, 2002). A myth makes something artificial appear natural and common place. Social semiotics is interested in the meanings that artefacts give as part of social life. These items are referred to as 'semiotic resources' (Ledin and Matchin, 2018, p. 15). The term multimodality is increasingly used in place of social semiotics (ibid) and is the term that will be used in this research. Barthes (1977) saw photographs as having a unique quality in that they appear to be a true reflection of reality. The viewer does not consider what is not in the picture or the angle, lighting and editing of the photograph (Ledin and Matchin, 2018). As a researcher it is necessary to consider the semiotic choices that have gone into the creation of the image and what we are being led into seeing, through the manner events have been represented. Peim (2005) identifies the gap between the actuality and the representation of the actuality. The researcher must recognise this gap. As Berger (1972) indicated, photographs do not speak for themselves. They are given voice through the representation designed by the photographer and they are heard through the subjectivity of the viewer.

Clothing can be understood as a covering of the social body that both denotes and connotes meanings. Foucault's theory of the docile body can be applied to clothing and the choices people make to conform to social expectations or to resist (Tynan, 2016). Clothing is a disciplinary power that is enacted through the body. Power relations are proclaimed through clothing ibid). The dress of academic women will be examined using Foucault's theory of disciplinary power and resistance. Barthes was interested in revealing the ideology hidden in the way the two communication systems of language (description about the clothing) and dress code merge together to express a world view (Jobling, 2016). Berger (1972) also recognised that words can change the meaning of a picture. Butler's (1990) theory of performativity sees clothing as part of 'doing' gender. All three theories will be considered in the analysis of photographs of academic women. Berger's (1972) discussion on ways of seeing suggests that images of women are sold to us as part of a pursuit of glamour and which can successfully sell a

message. The viewer is encouraged to feel envy to encourage active consumerism. This is an important consideration for the way FCA are represented in the media.

3.4.3 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis is a method of examining the written and spoken word that acts as a mirror to the construction and ideology underpinning the social world (Machin and Mayr, 2012). There are different discourse methods used by analysts to expose an ideology and the social framing that is hidden in language. The discourse method used provides a window onto the world view of social reality. As with the ideology running through structuralism and post-structuralism, an ideological position is also apparent in the choice of discourse methods. This is pertinent to feminism as it impacts on an essentialist or social constructionist view of gender and on the way power manifests through patriarchy or micro power. These issues will be discussed alongside discourse analysis methods.

The language used creates and defines the text. Discourse analysis is different from other methods of explaining the social world as it both explains and creates it (Phillips and Hardy, 2002). It helps to clarify how the categories we use to describe the world came to exist and why they remain in place (ibid). This makes it both a methodology and a method. Discourse can be defined as '*broad constitutive systems of meaning*' and is seen as '*carrying ideology*' (Sunderland, 2005 p. 6). Discourse can be recognised in language and other semiotic materials that convey meaning. For example, Butler (1990) sees performativity as discourse. Text is commonly used as a term to describe language and usually writing (Sunderland, 2005). News articles on the academic women will be described as text. Photographs, images and artefacts which also convey meaning will not be described as text.

3.4.4. Critical Discourse Analysis

Phillips and Hardy (2002, p. 3) define discourse as, 'an interrelated set of texts, and their production, dissemination, and reception, that brings an object into being'. For example, an object is not made real until it is understood within the culture and social interactions which form social reality. This is different from critical discourse which is interested in the dynamics of power (ibid). All critical discourse analysis (CDA) methods have a common interest in, 'deconstructing ideologies and power through the systematic and retroductable investigation of semiotic data' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016 p. 4). It is

important to be aware of discourse as it, 'can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997 p. 258).

Power in discourse, as used by Fairclough and Wodak, comes from the understanding of power that was developed by Gramsci (Machin and Mayr, 2012). This is that the dominant groups in society persuade subordinate groups that their ideology is the correct and natural one. It is through language that this ideology can be revealed as it is in language that we communicate views of the world. Multi-modal analysis as developed by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) allow all means of communication to be analysed in the same way as language. Building on the work of Barthes, they include attributes (objects included in the image), settings and salience (this includes cultural symbols, size, colour, tone, focus, foregrounding and overlapping). Multi -modal analysis is the method that will be used for analysing images of the celebrity academics.

In CDA language is a social action that both represents and creates the social context of societies (Fairclough, 2001). The language used reveals ideology and power struggles. CDA appeals to some feminists as it strives to make clear the ideology of patriarchy that may be hidden in the text. Lazar believes that, 'the marriage of feminism with CDA, in sum, can produce a rich and powerful political critique for action' and a means to reveal, 'relations of power that systematically privilege men as a social group and disadvantage, exclude and disempower women as a social group.' (Lazar, 2005 p 5). This form of CDA has become known as Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA).

There are several reasons why I will not be using CDA and FCDA in this research. As I have discussed, academic women are a privileged group of people who have benefited from a higher education and a professional career, giving them social and material capital. As has already been stated, this is not to say that they do not experience inequality but to see them simply as victims does not present a sufficiently nuanced understanding of power (see 2.2.2 for a discussion on the Foucauldian concept of power). It is for these reasons that a Foucauldian post structuralist method of discourse analysis will be used. This is discussed in 3.5.

3.5 Procedure

This section explains the development of a new discourse analysis tool, post-feminist discourse analysis, which has been used to analyse the articles used in this research. This has been done by merging the following two distinct methods.

3.5.1 Feminist Post Structural Discourse Analysis and Reflexivity

Baxter's (2018) feminist post structuralist method seeks to analyse women's representation in the British media using a post structuralist perspective. Baxter (2018) argues for the use of what she terms 'feminist post structuralist discourse analysis' (FPDA). Her approach includes a 'two stage process - deconstructionist and reconstructionist' which she describes as using a reflexive approach (ibid, p148). By deconstructing a text, it becomes possible to make explicit the discourse within. Then, by reconstructing the narrative the dominant discourse can be replaced with an alternative. This fits with a post structuralist approach as it is consistent that there is more than one possible interpretation of a narrative. She suggests that texts should be first read 'along the grain' and then deconstructed so that they can be read 'against the grain' allowing multiple meanings and interpretations to surface (ibid, p. 3). The final stage is reconstructing a text, so that the reader changes from simply being a critic to becoming empowered to offer alternative readings and understanding. Baxter's reflexive approach does not attempt to simply expose inequalities and injustice so that changes can be made. She is concerned, 'to understand the versions of reality that a text produces, and to open up spaces for a panoply of insights about the news subject/agent, even if some of these are less palatable.' (ibid, p. 149).

These multiple readings offer multiple realities. There is never only one way to comprehend a text. Baxter (2018) explains the stages required for applying the reflexive approach. The first stage is to read the text along the grain so that the key messages of the narrative are evident. Applying this to academic women the reader should consider the impression the text creates of the academic. Is she likeable, difficult, trustworthy, brilliant or beautiful? Does she have an authoritative voice? Is she someone you would like to be? As a critical reader, the textual and semiotic strategy used to give this impression must be considered. Are myths (see 3.4.2) being played out in the story, such as the university as an 'ivory tower' or a young academic as a 'bright young thing' or a woman over fifty years as a 'quarrelsome old

woman'. The second stage of analysis is reading against the grain to deconstruct the text. Step one in this process involves an analysis of micro-linguistics such as the use of gendered words and meanings. Step two in this process involves looking at the textual level of longer stretches of text. This includes looking above the level of the sentence for the use of thematic patterns. In step three of this process representation is examined, which looks at how women are stereotyped. The final fourth step in this process is an analysis at the discursive level, where the dominant ideological status of the text can be exposed. The third stage is the reconstructive stage. The four processes described in the second stage are re-examined with a view to establish an alternative meaning.

3.5.2 Post-feminism

Baxter's (2018) feminist post structuralist method of media analysis does not consider post-feminism and it seemed to me that there was evidence of a merging of feminist and anti-feminist sentiment in the media articles on celebrity academics. For this reason, Gill's (2006) post-feminist analysis method was also considered. Gill explains that she believes post-feminism should be viewed as a sensibility, as it should be a form of critique used for media culture which becomes our 'critical object' (Gill, 2006, p. 254). A post-feminist sensibility (PFS) can be viewed as a method to examine 'a set of ideas/representations of women circulating in (the) media' (Riley *et al,* 2017, p. 2). The nine themes that Gill identifies as part of a post-feminist analysis are described below.

Gill (2007) argues that a feature of neoliberal feminism is a preoccupation with the female body as a defining feature of her identity. In the eyes of the media to be a successful woman one needs a beautiful, or even better, a 'sexy' body. Femininity is not defined as one's personality or social role but by inhabiting a woman's body. Thus, the female body becomes the source of interest in any depiction about a woman. The right kind of female body is written about with praise and admirations, whereas the wrong kind of female body is likely to be criticised or ignored. Gill (ibid, p149) writes that, 'the body is presented as women's source of power and as unruly and requiring constant monitoring, surveillance, discipline and remodeling (and consumer spending) in order to conform to ever narrower judgements of female attractiveness.' Gill believes that this is a feature of the sexualisation of contemporary culture which she describes as, 'the extraordinary proliferation of sex and sexuality across all media forms' (ibid,

p. 256). The result is that people, their bodies and the situations they are in become associated with sex. This has the greatest impact on women. Gill argues that in the past women received the passive gaze of a male audience. Under post-feminism, however, the woman is not an object of the male gaze but is a sexually empowered, confident sexual being who enjoys being looked at and shows herself off because she enjoys doing so. She is given a sexual agency where she acts for her own pleasure. Gill believes that the aspiration is to, 'construct oneself as a subject closely resembling the heterosexual male fantasy that is found in pornography' (ibid, p. 258). Gill sees this as representing a change in power where the male gaze has been replaced by a 'self-policing narcissistic gaze'. As part of this technology of sexiness, a woman must always be 'up for it' meaning she is always sexually available and happy to be so. Irony is one of the methods used to safely comment on the woman's sexual appeal. Gill claims that irony is used in post-feminism as a method of expressing sexist sentiments, but from the safety of being able to state that it is only a joke.

Gill (ibid, p. 259) maintains that the notion of 'being oneself and pleasing oneself' are of central importance for post-feminism. All reference to gender, race and economic inequality is removed. Experiences are framed 'in exclusively personal terms in a way that turns the personal as political on its head' (ibid). Collective feminist ideals are replaced by a discourse of individualism and meritocracy where people are presented as having unrestricted choices to follow their career dreams. The opportunity for women to be successful has for many decades required the correct manners, clothing, hairstyle and makeup. Gill believes that although this still applies it has strengthened to include an 'intense self-surveillance', so that all parts of the female body come under scrutiny with a requirement to 'transform oneself' into a better version (ibid, p.261). Part of this transformation is the makeover paradigm which Gill (2007) believes is integral to post-feminism. There is always some part of a woman's life or body that is in need of perfecting and through consumption of an essential product, the woman is transformed into a happy, successful individual. For the celebrity academic the most significant transformation is consuming the product of education from a HE institution. By attending university, the person transforms from a school child to a successful academic and then onto celebrity status. It is, however, not enough to transform one's knowledge without also undergoing some form of physical transformation. Thus, the FCA must look the part. She should not just be clever but must look attractive and desirable. She must become a glamorous woman that people one can aspire to. The central

message in the consumption of academia is that, 'You too can live and look like this, should you choose to'!

A key feature of post-feminism is the reassertion of sexual difference between men and women. One of the ways that these manifests with the celebrity academic is to exaggerate the differences between men and women and, the unique contribution that women make, simply because they are women. In the articles, this is presented as unique female characteristics such as the ability to communicate well. Gendered binaries are presented under a discourse of this being 'normal'. Gill (2007) and McRobbie (2004) explain how many of the topics covered in the media could be constructed as being feminist topics. Open any newspaper and one is likely to find an article with a focus on empowered women doing well in public life. Indeed, the inclusion of successful celebrity academic women in the media could be conceived as being a positive feminist success story. However, closer inspection of this 'feminist' discourse reveals that there is a 'double entanglement'. This double entanglement is the combination of feminist and anti-feminist ideas and it is this that gives it its post-feminist and neoliberal nature (See 2.2.5 for more detail on this).

3.5.3 Merging the two methods: Post-Feminist Discourse Analysis

Baxter's (2018) feminist post structuralist discourse analysis (FPDA) and Gill's (2007) post-feminist sensibility (PFS) offer some interesting and insightful methods for analysing women's representation in the media. Gill's PFS is relevant for the analysis of young celebrity academic women but as Gill herself acknowledges, 'older women, bigger women, women with wrinkles, etc. are never accorded sexual subjecthood and are still subject to offensive and sometimes vicious representations.' (Gill, 2007, p. 259) Thus, Gill's PFS, used on the older academic woman, shows how she is excluded and silenced but does not inform the reader about other impressions the text is creating about her. Due to my interest in the representation of young and older celebrity academics, it seemed appropriate to merge Baxter's and Gill's discourse analysis methods so that the analysis can cover the discourses used for different generations. This allows a post-feminist analysis but also includes a consideration of the use of other discourses, such as the use of academic stereotypes and stigma in the media. This combination will be termed 'post-feminist discourse analysis' and is described below.

The first stage is to read the text so that the narrative and messages being constructed are apparent. Baxter (2018) terms this reading along the grain. Stage two involves a de-construction of the narrative. The first step involves thinking about the language being used. Would the same words be applied to a man? Is the woman being pigeon-holed into a familiar cultural narrative? The language about her appearance (this includes hair, make-up, body size, age and clothing), her personality (the adjectives used to describe her nature and behaviour) and her professional ability (her qualifications and expertise) should all be considered. The second step of this process is to look at the textual level for any suggestion of gender differences and gender binaries being used in the text. The third step is the representational level and to decide if there is any evidence of one or more stereotypes being used to represent the woman. The final step of this process is to consider the discoursal level and any sub-themes. What is the dominant ideology apparent in the text? Are post-feminist discourses apparent or absent in the narrative? Finally, there is the reconstruction of the narrative with a different focus which allows a re-reading of the text so that resistant and marginalised ideologies are placed in the fore ground. Thus, there is a conscious effort to change the discourse of the text so that other possibilities are presented. As Hughes (2002, p. 149) explains, 'Our task is to learn to be critically literate in the ways that we read discourses because such literacy leads to the potentiality for change. This change is accompanied by inserting new discourses into the language that envisage new gendered, and other possibilities.' (Please see appendix one for a template of a post-feminist discourse analysis method.)

Conclusion

This chapter has considered the methodology and methods that have been used in this thesis. The design, research sample, ethics, data gathering and procedure for this research have been discussed. I have argued for the use of post structural theory and by using a flexible design and grounded theory I have developed a new post- feminist discourse analysis method with which to consider the representation of celebrity academics in the British media. The intention of this research is to reveal and analyse the narratives, text and images used by the media for celebrity academic women, so that discourses around power and culture can be uncovered.

Chapter Four

Introduction

This chapter will include both the presentation and the analysis of the data generated through discourse analysis, as it seemed counter-intuitive to separate the two. The chapter is divided into three sections. These sections are stereotypes and stigma, discipline and aesthetic labour and the academpreneur and celebrity. These themes are positioned to explore the research questions.

4.1 Female Academic Stereotypes and Stigma

In this section, I will argue that in the media there exist silent discourses of academic stereotypes and stigma. The result is that academic women become pigeonholed into categories that diminish their academic contributions. As has previously been discussed (see 2.3.3), gender stereotypes are generalisations that determine how men and women should be (prescriptive) and how they are (descriptive) (Heilman, 2001). Stigma, discussed in 2.1.4, is a judgment on the worth of an individual based on what is valued by the society (Goffman 1968). A total of 28 articles have been analysed, using multi-modal discourse analysis, to see what evidence there is of the British media using stigma and stereotypes when writing about celebrity academics. Baxter (2018) indicates that it is not unusual to find more than one stereotype being present in an article. For example, an academic might be presented as a bluestocking in one paragraph and as a cantankerous old woman in another. The 'thinking man's crumpet', which I shall argue is the female academic stereotype most prized by the media, will be discussed under the section 'Discipline and Aesthetic Labour'.

4.1.1 The Blue Stocking

The blue stocking stereotype is a woman who is absorbed in reading and learning. As a 'girlie swot' is not generally admired in the society, a woman absorbed in learning may be represented as eccentric and not quite in touch with the 'real world'. Thus, media articles would be expected to focus on an academic woman's eccentricity alongside her achievements.

In two articles Alice Roberts is described as a 'boffin'. In *The Telegraph* (Alexander, 2009) she is 'the boffin with a backpack' and in *The Independent* (Gallagher, 2014) she is a 'boffin without a beard'. A 'boffin' is a noun used to describe a person who is knowledgeable about science (Cambridge Dictionary, ND). The term connotes a man and is being used ironically for Roberts as she is a woman who is knowledgeable in the male subject of science. It is the act of being a scientific woman that makes her unusual. Great emphasis is made of her academic achievements in both articles. She is praised throughout *The Independent* article for being an 'anatomist and broadcaster', an 'anatomist and anthropologist', a 'Professor of Public Engagement in Science at Birmingham University' and for working in a 'field dominated by men' where 'she is the only female professor of Public Engagement'. She is presented as a blue stocking because of her learning and for her choice of subject. In the older article by Alexander (2009) in *The Telegraph,* her 'impressive academic record' is referred to and the reader is told that she is a qualified 'Dr of Medicine', has a 'PhD in Paleopathology' and is a 'Senior Teaching Fellow at Bristol University'. However, in this article she is presented as a clever woman who needs help with being feminine. She is given a make-over and is transformed from 'boffin' to 'belle'. This conjures up the image of the out of touch bluestocking, more interested in her books than her looks.

This narrative is re-enforced by the accompanying images of Roberts in the articles. In *The Independent* Roberts' blonde hair is pulled away from her face. She is wearing a vest and a pair of brown trousers which are covered in paint. There is no explanation for the paint and this re-enforces the idea of eccentricity. *The Telegraph* reveals how a younger Roberts looked after she had undergone a make-over and received help in appearing feminine.

Professor Alice Roberts (Gallagher, 2014)



Dr Alice Roberts (Alexander, 2009)



Figure 10. Professor Alice Roberts

Victoria Bateman, was featured in in *The Guardian* (Weaver, 2019) after appearing on 'Good Morning Britain' naked to give her opinion, that leaving the European Union would leave the UK 'naked'. The focus of the article was her nakedness. She was described as a 'naked' 'exhibitionist' who is also a 'Cambridge academic' and an 'economics Fellow'. Bateman fits into the blue stocking stereotype as although very clever, her behaviour appears out of touch with the 'real' world. Berger (1972) suggests that a woman's naked body is looked at for pleasure, usually by men. Bateman, however, is not presented as 'sexy'. Although her hair is styled is has been shaped into an old-fashioned plaited bun. This connotes a serious hairstyle usually of an older woman. Despite being naked she wears make-up and hooped earrings. Her behaviour appears eccentric and in keeping with an academic who is unaware of the correct way to behave.

Dr Victoria Bateman (Weaver, 2019)

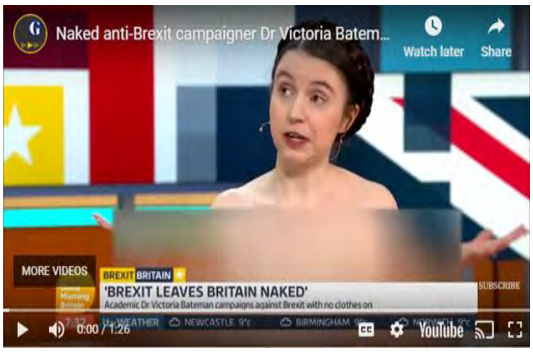


Figure 11. Dr Victoria Bateman

Howse (2015) writing in *The Telegraph* considers that Dr Janina Ramirez looks 'normal in appearance' and has an 'ordinary voice' but that she became 'excited' and 'enthusiastic' during her 'compelling' BBC4 documentary on 'Saints and Sinners'. Ramirez is referred to as both 'Dr' and 'presenter' but Howse does not believe that Ramirez is always accurate. He was 'provoked to disagree' and wants someone to tell Ramirez that 'hermetic is not the adjective for being a hermit'. Stevens (2015) in the *Daily Mail* notes that she is 'the Oxford art historian' and that she is 'enthusiastic' and goes into 'ecstasy' over her subject. The words excited and enthusiastic connote an emotional woman, which is a familiar female stereotype (Baslow, 1992). Ramirez is portrayed as a slightly eccentric, emotional blue stocking who despite looking 'normal' and sounding 'ordinary', goes into raptures over her research subject. The image accompanying the article reads 'BBC Four' which suggests it is a still from her TV documentary. The image supports the text in showing an unremarkable woman talking but following the description of her in the text, the reader can image the stereotype of a learned, over-emotional academic woman.

Dr Janina Ramirez (Howse, 2015)

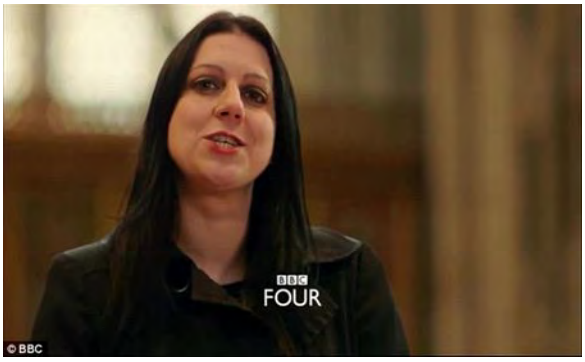


Figure 12. Dr Janina Ramirez

The Financial Times article starts by informing the reader that Dr Maggie Aderin-Pocock is '44' and 'doesn't look like a space scientist' (Baker 2012). The reader is told three times that she 'doesn't look like a scientist'. She looks like a 'housewife from a bygone era' dressed in clothes that have a '1950's style'. Adjectives used to describe Aderin-Pocock include, 'mother', 'motherly', 'warm natured', 'approachable' and 'enthusiastic' with a 'life-long passion for outer space' and a 'love of outer space'. Once again, the emotional woman is present in the article. When Baker arrives, Aderin-Pocock offers him tea and cake in her garden. Her garden, in a 'suburban house in Guildford' has 'an apple tree', 'raspberry canes' and 'sage' which re-enforce a domestic scene. Her academic qualification (a doctorate in mechanical engineering) is mentioned once. The reader is also told that she has an 'MBE' and 'designs optical equipment for satellites and telescopes'. Aderin-Pocock is presented as a clever mother and housewife. In the image Aderin-Pocock sits on a wooden bench in a garden with her hands on her lap. Her arms and legs are covered. She wears flat shoes and a dark dress that is below the knee. This, combined with her posture, gives her a demure look. She smiles at the camera. Foucault (1970) believed that language could form, create and limit ideas. The text and the image direct the reader towards seeing a housewife rather than an accomplished scientist. The stereotype of housewife comes most to mind but there are also elements of the blue stocking with her intelligence and her emotionality.

Dr Maggie Aderin-Pocock (Baker 2012)



Figure 13. Dr Maggie Aderin - Pocock

The framing of the space scientist Aderin-Pocock as a housewife and mother evokes the racist stereotype of the 'mammies' as described by Bogle (1973) (see 2.3.3). hooks (1982) writes about the black female experience of slavery, domestic work, patriarchy, and sexual exploitation. Historically, in the USA, black women worked in the wealthy households of white families as both a nanny and servant.

The black mammy stereotype who carries out this work is obese, submissive, and asexual and as such poses no threat to the white women of the household (ibid). The role of the black mammy and servant was dramatized in the USA film, *The Help* in 2011. Viola Davies plays the role of the black maid who experiences racism as the hands of her white employers. While interviewed about her role in the film, Davies expressed concern that despite the film's subject, the narrative had been that of the 'white saviour' with black voices marginalized (Desta, 2018). The implication is that these racist stereotypes continue to be played out through silencing.

The adjectives used to describe Aderin-Pocock and the image of her sitting demurely in a domestic setting, denote this black mammy stereotype. This confirms Hall's (1981) observation that the representation of black people today still carries with it the racist undertones developed during slavery. Crenshaw (1989) argues that the diverse components of difference can intertwine and heighten inequality. As a black female academic it appears that in this article Aderin- Pocock experiences both stereotypes of race and gender, as the stereotypes of the black mammy and the blue stocking are evoked.

The value of the celebrity academic woman's achievements is undermined by the blue stocking stereotype by linking her intellect with eccentricity and her gender with being too much or not enough of a woman. There are echoes here of the female student who died in 1874 due to 'over education' (Steinbach, 2005 p.190). It is as if the strain of learning has slightly unhinged these women so that they become emotional, outspoken, out of touch or unsure how to look or behave like 'proper' women.

4.1.2 The School Ma'am

The familiar female stereotype of the school ma'am creeps into several of the articles on female celebrity academics. The school ma'am is a woman in a conventional female setting who treats adults as if they were children (Baxter, 2018). Hughes refers to herself as 'head-girl' type in the *Daily Mail* and the article includes an account about a male producer who told Hughes that, 'no-one likes to be lectured by a woman' (Hodges, 2017). These associations with schools and teaching conjure the school ma'am stereotype. In a *Daily Mail* TV review, Stevens (2013) describes Professor Catharine Edwards as presenting a narrative on Ancient Rome as if she were talking to 'recalcitrant schoolgirls who she is about to tell off'. She is portrayed as a disciplinarian school ma'am. The stereotype of female

emotionality appears again when Hoggart (2003) describes Uhlenbroek, as an 'enthusiastic primary-school teacher'. In these articles the women are represented as school ma'ams. The association appears to be that because they are women involved in teaching, albeit as presenters on TV, this stereotype comes to mind. It is a pigeonholing of women into familiar gender scripts.

4.1.3 The older female celebrity academic and stigma

Old celebrity academic women in the media are difficult to find and for this reason they will each be featured separately. Germaine Greer, 79 years, and Mary Beard, 64 years, are the only two celebrity academic women who appear regularly on TV. Catharine Edwards is 56 years[15] and has been added to the ageing female celebrities' section, despite being only in her late middle age, because she has grey hair. As will be discussed this appears to have an impact on the way women are represented. What is most notable is the absence of older women in the media.

Mary Beard

In the second sentence of the article the reader is informed about Beard's age (Lambert, 2018). The headshots of Beard also direct the viewer to this information. Four images of Beard are included in the Lambert (2018) article and two in the Trozier (2017) article. In none of them does Beard have an entire body. One is from the waist up, four are of her shoulders and face and one is a close-up picture. The images make it clear that Beard is an older woman with wrinkles and long grey hair. Grey hair is a collective symbol of old age. The pictures connote an unspoken level of significance (Chandler, 2007) as they depict old age. The images are a discursive tool that state what the journalists sidestep; the images illustrate a woman in old age which in western culture represents decline. There are few positive images of being an elderly woman in western society (Arber and Ginn, 1991). Age features in the Lambert (2018) text in a predominantly negative way. In the article, Beard raises the issue of post-menopausal women as 'being past their sell by date' and that there is a problem of where to fit them in the culture. Her story re-enforces a negative interpretation of being older.

[15] This is the age of the women at the time of the articles.

Prof Mary Beard (Lambert 2018)



Prof Mary Beard (Trozier 2017)



Figure 14. Professor Mary Beard

Beard fits with the blue stocking stereotype of an eccentric academic. Her scholarly status is confirmed with words such as 'historian', 'academic' and 'distinguished' (Lambert, 2018) and a 'leading Cambridge classicist' and 'an expert in Ancient Rome' (Trozier, 2017). However, she is also described in the article as 'outspoken', a 'woman with opinions', someone who has 'argued' (Lambert, 2018) and an 'outspoken historian' and an 'outspoken academic' (Trozier, 2017). This fits with the image of an elderly academic who is cantankerous and 'outspoken' and connotes her negatively. In the Lambert article (2018) she is presented as being quite shocking with descriptions about her youth and flings she enjoyed with older married men. Quotes are selected to accompany pictures of her in the Lambert article. These include, 'I don't tweet my best when I am drunk' and 'We all have bits of mistaken casual behaviour'. This last sentence is repeated in the article three times. There is something 'unnatural' in our culture for a woman of Beard's age to talk openly about her sexual encounters and being drunk. This re-enforces a negative image of her as eccentric and bizarre. Cruikshank (2009) suggested that we view older women and sexual activity with disparagement, despite research that suggests that women over the age of 64

experience sexual desire and pleasure (Watson, Stelle and Bell, 2017). Beard's uncommon image, which is emphasised with close-up pictures, adds to this stigmatising narrative.

During an interview by Viv Jones (BBC *Civilisations* Podcast, 2018) Beard revealed that part of her desire to be seen on TV was so that a 'wrinkled old woman' would be visible. She did not appear on TV until she was 50 years of age and says at that time that she knew who she was (ibid). Knowing who she was gave her the confidence to deal with the criticisms by A. A. Gill of having 'teeth like tombstones' and as being a suitable candidate for the TV programme *The Undatables*, (a dating show for people with severe disabilities) (Gill, 2012). More recently in *The Times* she was described by Camilla Long (2018) as 'thankfully wearing someone else's clothes' and of having had a 'boil wash'. One needs a lot of confidence to be able to deal with this kind of stigmatising public humiliation in the media. As has been discussed, when *Civilisations* was shown in the USA, Beard was replaced with a younger male actor.

The stereotype of blue stocking is being used on Mary Beard. Her academic prowess is matched with her outlandish behaviour in the form of her comments and her appearance. This and the emphasis on her looks and her age, results in her experiencing stigma.

Germaine Greer

The Independent (Kaplan, 2018) features an article on Greer about the opinions she voiced at the Hay Festival and on a BBC 2 documentary. The reader is told that Greer is '79 years old' and a 'feminist academic'. At the Hay Festival, Greer gave her opinion on rape and women's nakedness. She proposes that rape, when it is not violent, can sometimes be 'bad sex' and that women's nakedness is a sign of inequality. She uses ice skaters and the pop star Beyoncé, as an example of women's nakedness next to clothed men doing the same job. This gives the journalist an opportunity to include an image of Beyoncé with most of her buttocks exposed. There is no accompanying picture of Greer, helping to render her invisible. The unspoken message is that there is no desire to see a 79-year-old woman. The interest in her is to humiliate an elderly feminist for her 'controversial remarks'. Kaplan (2018) writes that Greer 'rants', 'attacks', 'took aim', gives her 'opinion' and 'sparked outrage'. There is no attempt to give a more reasoned representation of Greer's opinions. The adjectives used to describe her give the impression of an unreasonable, cantankerous old woman who makes shocking comments about sex and nudity. She is also presented as a hypocrite as Kaplan explains that Greer has posed naked. At no time is Greer credited as an experienced feminist academic but rather as a disagreeable old woman. The bluestocking stereotype is not evident for Greer as there is no reference to her qualifications or publications. The response to her is simply one of stigma.

Beyoncé rather than Germaine Greer (Kaplan, 2018)



Figure 15. An image of Beyoncé rather than Germaine Greer

Catharine Edwards

When Catharine Edwards presented 'Women and Power: Empresses of Ancient Rome' on BBC4 she was 50 years of age. She was described as a 'dull' 'professor', and a 'stuffy academic' (Stevens, 2013). This connotes the fusty academic who manages to make everything sound boring. She was so 'dull' that she 'did her best to make Ancient Rome look like Sheffield on a wet Tuesday night' (ibid). The reader is told that she talks to the audience as if she is about to tell them off. There is no description of Edwards. Gill (2007) argues that the older woman is given no sexual subjecthood and this appears the case for Edwards. The image is of a woman with grey hair who has no lower body. Grey hair is associated with the elderly and discrimination (Ward & Holland, 2011). Edwards wears lipstick suggesting selfcare (Clarke and Bundon, 2009). At one-point Stevens (2013) describes the story as 'intriguing', which suggests it was not a 'wet Tuesday night in Sheffield' throughout. One cannot help but wonder if Edwards had looked younger whether her documentary would have been received more favourably. In both articles Edwards is portrayed in several stereotypical modes. She is both a learned but boring bluestocking, a disciplinarian school ma'am and a grey-haired woman with no sexual subjecthood.

Professor Catharine Edwards (Stevens, 2013)



Figure 16. Professor Catharine Edwards

4.1.4 Male stereotypes and the hegemonic academic male

The hegemonic academic male is a concept adapted from Connell's (1995) hypothesis of the hegemonic male ideal. It is this ideal male type who has power and authority in society. He is the first image that is conjured when someone refers to an intellectual and a university academic (Eagleton, 2005) (see 2.3.3).

Professor Brian Cox has characteristics of the hegemonic male in *The Times* article by Llewellyn Smith (2018) in that he is heterosexual, successful, athletic, intelligent, 'gorgeous', 'the sexiest man alive', a father of son George and powerful (he is considering entering politics). He enjoys circuit training and is thinking about taking up boxing. These are reassuringly male attributes in that he has status, power, physical prowess, good looks and a son. His academic credentials are referred to and he is called a 'Physicist', a 'Professor of Particle Science' and a 'superstar'. In the image accompanying the article, Cox wears a dinner jacket, a white shirt, a bow tie and black shoes. This is the male uniform of status. He stands with is legs apart with his hands resting on his pockets. This is a powerful male position of authority. A woman, wearing a short black dress, who we are told is his wife[16] accompanies him.

Professor Brian Cox (Llewellyn Smith 2018)



Figure 17. Professor Brian Cox

[16] Brian Cox's wife, Gia Milinovich, was a successful TV presenter on Channel 4, Sky Sports and BBC Radio 5. When she first met Cox, they would plan science programmes together. Milinovich wrote in The Guardian in 2010 that she experiences 'invisible wife syndrome' and spends 90% of her time alone with the children while he films. There is Hughes' (2002a) discourse of caring and being a good woman in this narrative.

Professor Michael Scott's work on Roman Britain is featured in the *Daily Mail* (Griffiths 2013). Scott is referred to as a 'Professor' an 'assistant professor of Ancient History at Warwick University' and as having 'expert knowledge'. Information on him as an individual, his clothing and his personal characteristics are missing. He is present only through his work. The images featured in the article are of Roman Britain, as Scott sees it.

No accompanying image of Prof Michael Scott. Instead his work is featured. (Griffiths, 2013)



Figure 18. Images of Professor Michael Scott's work

This makes him an academic hegemonic male in that only his knowledge and expertise are relevant.

Professor Simon Schama is interviewed by the *Daily Mail* following his TV appearance on the BBC's documentary, *Civilisations* (Moreton 2018). The reader is informed that Schama is 73, 'commanding', that he strides across our screens and is 'television's most distinguished historian' who has published 'many critically acclaimed books'. There is no mention of his looks or clothes. He is the hegemonic male academic who is intellectually 'acclaimed'. The tone of the description is reminiscent of a nostalgia for the 'public intellectual' as depicted by Collini (1994). Collini explains the USA and British tradition of the 'culture and intellectual historian' of the 1940's and 1950's who operated with authority in the 'public sphere' (ibid, p. 380).

In the image accompanying the article, Schama sits in a wooden paneled room on a leather chair. Behind him is a large oil painting. To his side is a bust that could be in white marble. The floor is parquet. This is the environment of status and power. He is wearing a dark suit, a white shirt and shiny, leather shoes. His neck button is open to show he is relaxed which is re-enforced by his posture of leaning forward and sitting at the end of the chair. His legs are open in a male sitting position. He looks directly into the camera with his head at a slight side position. His surroundings and his clothing connote wealth and status. The text, image and context re-enforce the myth of the hegemonic male (Phillips and Hardy, 2002).

Professor Simon Schama (Moreton 2018)



Figure 19. Professor Simon Schama

4.1.4.1. The nerd

As has been discussed in 2.3.3, the 'nerd' presents a gentler masculinity whose appeal is derived from his expertise and knowledge, rather than the physical embodiment of the hegemonic male (Morris and Anderson 2015). In *The Times*, Llewellyn-Smith (2018) presents Cox as a happily married father who is 'young' looking, 'shy', 'soft', 'with sweet tones', 'sunny', 'unassuming', 'engaging', 'giggly' and 'childlike' with a 'beaming smile'. This is a different kind of masculinity from that portrayed by the hegemonic male. These characteristics are more in line with the 'nerd' male who benefits from being associated with hegemonic masculinity but shows other less masculine characteristics. In the *Daily Mail* Cox is described as 'the nutty professor' and a 'science boffin' (Moreton 2017). Other characteristics associated with the nerd stereotype are that Cox is described as 'blunt' with a 'fierce intellect'. The science nerd is associated with poor social skills. This was made popular in the American sitcom *The Big Bang Theory* where the character Sheldon, a physicist, is famous for saying the wrong thing. In the accompanying image Cox looks bemused while a robot hand adjusts his spectacles. He does not usually wear spectacles, but this prop makes him look more like a science nerd[17]. Cox wears a black jacket and a silver top which are the colours of the universe, fitting for a physicist. His hair is styled to look casual and ruffled, as if he pays no attention to it. Grey hair is visible.

[17] . It is interesting to note that the same robot was concerned with Hannah Fry's appearance rather than trying to help her with her science work.

Professor Brian Cox (Moreton 2017)



Figure 20. Professor Brian Cox

4.1.4.2The complicit male

The complicit male is a role created by Connell (2005) to account for men who benefit from being associated with the hegemonic male but who do not have the hegemonic male's authority or power. David Olusoga fits into this category. The images that accompany the articles on Olusoga indicate an academic historian with the symbols of books and antiquity surrounding him. However, the text in the articles does not support this. In the *Daily Mail*, Coen and Rouse (2018) refer to Olusoga as 'Mr Olusogo', a 'BBC historian', and a 'co-presenter' thus denying him academic legitimacy and prestige. In *The Telegraph*, Rees (2016) calls him a 'presenter'. It is worth considering this against Olusoga' s scholarly contributions to history. Olusoga started his career as a researcher and producer of history programmes, becoming a TV presenter in 2014 and winning a BAFTA award for *Britain's Forgotten Slave Owners* (UoM, 2019). He is also an author, winning awards for his books *The World's War* (which won *First World War Book of the Year* in 2015) and *Black & British: A Forgotten History* (which received both the *Longman-History Today Trustees Award* and the *PEN Hessell-Tiltman Prize* in 2017) (ibid). He has contributed to *The Guardian, The Observer, New Statesman* and *BBC History* and received an OBE in 2019 (ibid). (See Table 1. for more biographical detail.)

Olusoga does not have a Doctorate and his highest qualification is a master's degree from Liverpool University The journalists are not incorrect to call him 'Mr Olusago' and 'presenter' but he could have been simply called David Olusoga with reference made to his awards. Olusoga has since been made a Professor of Public History at Manchester University (ibid), which should prevent this from happening in the future. One cannot help but wonder if there is racism in the choice to address him this way and to not mention his achievements in either article. Bell (1992) believes that racism is permanent feature in society. As the first black faculty member at Harvard University, Bell considers that one of the reasons there are fewer black academics is because of the expectation that an academic should have a traditional academic background. This invariably means an elite, white, male background (Bhopal, 2016). The fact that Olusoga does not have a doctorate, the traditional qualification for an academic, matches with this idea. As a black British celebrity academic, Olusoga fits the description of an 'embraceable and exceptional' black man (Page, 1997). An embraceable black man is one who the media accept and present to white viewers as extraordinary in their ability but also as unthreatening. McClerking and Block (2020) explain the career costs that this embraceability can have for the black celebrity. Black viewers expect the black celebrity to talk about inequality and injustice, but this makes the white audience uncomfortable. As a result, the black celebrity must walk an impossible tight rope of expectations from different audiences. This is apparent when Olusoga reminds both black and white audiences that there is a long history of being Black and British (Rees, 2016) and that Churchill was a hero but also committed war crimes (Coen and Rouse 2018). *Black & British: A Forgotten History* has also been made into a BBC TV programme which has widened its audience but also presented challenges for Olusoga when his version of history confronts racist views (Mohdin, 2021). Olusoga believes that being a historian is to present the truth even if this makes people feel uncomfortable (ibid). The combination of permanent racism (Bell, 1992) which denies the black academic his position with the white male academics in the gender hierarchy (Connell, 1987), alongside penalties for being too politically black or not politically black enough in the media (McClerking and Block 2020) will make the role of celebrity academic unjustly difficult for Olusoga.

The image in the *Daily Mail* shows Olusoga with an open book, which symbolises his learning. He is sitting at a wooden table with a battered wooden chair next to him. The room's background with green painted walls, pictures and books looks like a museum room. In *The Telegraph*, Olusoga is pictured outside in historical settings. Olusoga has short dreadlocks which makes him look fashionable. He has a grey beard and glasses, which are also fashionable symbols of learning and age. In two pictures, he

wears a jacket. In all images he has one or more shirt button open. This gives him a relaxed, informal look. His full body appears in only one of the five pictures of him.

David Olusoga (Coen and Rouse 2018)



David Olusoga (Rees, 2016)



Figure 21. David Olusoga

Discussion

Analysis of the selected articles suggests that there is use of academic stereotypes. The stereotypes of the bluestocking, the school ma'am, the hegemonic academic male and the nerd can be seen in a range

of British media. None of the stereotypes enhance the role of being a female academic. They undermine the years of hard work and study necessary to access this profession. The blue stocking is out of touch with reality, emotional and with her head in her books. The school ma'am is a shrill disciplinarian or an over enthusiastic grown up schoolgirl. Macdonald (1995) comments that male stereotypes do not receive the same negative connotations as stereotypes of women. This can be seen in the media where there is no hegemonic academic female stereotype where her work can stand alone in the media. Even the nerd is made more desirable by being the combination of success and a softer masculinity.

In many of the descriptions of the female academics, emotions and the ability to communicate are written about. These are gender stereotypes for women (Baslow, 1992). Macdonald (1995 p. 13) indicates that, 'Like ideology, the stereotype works by being plausible, and by masking its own value system.' The repeated stereotype then becomes the way the academics are viewed. Old age is considered to render women unattractive and as a result they are stigmatised and treated as other. Clarke's and Griffin's (2008) discussions with elderly women reveal that there are the micro-penalties of mockery and derision used on women who leave their hair in its natural state or who wear the wrong clothes. Goffman (1968) suggests that the stigmatised person (in this case the older woman) can respond by hiding the stigma or by hiding herself. The older academic women are disparaged because they do have a voice, they are not invisible, and they have not undergone body labour. The penalties for this are the way the women are described. Beard is considered 'outspoken', Greer 'rants' and 'sparks outrage' and Edwards is a 'dull' grey-haired disciplinarian. When the response to Beard is compared with her BBC 1 Civilisations co-presenter, Simon Schama, a different story emerges. In the *Daily Mail* article (Moreton 2018) there is only one picture of Schama, and it is of his entire body. There is no close-up of his face. The article is on some criticism he has received over his description of pre-historic art in Civilisations. He is not described as 'outspoken' for giving his views but as 'cross' and 'upset' about critics getting things wrong. He is presented to the reader as someone for whom age has made wise.

Another striking feature of the stigma older academic women receive is their general absence in the British media. Beard and Greer are the only FCA over 60 years. The silence and absence of older women in public life is its own discourse. It is one that is not repeated for old academic men. When the number of old academic women active in the media is compared to the number of old academic men there is a

stark difference[18]. As has been discussed, this is a finding confirmed by The COOW (2013) who found that over the age of 50 only 18% of presenters were women, compared with 82% of men. When old women do appear in the media, they are treated with derision for being 'outspoken' 'dull' or for causing 'outrage'. Older female celebrities such as Beard also suffer from the disciplinary gaze, not just for their opinions but for looking like an old woman. It appears that the themes of silencing, inequality and stigma persist for the older female celebrity academic.

The identified stereotypes and stigma conform to Connell's (1987) gender hierarchy. The diagram below indicates how some gender academic stereotypes are given greater cultural value than others. The thinking man's crumpet (see 4.2) has higher value because of her association with sexual attractiveness. She shares many of the characteristics of emphasised femininity (Connell, 1987). Due to her greater cultural value, this type of celebrity academic is much more likely to be seen on our TV screens. The blue stocking and school ma'am are given less value and can be the objects of derision. The old academic woman and the black academic woman receive the lowest value in society. For this reason, they correspond with Connell's idea of resistant and marginalised femininity. The hegemonic male has the highest cultural value and for many an academic is a powerful, wise, white male (Eagleton, 2005). The nerd who displays a gentler masculinity but who has cultural value due to his association with technology (Morris and Anderson, 2015) closely follows this idealised role. The complicit male academic benefits from his association with the hegemonic male academic but for reasons of race, class or qualifications he is not able to reach the heights of the hegemonic male. An example of this is David Olusoga where the discourse of accomplishment is denied to him.

The images used in the articles evoke some interesting observations. Men are much more likely to be given a full body. Beard, Edwards, Ramirez, and Bateman do not have a lower body and Greer, the oldest woman, is missing completely. Beyoncé's full body is included so that the sexual appeal of her naked legs and buttocks can be seen. By contrast, Cox and Schema are given full bodies. Scott is absent from the article, but his work is given centre stage and he is praised for his 'expert knowledge'. Olusoga is given a full body but in only one of the five images of him. This is likely to reflect his lower status in the gender academic hierarchy.

[18] Examples include, Prof Michael Wood (BBC 2, The Story of China 2016) is 70, Prof Simon Schama (BBC 1 Civilisations, 2018) is 73, Dr David Starkey (BBC 1, The Six Wives of Henry VIII, 2001) is 74, Prof Robert Winston (BBC 1 Child of our Time, 2017) is 78 and David Attenborough (BBC 1 Blue Planet, 2018) is 93 years of age.

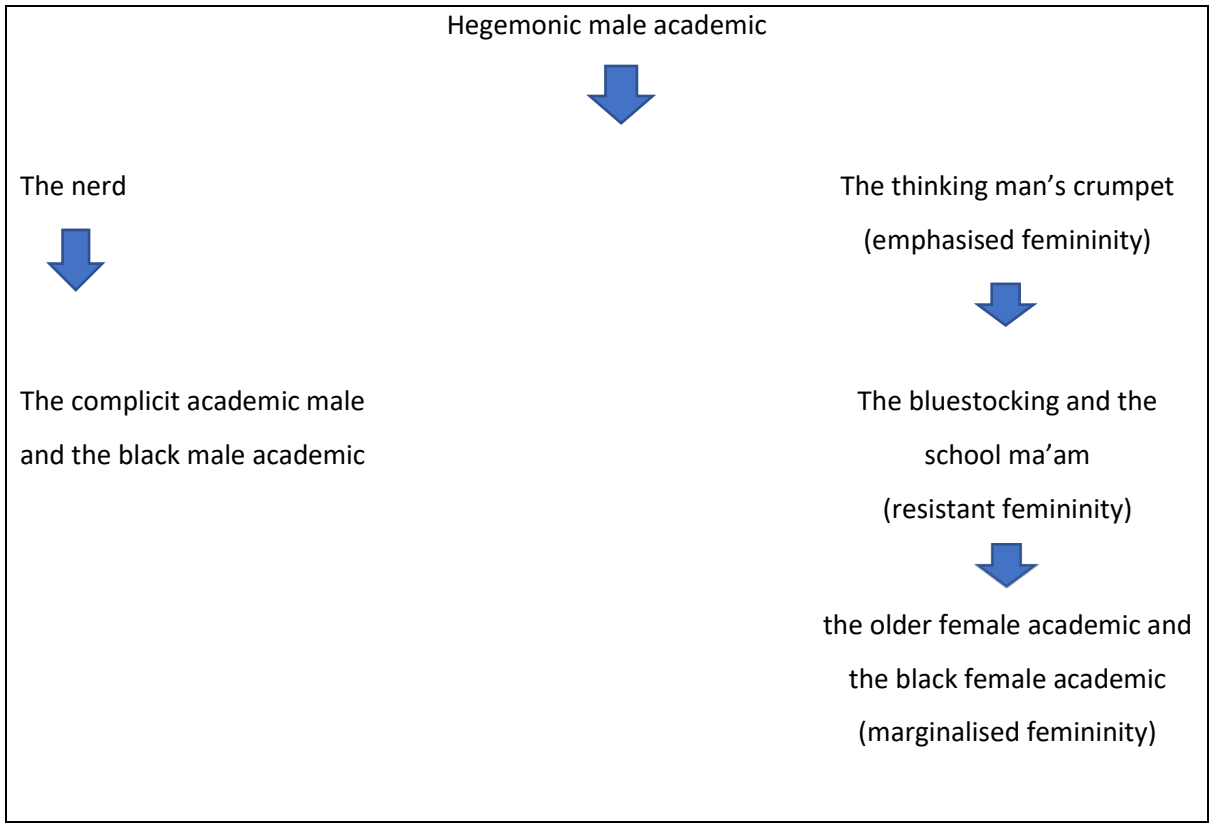


Figure 22. The Academic Gender Hierarchy

(Adapted from Connell's 1987 gender hierarchy)

Figure 4.10

The hierarchy of academic stereotypes reflects the gender value system and power operating in society. The stereotypical portrayal of celebrity academic women re-enforces the idea that women are not ideally suited to academia. Academic women in the media are frequently portrayed as eccentric, emotional and out of touch. Older academic women in particular, receive the greatest stigma and their opinions and behaviour are mocked. The damaging effect of stereotypes has been recognised by the United Nations Human Rights (2014, p. 2) who state that, 'There is a growing consensus that gender stereotyping poses a significant, yet largely unaddressed, challenge to the recognition, exercise and enjoyment of women's human rights'. Ross and Carter (2011) argue that stereotypes act as a conservative force to halt social change and gender progress while Heilman (2001) believes that female stereotypes can hinder women's career success. The media narrative of stereotypes has the potential to impact on women's career choices and progression in academia.

Another way of seeing the media narrative is as a myth (Barthes 1972). Macdonald (1995, p.13) explains that, 'By posing as 'natural' and 'common-sensical', myths obscure their ideological role in helping to shore up systems of belief that sustain power of the powerful.' The myth, in this case, is that women, and particularly older women, are not well matched to academia. This is because as female academics they can be emotional, such as Ramirez, outrageous, such as Beard and Greer, dull, such as Edwards, inappropriate, such as Bateman, or requiring feminising in the case of Roberts. Male celebrity academics do not receive this kind of treatment in the media. The hegemonic male academic's expertise can be so commanding that he need not even appear next to his research.

Although academic stereotypes are familiar to people in British culture, their use in the media is not widely recognised. If stereotypes and stigma exist and are not called out, they can continue to 'set the limits' for those categorised and stigmatised (Jenkins, 2000 p. 21). By recognising and naming academic stereotypes, it is hoped that the reader can identify them for what they are; damaging and undermining.

4.2 Discipline and aesthetic labour

We are living in a neoliberal era and this has profound consequences for women and the way they are represented in the media (Gill, 2007). Gill sees neoliberalism operating on gender to produce a kind of consumer feminism, where the female is free and empowered only by consuming and transforming. Women are called on to 'self-manage' and to 'self-discipline' but to present this as 'freely chosen' (Gill and Scharff, 2011, p.7). Consuming beauty products and services are essential to this transformation, making women key subjects in neoliberalism. 'Doing beauty' is part of 'doing femininity' and there is a requirement to achieve the beauty norms (Lazer, 2017, p.37). To accomplish this involves discipline. Gill (2007) argues that a key feature of neoliberal feminism is a preoccupation with the female body as a defining feature of her identity. Some types of female bodies are admired whereas other types are likely to be criticised or ignored (McRobbie, 2009). It would seem perverse that women whose occupation is learning, researching and thinking are subjected to their worth being judged by their female body in the British media. However, 'Neoliberalism makes us all aesthetic entrepreneurs' (Elias, Gill and Scharff, 2017, p. 5). These ideas will be applied to celebrity academic women to ascertain whether aesthetic labour and discipline is a necessary requirement for a career of the mind.

4.2.1 The Thinking Man's Crumpet and the young woman's body

The thinking man's crumpet is a stereotype of an attractive young woman who is also clever. She is the kind of woman a middle-class male is likely to find desirable. The language used in the media about this type of female academic woman emphasises this combination of looks and intelligence. The implication of this stereotype is that the woman has greater value because of her attractive looks. It is only when her intelligence is combined with her appearance that her intelligence is given significance. Intelligence alone does not have as much value as is the case with the bluestocking, school ma'am and old woman. The following examples will illustrate the media's focus on the combination of youthful, good looks and intelligence.

Dr Bethany Hughes' academic credentials are referred to in the *Daily Mail* (Hodges, 2017). She is called an 'author and academic', a 'heavyweight academic' and a 'provocative historian'. Her appearance is described as 'nearly 50' and 'pretty hot stuff'. Descriptions of her body appear in the article. Her 'raven haired dark tresses' are referred to, as are her calf length boots covered with mud after a visit to the Goddess of Love, Aphrodite's sanctuary. The focus on her good looks and intelligence portray her as a thinking man's crumpet. Barthes was interested in how descriptive language and image could be used together to express a world view (Jobling, 2016). In the text, stories of traffic smugglers and uprisings in Istanbul add to an exotic atmosphere. In the image of Hughes, she stands in a thoughtful, model like pose on a boat with Istanbul in the background. Her long hair is wind swept. The impression is of an uncontrived glamour. Peim (2005) writes about the gap between reality and representation. The reality is that if she faced the other way to view Istanbul (which is what most of us would do) her hair would have blown over her face. This highlights the contrived image making involved in representing Hughes as an appealing model. Her jacket and dress open to reveal a 'trademark décolletage' which the journalist chooses to write about. Hughes selection of clothing ensures that some parts of her body are covered, and others exposed. She is disciplining the body through clothing (Tynan, 2016) to draw attention to 'her trademark' assets. Her clothes indicate that she is performing her gender (Butler, 1990). She is wearing a casual smart dress code, which would be appropriate in academia. Her model like pose, the clothes she wears, and the language used to describe her become a discourse that states she has value for her 'voluptuous' body combined with being 'a heavyweight academic'. Hughes is performing a certain kind of feminine stereotype where the female body is central to her success.

Dr Bettany Hughes (Hodges, 2017)



Figure 23. Dr Bettany Hughes

In the *Daily Mail* Dr Hannah Fry is described as a 'VERY brainy new partner' for Brian Cox on *Tomorrow's World* (Moreton (2017). This is a stereotype often seen on TV where an older male is partnered with a younger female (Ross and Carter, 2011) (see figure 24). 'Dr Fry' is described as a 'young numbers genius who specialises in the mathematics of love' and she is 'a lecturer too' who has done 'stand-up (comedy) based on maths' and a 'TED talk on the mathematics of love'. Women are stereotypically more likely to be interested in love (Baslow, 1992). Despite her academic achievements, her specialty is given value by being able to link a science subject to love. This helps to enforce the stereotype that science is not really a woman's subject. Stereotypes have been associated with constraining women's progression in science (Institute of Physics, 2013).

The reader is informed that Fry is in her 'early thirties' and wears 'jeans', a 'T-shirt' and a 'jacket with a fake fur collar'. Her appearance is not overly concentrated on with words but the images of her with long styled hair, tight clothing and stiletto heels make it clear, through the poses and make up, that she is an attractive woman. Fry's female body is emphasised in the clothes she wears in the image. Her top accentuates her bust line and the above knee-length skirt and high stiletto heels highlights her legs. She is performing her femininity (Butler, 1990) but also disciplining the body through clothing to ensure a certain kind of femininity is apparent (Tynan, 2016). This kind of femininity corresponds with the

stereotype of the thinking man's crumpet. The robot arm in the image below is concerned to help Fry with her appearance and combs her hair, stressing the importance of aesthetic labour. The image connotes that a universal concern throughout time will be women's appearance. The discourse is that appearance and looks are more important to women and that Fry's value is the combination of her looks and intelligence.

Dr Hannah Fry (Moreton, 2017)



Figure 24. Dr Hannah Fry

In *The Telegraph*, Dr Amanda Foreman is presented by Jardine (2011) as an attractive woman with a salacious past. Foreman posed naked to sell her first book which was based on her PhD research. The journalist explains the interest that accompanied this as being about jealousy of her body. The reader is informed that by posing naked with her book *The Duchess,* for *Tatler* Magazine, she was 'simultaneously interesting a new audience in 18th-century politics and infuriating those with fewer assets to flaunt'. Amanda Foreman has no 'mummy weight' despite having five children. This information goes alongside her being a 'publishing phenomenon'. Jardine (2011) writes about her,

> '…She was also two stone overweight and used to see – or imagine – the look of panic sweeping over attractive men's faces as they felt "cornered by this fat girl". 'Now look at her. Aged, 42, she's a publishing phenomenon'. 'No hint of mummy weight clings to her as she poses fully clothed in her Fulham drawing room'

Bordo (1993, p. 245) writes about the pressure women experience to be slim under 'an ideology of limitless improvement and change'. Women can improve their bodies should they 'choose' to. To

choose not to is a reflection on the kind of woman you are. The reader is reminded that for Foreman success followed her slimmer, more desirable body, which is part of the narrative of the slim woman (Bordo, 1993). She is an object of envy and desire, an essential component of being a successful western woman (Berger, 1972). Thus, her female body, with its assets, are an integral part of her success.

In the photograph accompanying the article her clothes (a knee-length fitted dress) and her surroundings (in her London home which has a fire place, framed family photographs on a dark wooden table and a beige carpet with a Chinese style rug) indicate a wealthy, middle-class, urban environment. She is a tasteful thinking man's crumpet in that she is attractive and clever with a body that inspires jealousy. Foreman poses by sitting with her legs crossed at the edge of her seat. This is not a comfortable sitting position but is a flattering one for a photograph. Her head is at an angle and she smiles into the camera. Her hair is long and blonde and is styled into waves. The bringing together of the signs in the written text and in the image make the discourse (Barthes, 1972) one of successful femininity.

Dr Amanda Foreman (Jardine, 2011)



Figure 25. Dr Amanda Foreman

Dr Charlotte Uhlenbroek fits with the stereotype of the 'thinking man's crumpet' in that she has a PhD, is described as an 'expert' wildlife presenter who is thirty-five, with a 'sexy', 'slight', 'athletic', 'extremely fit' body with 'strapping thighs'. She is described in *The Times* as having an 'athletic, almost innocent sexiness' and is 'beautiful, intelligent and authoritarian' and likes to 'feel the air on her skin'. She is a 'female Dr Doolittle', 'The Charlie Dimmock of wildlife', a 'Tarzan-babe', 'an eco-friendly Lara Croft' and

'the new David Attenborough' (Hoggart, 2003). She is presented as an idealised, clever, sexy woman whose body is central to her success.

Dr Suzannah Lipscomb's good looks and intellectual ability as described in the *Daily Mail* (Sanderson, 2013) categorise her as a thinking man's crumpet. The reader is told that Lipscomb can, 'talk as comfortably about the decisions the Tutor monarchs made as she can about the best product for curly hair'. She studied at Oxford, has a 'double first in history' and a doctorate, which the reader is informed are the 'right academic credentials'. She has a 'fierce intellect' and is a 'new star'. Apart from her intellect, she is also an 'elegant', 'striking 34-year-old' who has a 'lethal grace', 'bright eyes' and 'leonine locks'. Lipscomb is presented as a desirable, heterosexual, subject and it is her female body and appearance that are central to her appeal. In the images, Lipscomb looks like a model posing in an affluent house. It is interesting to note that compared with the older female academics she is given a full body in the image (see figure 26). She looks and smiles directly at the camera but has a demure quality. Her long, blonde, curly hair hangs loose around her face, which connotes youth. Tynan (2016) suggests that power relations are proclaimed through clothing. Lipscomb's clothes connote a middle-class woman with a knee-length, fitted, blue dress, blue shoes and blue belt, accessorised with a long necklace. Once again there is a combination of words, image and clothes which serve to create a myth (Barthes, 1972) of a certain kind of femininity, which is recognised as glamorous and successful.

Dr Suzannah Lipscomb (Sanderson, 2013)



Figure 26. Dr Suzannah Lipscomb

Professor Kate Williams' fashion tip, in the *Daily Mail* (Mulley, 2015), is that we should wear what we like, creating the idea of image as a choice which is unrestricted by finances. She models her favourite clothes, describes her preferred colours to wear and explains how she developed her style, which is 'a clean, modern look' (ibid). In all three pictures she wears a short skirt and is called 'Kate'. The reader is also told that she is a 'royal and historical expert', 'a Professor of History at the University of Reading' and is the author of both 'fiction and nonfiction books'. It is revealed that 'Kate loves flattering fitted jackets' and the article has three images of Williams modelling them with short skirts and high heels. She smiles at the camera and adopts model like poses. She performs a young and glamorous woman. Her long auburn hair is styled, and she wears full make up. Her clothes appear more fashionable and revealing than would be expected in everyday academia. In *The Times* article[19] (Membery, 2018) she is described as a '39-year-old historian' with 'uncontrollable', 'long, curly, red hair' who has written 'acclaimed biographies and novels', 'lectures at Reading University' and 'appears on television'. The words and image combine to create the discourse of a successful thinking man's crumpet.

[19] No image is included in the Times article.

Professor Kate Williams (Mulley, 2015)



Figure 27. Professor Kate Williams

'What could be sexier than a woman who can make a protractor out of some bark and a frog's tongue?' asks comedian Richard Herring after watching Professor Kathy Sykes on TV (Gold, 2007). Sykes is described as 'attractive and 40' in *The Guardian* (ibid). She adds a 'dash of colour', 'passion' and 'glamour' to our screens alongside being the 'UK's youngest Professor aged 35' (in 2002) who is currently a 'Professor of Science Communication at Bristol University'. In *The Independent* she is described by Viner (2008) as a 'bit of a babe', a 'dream woman with a hypnotic presence' and a 'middle aged academic' who is 'not just a pretty face'. In both articles, Sykes's description fits with the stereotype of the thinking man's crumpet.

In the *Daily Mail*, Dr Lucy Worsley describes her 'style secrets' (Greenstreet, 2017). She likes 'bright' colours to wear and alters second-hand clothes so that they fit. She admits to putting 'a lot of thought' into what she wears. She has been on a make-up course and cuts and colours her hair. She aims to look 'cheeky', 'friendly', 'approachable' but not 'sexy'. She is '43' and is an 'art historian' and the 'chief curator of Historic Royal Palaces'. In *The Times* she is described as having a 'first in history from Oxford University' and that she is 'twinkly', 'fun', 'attention seeking' and 'loves dressing up' (Rose, 2018). An interest in clothing is a female stereotype. It is probable that the focus on this serves to ameliorate any threat from Worsley's TV success (Kanter, 1993).

In the accompanying images Worsley poses in different dresses but her hair, styled into a bob, remains the same in all images. Worsley is one of the only celebrity academic women who does not have long hair. Her femininity is maintained through her clothing and make-up. She wears dresses in all the images. Unlike the older academic women, Worsley's full body is shown in one of the four pictures which reveals her legs in sheer tights and high heeled shoes. In three of the pictures she appears to be posing in historic buildings that testify to the contrived image of the pictures. Most women are unlikely to walk around historic buildings in the kind of clothes worn by Worsley. The combination of intellect and successful femininity define Worsley as a thinking man's crumpet.

Dr Lucy Worsley (Greenstreet, 2017)



Dr Lucy Worsley (Rose, 2018)



Figure 28. Dr Lucy Worsley

'The History Girls' in the *Daily Mail* (Hilton, 2013) have all presented a historical programme on TV. Their ages range from 33 years (Janina Ramirez) to 39 (Hallie Rubenhold). Five of the seven women have a Doctorate. Although featured together as a new TV phenomenon, the journalist also focuses on the women individually, highlighting their particular historic interests. All seven pose for a main photograph and then are photographed separately, holding an artefact that signifies an aspect of their research interest. The reader is told that, 'being dated has never been so now' (ibid) which is a play on researching into the past and in getting to know someone for a sexual relationship. This is significant as it sets the discourse for the article. The women are specialists in history and glamorous and desirable sexual subjects.

The title 'History Girls' is a play on words and connotes several cultural references. The first and obvious one is the term 'girls' for grown women. It is being used in an ironic sense. The female journalist Hilton is likely to know the feminist disquiet over the use of this word but wants to highlight their youthful appeal. The other cultural reference is the Alan Bennett play and film, 'The History Boys'. In the film the history teacher, Mrs. Lintott, asks the boys preparing for an Oxbridge interview, 'Why do you think there are no women historians on TV?' (Bennett, 2006). The article illustrates that for these history girls, this is no longer the case.

‘The history girls’ from the left: Dr Anna Whitelock, Hallie Rubenhold**,** Dr Kate Williams, Dr Suzannah Lipscomb, Dr Janina Ramirez, Dr Cassie Newland, and Lisa Hilton. (Hilton, 2013)



Figure 29. The History Girls

In the images the women are positioned, posed, dressed and styled in a way that forefronts their gender and female bodies over all other features of their identities. In the individual pictures each woman poses with a chosen historic artefact. There is a juxtaposition of image and subject placing the women into the stereotype of thinking man’s crumpet. The women are performing successful femininity as flourishing academics. No part of them is left un-scrutinised and each body part appears perfect, from their hair styles to their high heeled shoes.

From left to right: Professor Kate Williams, Hallie Rubenhold, Dr Anna Whitelock, Lisa Hilton, Dr Janina Ramirez, Dr Cassie Newland, Professor Suzannah Lipscomb (Hilton, 2013)



Figure 30. Professor Kate Williams, Hallie Rubenhold, Dr Anna Whitelock, Lisa Hilton, Dr Janina Ramirez, Dr Cassie Newland, Professor Suzannah Lipscomb

The women's success as historians on TV is a new phenomenon and can be viewed as a challenge to the gender order. Kanter (1993) suggests that gender stereotypes are evoked to reduce a threat. Although this research is dated, the analysis of the younger FCA suggests that it is still relevant. These examples illustrate that many of the younger celebrity academic women are jointly praised for their looks and their academic qualifications. This combination places them into the stereotype of the thinking man's crumpet. Radu and Renaud (2008, p. 259) argue that, 'the media shape, convey and legitimate a certain version of reality. The images and the language create a stereotype and a myth of the way academic women are and should be.

4.2.2 A Post-Feminist Sensibility

A post-feminist sensibility is interested in the representation of women in the media and how this representation includes a focus on the female body, the female appearance and a de-politicisation of feminist ideas (Riley *et al,* 2017) (for more detail see 3.5.2). There is a focus on a new type of femininity which is young, heterosexual, liberated, self-made and undergoes aesthetic labour.

Gill (2007) believes that where female flesh can be exposed every opportunity to do so is taken. There are two pictures of Roberts in the article by Gallagher (2014). In both pictures Roberts wears a vest exposing her neck, arms and shoulders. This seems to be an unusual choice of clothing, especially for both pictures. A vest is an item of clothing usually worn by outdoor workers in warm weather. Roberts' wearing a vest symbolises the outdoor nature of her work as a paleontologist. It also serves as an opportunity to expose her skin and show more of her body.

Professor Alice Roberts (Gallagher, 2014).



Figure 31. Professor Alice Roberts

Bateman is a celebrity academic because of her female body. Her decision to remove her clothes and appear naked with her message written onto her flesh, gave her an audience. Bateman wanted to be heard and it is ironic that it was removing her clothes and becoming a nude female body that gave her a voice. 'To be naked is to be oneself. To be nude is to be seen naked by others and not recognised for oneself' (Berger, 1972, p. 54). A female academic voice is given more attention from the public when the voice comes from a nude. However, as Berger suggests, it is her nude form rather than her voice which is of interest. It is impossible to imagine a male academic removing his clothes and posing with his ideas or books.

Gill (2007) describes the sexualisation of contemporary culture. This proliferation has been discussed as part of 'raunch culture' by Levy who describes the absurdity of women being 'empowered' by the 'miniskirt' and wonders 'why are we doing this to ourselves?' (Levy, 2005, p. 4). Harvey and Gill (2011) describe 'sexual entrepreneurship' as an idea which builds on Foucault's concept of the technologies of self (Foucault, 1988). This understanding of power, which operates within the individual, results in, 'new knowledges and new visual regimes…[which] helped to bring into being or materialize the new feisty, playful, desiring (heterosexual) subject of postfeminist advertising' (Harvey and Gill, 2011 p. 56).

The post-feminist woman operates under a technology of sexiness. Gill believes that she is encouraged to resemble a pornographic fantasy and to achieve this requires a 'self-policing narcissistic gaze' and the will to always be 'up for it' (Gill, 2007, p. 258). 'The performance of confident sexual agency is central to this technology of the self' (Harvey and Gill, 2011, p. 56).

There is evidence that sexual entrepreneurship is frequently brought into articles. Not only is Hughes sexualised in the *Daily Mail* with descriptions of her as 'sexy' and 'voluptuous' but the historic stories are also sexual in nature (Hodges, 2017). Hughes describes how homosexuality was an essential part of being an Ancient Greek soldier and how a 'dancing girl' captured an emperor with bedroom tricks too rude to be included. Foreman's naked publicity stunt is brought into the article although it had little relevance to the story. A joke is made about her having her clothes on during this photoshoot and the journalist makes the point that Foreman has 'assets to flaunt' (Jardine, 2011). In the article on Ulhenbroek 'sexy' is the first word used to describe her (Hoggart, 2003). The anagram of her name, 'Hello! Rather cute! Bonk?', calling her a 'Tarzan-babe' and including the story of her chimpanzee hoot which sounded like her simulating an orgasm, sexualises her and her academic work. Williams' research on Emma Hamilton, with a reference to Hamilton being Lord Nelson's mistress, is included in *The Times* (Membery, 2018), despite the article being about her finances. In the *Daily Mail* (Mulley, 2015) Williams is pictured wearing short skirts and high heels. This builds on the narrative by Levy (2005) of being 'empowered' by wearing revealing clothing and the use of heels to make the legs look longer and more attractive (Woolf, 2014). In *The Guardian* (Gold, 2007) the introductory paragraph is about a wall of penises that Sykes wishes she had developed for a teen friendly human body exhibition. The subject of sex is introduced immediately. A rhetorical question is put into the text which states, 'What could be sexier than a woman who can make a protractor out of some bark and a frog's tongue.' Sykes' ability to think creatively is reduced to giving her sex appeal. Interestingly, the headline for an article on Worsley in the *Daily Mail* (Greenstreet, 2017) is that Worsley 'would never set out to look sexy – it's just not me'. Thus, a discourse of sex is immediately brought into the article.

Sexual agency is evident in the portrayal of the celebrity academic woman. Hughes appears to present herself as a desirable woman who has the confidence to show her 'trademark décolletage' and tell erotic stories on TV (Hodges, 2017). Hughes presents an amusing anecdote about a radio-presenter who became very excited about seeing her wearing a vest. The joke is that because it was radio no-one could see her. The sub-text, however, is that no-matter what she does Hughes has an impact on men. Her

choice to tell this story gives her sexual agency. When the 'History Girls' are asked by Hilton (2013) what they would like to find out if they could go back in time there is a focus on sex. Dr Anna Whitlock would like to attend Queen Elizabeth I's autopsy to find out if she were a virgin. Lisa Hilton would like to meet the martyred Elizabethan Catholic priest, Edmund Champion, because she believes she would find him 'charismatic and sexy'. Lipscomb would like to meet Franz List who was 'so handsome women fainted'. Sex is brought into the article in a kind of schoolgirl historical fantasy. Foreman's and Bateman's use of their naked bodies suggests that women might use their sexual identity to manipulate others, because they are happy to show us their bodies and because it makes them successful. Both Foreman and Bateman received attention for being 'up for it' (Gill, 2006 p. 111). Uhlenbroek recounts that she performed the chimpanzee hoot for David Attenborough (Hoggart, 2003), which sounded like the imitation that Meg Ryan did of pretending to have an orgasm in the film 'When Harry Met Sally'. David Attenborough found it hilarious and this gives the impression that Uhlenbroek is also 'up for it' and ready for a laugh. This is part of a 'technology of sexiness' where sexual knowledge is part of being a modern woman.

Lipscomb self-polices by making sure that she does not look sexy in the *Daily Mail* (Sanderson, 2013). Her poses are demure and modest. Her legs are crossed, and she wears flesh coloured tights, famously worn by royal women (Tourielle, 2019). Her shoes have little heels which are just high enough to appear feminine and her skirt is short enough to show her legs (see figure 26). She attempts to portray a sweet rather than sexy look. This suggests that the narcissistic gaze is present, but the goal is to not appear a sexual subject but rather to portray an elite femininity.

Gill (2007, p. 259) argues that the notion of 'being oneself and pleasing oneself' are of central importance for neoliberal feminism. McDonald (1995) claims that politics are removed from feminism to be replaced with 'self-empowerment'. This is, however, the kind of empowerment that encourages a woman to wear a short skirt. In all cases, the celebrity academics are presented to the reader as glamorous, independent, empowered, career women who are immaculately groomed and styled. Any political issues of class (all the women appear middle class), race (all the women are white), sexuality (all the women are heterosexual), age (all the women are young) or any kind of political feminist issues (child-care and equal pay) are ignored. Their success is presented as their meritocratic achievement as neoliberal subjects in a post-class and post-feminist world (Littler, 2018).

Evidence of this kind of meritocratic success is evident in the articles. Hughes's success is presented as being down to her own hard work. She won a scholarship to a public school for girls and went onto Oxford. Her success on TV is portrayed as being down to her 'bloody mindedness' and a 'fire in her belly' (Hodges, 2017). When Hughes mentions feminism it is as an empowerment narrative about risks she took and adventures she had. In T*he Independent,* Roberts describes how she followed her ambition and left the 'glass ceiling' of Bristol University behind, becoming self-employed for a short time (Gallagher, 2014). That this would be an economic impossibility for many working women, whose career is not proceeding as they wished, is not mentioned. Instead, Williams is presented as a woman who knows her own worth. In *The Telegraph* (Jardine, 2011) Foreman is a working mother and wife. She has five children but still finds the time to research and write history books. After obtaining a grade E in her English A' level she was rejected from British universities, so 'chose' to study in the USA. Her choices and hard work led to her to become a 'publishing phenomenon'. There is no mention of any financial support allowing this to happen or that this 'choice' would not be available for most people. Ulhenbroek lived alone in Tanzania while she carried out her field work on primates (Hoggart, 2003). The finances needed and the safety precautions necessary are missing from the narrative. She is presented simply as a woman with an adventurous spirit for the wilderness. Sykes followed her interest in science to become a scientist after doing voluntary service in Zimbabwe. Her ambition led her to become the Professor of Sciences at Bristol University. The discourse is that hard work and ambition results in success and this is presented as an option anybody could take (Gold, 2007). Lipscomb's narrative is also one of success. It is indicated in the *Daily Mail* that her parents are police officers and through her intelligence she 'won a place' at Oxford University, where she went on to do a PhD (Sanderson, 2013). Once again there is no mention of the finances that allowed her to study full time for at least six years and the support she would have needed. Williams' career is also presented as freely chosen although she, alone, mentions that she lived on a student grant and grew up in a middle-class home in the West Midlands (Membery, 2018). The reality is that these choices are only available for people who can be financially supported by family or friends. Any kind of political feminist discourse is absent in the articles.

Choosing to transform and please oneself is presented as an option for any part of the female body (Bordo, 1993, Gill, 2007). In *The Times*, Williams discusses her decision on whether to have surgery to perfect her nose and this is presented simply as the choice any empowered woman can make (Membery, 2018). In the *Daily Mail,* Williams' independence is made evident through her fashion choices (Mulley, 2015). She pleases herself by buying an expensive vintage jacket following money made

from a book sale. Her advice to the readers to 'wear what you like', emphasises discourses of choice and individuality. The same theme is picked up in article on Worsley and her 'style secrets' (Greenstreet, 2017). Worsley pleases herself with her choice of dresses. Both Williams and Worsley like to buy vintage clothing, and in both articles, it is presented as a sign of their 'individuality'.

The appearance of choice is key in a neoliberal society (Littler, 2018) and this theme continues in the media articles. Worsley is empowered to make the choices she has and made a choice 'not to have it all' (Rose, 2018) which is a euphemism for being a career woman and a mother. This is simply presented as a 'choice' and not something with a feminist history. Worsley states that she never asks her male co-presenters if they are paid the same as her. The issue of equal pay becomes simply a matter of personal interest rather than an issue of gender equity. The 'history girls' are staged as individual, empowered women who all have a different interest in a historical period. This is illustrated by them posing with an artefact that symbolises the period of history they specialise in. Newland wears high heels and poses with a mattock, as if female archeologists often wear stilettos at work. Here the difference between reality and the contrived image is stark. Whitelock poses with a Tudor 'piss pot'. The use of the term 'piss pot' rather than 'potty' makes Whitelock appear bold and entertaining. History is presented as fun and thrilling, which the glamorous women have individually chosen to study. The image portrayed is that they are physically attractive, clever, fun and someone to aspire to. They have undergone 'glamour labour'. Wissinger (2015 p. 3) refers to 'glamour labour' as beauty work which is linked to neoliberalism through consumption and transformation. Glamour labour requires not just effort on the body but also on image.

Another key feature of post- feminism is the reassertion of sexual difference between men and women (Gill, 2007). One of the ways that these manifests with the celebrity academic is to exaggerate the differences between men and women and, the unique contribution that women make, simply because they are women. In the articles these 'unique female characteristics' frequently appear, such as women's ability to communicate well which is a recognised gender stereotype (Baslow, 1992). Gendered binaries are presented under a discourse of this being a 'normal' difference between men and women. As has been discussed, gendered binaries place men and women as opposites, with women occupying the less powerful positions (ibid). The women's success is framed as being due to their feminine good looks and their stereotypical feminine characteristics. Their academic achievements are linked to their femininity.

The binaries of female historian presenter and male historian presenter are established against each other in the article on Hughes. Natural sex differences between men and women are played out with Hughes taking over from the 'old male guard'. She is described as one of the female presenters who has taken over from 'grumpy' male presenters and as such is one of the 'leading faces in a female takeover of TV history' (Hodges, 2017). The headline of the article describes her as having 'stormed past the barricades of male presenters' (ibid) evoking war like images where men and women are placed in opposition to each other. In the *Daily Mail* (Sanderson, 2013) the title of an article on Lipscomb indicates that male and female historians are gender adversaries. 'You're history, Dr Starkey! TV's new telegenic academic tells 'sexist and grey-haired' older rivals that 'Genitalia do not help anyone understand better''. It is interesting to note that 'sexist and grey haired' are given equal weighting as if they were on a par. The disagreement between Lipscomb and Starsky is portrayed as a battle of the sexes where young women, with their good looks, are victorious. The journalist Viner (2008) remembers his male professors who had 'grey beards where finches could nest undisturbed' whereas Sykes is described as a 'bit of a babe'. The theme of old men and young attractive women are being played out in a way that implies youth is more desirable than the experience that comes with age, because young women are more 'telegenic'. This is re-played again with the 'History Girls'. Hilton (2013) in the *Daily Mail* states that, 'with their unique perspective, these historians have rescued studying the past from the clutches of fusty academia and changed our view of yesteryear forever.' The 'unique' perspective the historians can offer is simply that they are young women who are not 'fusty'. Thus, the perspective that men and women will see things differently because they are dissimilar is re-enforced. It is also clear that the women's success is time limited.

The journalists' use of descriptions in the articles appears to be deliberately gendered. In *The Independent*, Williams is described as 'passionate', 'beaming', 'bouncing' and 'facing every challenge with a smile' which are unlikely depictions to use for a man. Descriptions about her clothes and jewellery are artificially linked to her career. For example, 'Her paint-splattered baggy brown corduroys, with a pair of dangling ammonite earrings highlighting her love of archaeology' (Gallagher, 2014). In the Telegraph she is described as, 'Make-up free, with her long, dark blonde hair blowing in the wind or twisted into a knot, she manages to look great while making science look fun' (Alexander, 2009). It is unlikely that male boffins would need to 'look great' while carrying out research.

In a humorous tone, Moreton (2017) in The *Daily Mail* considers the important questions to be: 'Are we alone in the universe? Do we need to get off the planet before it's too late? And how can I find true, lasting love?' The humour lies in the idea that life in the universe, the end of planet earth and finding love are of equal importance. The use of humour allows the linking of scientific questions and the stereotype of the emotionality of women. It is the female presenter Fry, rather than her male co-presenter Cox, who has the required knowledge on love, the reader is told, through her academic studies of maths. The *Daily Mail* considers that there are male and female historic subjects (Sanderson, 2013). The reader learns that Lipscomb likes male subjects such as wars whereas Starsky believes that Henry VIII has suffered with a feminised history because so many female historians have written about his wives. The linking of expected female interests with their careers is seen again when the reader is told that both Williams and Worsley like to wear vintage clothing because of their interest in history and Roberts like to wear ammonite jewellery because of her love of archaeology.

Wildlife presenters need to be daring to do their research, but *The Times* writes about Ulhenbroek as if her bravery as surprising. It is very unlikely that the following extracts would have been written about a male wildlife presenter. Male wildlife presenters are unlikely to 'plunge' into water, require rescuing or carry out 'another stunning sequence'. These are a selection of the sentences used to illustrate Ulhenbroek's courage. 'She plunges into an Amazonian river in a white swimming costume to demonstrate the black-tea-coloured water' 'If you do get stuck, I don't think we can rescue you, Charlotte.' 'In another stunning sequence she climbs up the hollow core' (Hoggart, 2003)

The female stereotype of emotion (Baslow, 1992) and communication is apparent in many of the articles. Sykes is a scientist who 'wanted to change the window on science' (Gold, 2007) so she ensured that a communication module was put into all science degrees. In gender binaries, women are considered the natural communicators so a 'Science Communication' module might well be considered a feminine aspect of science. The journalist (Gold, 2007) interviewing Sykes remembers his male professors who had grey beards 'where finches could nest undisturbed'. Male and female professors are presented as being very different from each other. Sykes brought 'a dash of colour', 'glamour' and 'passion' to her role rather than a beard and finches. Hughes, Lipscomb, Worsley, Ramirez, Ulhenbroek, Sykes and Williams are all described as 'passionate', 'enthusiastic' or 'good communicators' which helps

to enforce the gender stereotype. Foreman feels guilty about leaving her husband to look after the five children in New York while she works away in London. Once again gendered aspects are brought into the story as it is unlikely that this would have been included if a male academic left his wife at home with the children. The items career women spend their money on is also presented as being gendered. In *The Times* (Membery, 2018) Williams is asked what her greatest extravagances are. She replies that they are her daughter's childcare and her hair. Hair is unlikely to be a man's greatest extravagance and the care of children is traditionally associated with a woman.

Irony is used so that something can be said safely without any consequences for the author. Gill (2007) claims that it is particularly used in post-feminism as a method of expressing sexist sentiments but from the safety of being able to state that it is only a joke. Looking at the use of irony in men's magazine's when the topic was women, Benwell found that irony allowed a 'comfortable accommodation of contradiction and ambiguity' which 'tends to shore up traditional masculine values' (Benwell, 2007, p. 548). Irony can be viewed as a device to uphold the gender hierarchy (Connell, 1987). Irony is apparent in the article on Uhlenbroek's (Hoggart, 2003). By making men's response to Uhlenbroek into a joke, it is possible for them to be printed, despite the comments appearing highly inappropriate, such as 'She has the kind of athletic, almost innocent, sexiness that used to get Sir John Betjeman steaming like a pressure-cooker, inspiring poems about strapping thighs (hers) and weak knees (his)'.

Successful femininity has a history of looking and acting a certain way, but this has strengthened to include an 'intense self-surveillance', so that all parts of the female body come under scrutiny with a requirement to 'transform oneself' (Gill, 2007, p. 261). Elias, Gill and Scharff (2017) call this 'aesthetic entrepreneurship'. This term is chosen to 'highlight the links between contemporary beauty politics and neoliberalism' (ibid p. 39) where consuming beauty services enables transformation through 'labour' but also 'agency and creativity'. Transformation physically has merged with the requirement to self-improve personally. Discourses on social media can easily be found that suggest how to become a 'better', 'improved', happier, person[20]. Images on websites such as Healthline (Lamonth, 2019) suggest that this 'person' is nearly always female. Education is a mainstay of self -improvement in a meritocratic, neoliberal society (Littler, 2018). The discourses in the media suggest that celebrity academics have become successful because of these 'improvements'.

[20] Type 'self-improvement' into a search engine and see the number of websites that are dedicated to this subject.

All the FCA have undergone transformations. Fry started her journey as a young schoolgirl who was encouraged by her mother to read a page a day of maths. By doing so, she successfully transformed into a celebrity mathematician (Moreton, 2017). Foreman was two stone overweight and lonely in her 20's. After hard work in the library she is successful, slim, married with five children, and a 'publishing phenomenon'. Through study and hair products, Lispcomb has successfully transformed from a policeman's daughter to a history presenter with 'leonine' long, blonde hair. For the 'History Girls' academia is responsible for their makeover. Through learning they are transformed into successful, glamorous, career women. Williams successfully transformed from a student living on a grant to a successful celebrity author with a London home (Membery, 2018). However, transformation is never complete, and Williams considered becoming a 'better version' of herself through cosmetic nose surgery.

Hughes conforms to the standards of an attractive white woman. Her hair, dress and posture indicate elite femininity. Every part of her body from her hair colour to her boots are mentioned in the article about her (Hodges, 2017). It is unlikely that a 49-year-old woman will have 'raven hair' without any grey hairs suggesting Hughes disciplines her appearance. Tincknell (2011, p. 86) argues that, 'the self has become a collection of disparate body parts to be endlessly worked on or even replaced as part of the plentitude of consumer choice.' There is evidence of 'body parts' self-surveillance when Uhlenbroek is reported to be worried about having a 'shiny nose' before her picture is taken (Hoggart, 2003). Roberts needed some help to transform from a 'boffin' but with help from the style experts she transformed into a 'belle of the ball' (Alexander, 2009). During Roberts' make over it was noted that she has 'blocked pores' (Alexander, 2009). The female body is always in need of perfecting, even down to the level of pores. A similar concept is apparent when Worsley confesses to worrying about the size of her nostrils and is active in ensuring she doesn't look up at the camera where the size of her nostrils would be on full view (Greenstreet, 2017). Worsley does like her 'little ears' and 'her long eye lashes'. These are examples of the female body being compartmentalised where each body part is judged distinctively. Worsley has, however, successfully transformed into the kind of envied woman that others want to know her fashion secrets (Greenstreet, 2017). This is part of a technology of self where the body is heavily disciplined, and each body part is judged separately.

Wissinger (2015) argues that a key component of glamour labour is linked to social media, where many view the image one creates. This can also result in discipline which takes the form of messages from the

public on Twitter (see appendix three). The celebrity academics, all regular Twitter users, tweet messages about the abuse they have received. Williams wonders whether she should report threatening messages to the police (Williams, 2018a). Ramirez tweets that she has been called a 'milf' three times in one morning (Ramirez, 2018a). A 'milf' is a derogatory slang term for an older woman a man wants to have sex with. This seems mild compared with other abuse Ramirez has received. I have quoted it in full so that the complete nastiness can be seen. 'cocksucking cunt, shit on female, good for nothing, piss on, stab yourself with you[sic] sword cunt, shit on you and your kids bitch' (Ramirez, 2018 b)

Lipscomb tweets her support (Lipscomb, 2018a) and suggests that Ramirez shuts down her Facebook account so that she need not see this kind of abuse. Lipscomb also receives abuse. She tweets that she has had messages from a member of the public who claims her success is due to her hair rather than her ability (Lipscomb, 2018b). Williams tweets that she is taking a break from twitter after receiving unpleasant and misogynistic comments (Williams, 2019a). These examples illustrate how FCA operate within a culture where the silencing of women still exists.

A unique feature about Mary Beard is her refusal to go along with the 'make-over' paradigm and she makes no attempt to appear sexy. By refusing the transformation paradigm she has successfully managed to turn her grey hair and wrinkled face into her brand (Genz, 2015). Although Beard does not take part in self-surveillance, she is a victim of discipline. Her refusal to undergo the make-over paradigm leads to regular disciplinary behaviour from the public. These examples from Twitter illustrate the kind of stigma and abuse she receives. (see appendix three) 'HaHa about as useful as a used tampon. Go back to reading the Guardian, idiot'. (Beard, 2019b) 'Is anyone really going to take any notice of this bird? I mean just look at her.' (Beard, 2019c) 'Mary's beard needs a trim'. (Beard, 2019d) 'The state of this woman says it all'. (Beard, 2019e) Beard always replies to her trolls and refuses to let them silence her. She credits her age with this. She has remarked that her trolls would successfully silence many women, particularly younger women (Dowell, 2014).

There is evidence of feminist and anti-feminist discourses in the articles on celebrity academic women. Gill (2007, p.160) explains that the media use feminist ideas but that they are 'incorporated, revised' 'depoliticised' and 'attacked'. Discourse analysists need to be alert for this 'entanglement' of both praise and attack of feminist ideas. Post-feminist ideology present in the articles runs along the themes of careers, motherhood, childcare and looking feminine. Hughes is presented as the empowered, successful academic woman who chooses to be brave and travel to dangerous places (Hodges, 2017). This fits with the egalitarian feminist ideal of gender norms not holding a woman back from pursuing her

ambitions. Hughes is presented as an adventurer who narrowly escapes being a victim of people smuggling and from being a casualty of a military coup. Rather than a discussion of being a woman in a world where unaccompanied travel can be dangerous, the story has the feel of a schoolgirl's adventure. The reader is told that Hughes is successful, but the experience of being a female historian presenter in a broadcasting corporation dominated by the 'male old guard' is not discussed. Privileges that come from her class and family background, such as attending Oxford University at the same time as the Prime Minister Boris Johnson, is not discussed. Political discourse is absent.

There are post-feminist themes in the article where Roberts discusses being a mother and the way domestic labour is divided in the family. Roberts talks about the 'spirituality associated with giving birth' (Gallagher, 2014). Phipps (2014) writes about the discourse of 'normal birth' and how the goal for western feminists in the 1970s and 1980s was for women to experience a birth with meaning, as a rite of passage from woman to mother. Phipps argues that the discourse of natural birth has become so pervasive that women, who do not achieve it, are judged to have failed. She links the natural birth movement with a rise in neoconservative gender traditionalism, where the woman is constrained by her biology to give birth and care for children and to see this as a spiritual calling. Roberts taps into this with her stories about her experiences of birth and childcare. She tells how she wrote a book while breastfeeding her baby and that her daughter was just two months old when filming for *Digging for Britain* began. *The Telegraph* confirms that Williams is 'a great role model' (Alexander, 2009) which makes her someone other women should aspire to. Roberts took her family with her around the country during TV filming. This is presented as a feminist ideal especially as her husband, an archaeologist, decided to take over the child-care. 'David Stevens who she met at Cardiff University in 1997 when she was a medical student, is a stay at home dad' (Gallagher, 2014). Her ability to 'breakthrough in a field dominated on and off screen by men' and to juggle this with having children presents Roberts as a 'superwoman'. She is an accomplished neoliberal heroine who manages to positively juggle all aspects of her life. The discourse of superwoman links to 'the best of both worlds' and 'the good mother' (Hughes, 2002, p.71) (see 2.3.1 for more detail on these discourses). Byrne, Fattoum and Diaz-Garcia (2019) look at the negative impact the superwoman role model can have as part of an 'individualized entrepreneurial femininity'. They argue that, 'Role model discourse can (re)produce prevailing gender roles and stereotypes (in the workplace and the home)' (ibid, p.180). Most women will not be in the position for the father to become a 'stay at home dad', making Roberts' gender role as superwoman unattainable.

Genz uses the TV programme 'Ally McBeal' to highlight the difficulty of managing both career and relationships. Ally, who is a lawyer, says to the audience, 'When I was 28, I was gonna be taking my little maternity leave, but I would still be on the partnership track. I would be home, at night, cuddled up with my husband reading "What to Expect When You're Nursing" and trying cases (Genz, 2010, p. 97). Unfortunately, Ally was a long way from achieving this. Roberts, however, is not. She is a real woman, she is married, juggles breastfeeding with writing a book, takes her child to work with her, has a husband who takes over the childcare and still manages to look glamorous. Roberts is an idealised role model. She has not compromised her professional career for her personal relationships. She appears to be 'having it all' (Hughes, 2002, p3). There is also evidence that Roberts is portrayed as the 'good mother' (ibid). The best of both worlds and the good mother are discourses, recognised by Hughes, as encouraging a woman to make time for both her career and her family. Roberts manages to breastfeed her infant while working and fulfils her career goals as a celebrity academic and mother. Roberts is portrayed as a feminist role model not just for this, but for her 'career choices and her clothes' (Alexander, 2009). This is a good example of an entanglement of discourses where there is a feminist ideal (a woman's career) and an anti-feminist ideal (a woman being judged by her clothes). When she is transformed from 'boffin' to 'belle' she is portrayed as keeping both her feminist values and her feminine body (ibid).

In *The Telegraph*, Foreman struggles to be a good mother and to have a career (Jardine, 2011). She describes her guilt as a working mother who makes a choice to work, which results in her not having much 'special time' with her children. Like Roberts, Foreman's husband is home with the children, but this is presented as not quite the right thing to do. Foreman's mother gave up work to look after her children, but Foreman has not. This is, however, also presented as an individual choice to have 'the best of both worlds' and one that is permissible due to her success (Hughes, 2002). Her career achievements are presented alongside her successful physical transformation 'from lonely failure to duchess of Hollywood' (Jardine, 2011). Her stunt at posing naked with her book is presented as nothing unusual or significant. It might be something that any woman would do if they have the 'assets to flaunt'. The entanglement of the post-feminist discourses of 'good mother', successful celebrity academic, good looks and a female naked body are combined.

Worsley is an accomplished celebrity academic who has written books but is also able to give her envied 'style tips' to the *Daily Mail* (Greenstreet, 2017). She is represented as a flourishing, empowered woman, but one who also enjoys 'feminine' pleasures like dressing up. She refuses to engage with

feminist issues, such as equal pay, when she talks to Rose (2018) in *The Times* and realises that 'she might be letting the sisterhood down'. She states that she decided 'not to have it all' and chose not to have children. Worsley is supporting the idea that a woman cannot successfully 'have it all' and has chosen a career over motherhood and a feminine body over feminist values (Genz, 2010).

Williams is presented as an empowered, intelligent woman in *The Times* (Membery, 2018) whose financial success is considered worthy of interest. However, Williams is also a woman who considers cosmetic surgery after a relationship break up and is required to discipline her 'long curly red hair' because it is 'uncontrollable'. There is a 'double entanglement' of a woman's intellectual career (feminism) and consumerism and traditional female interests. Childcare in London takes a third of Williams's income, but this is presented as one of her 'greatest extravagances' rather than a political subject. Feminist ideas are included but depoliticised (Rosenfelt and Stacey, 1987).

For the younger female celebrity academics who do not have children, the double entanglement of feminist and anti-feminist ideas tracks along the lines of having a career but remaining and looking feminine (Genz, 2010). Fry is in full make-up and wears a tight skirt and stiletto shoes in the *Daily Mail* (Moreton, 2017). In the pictures taken with her co-presenter, Cox, she is portrayed as his assistant in the images. Fry's extended study in science is used to follow female pursuits such as how to find true love and uses technology, in the form of a robot arm, to comb her hair. Her intellect and the advancement of science are used for the feminine interests of appearance and love.

Uhlenbroek is an educated woman who has chosen to do something she loves in remote and dangerous parts of the world. This makes her an empowered woman following a feminist aspiration. However, the first word used to describe her in *The Times* is 'sexy' (Hoggart, 2003). Much of the article focuses on her good looks. That she is young, slim and sexy is a central part of the discussion about her. Feminist and antifeminist ideas are entangled together so that a brave, educated zoologist becomes a sexy, young, wildlife presenter, 'running wild'. A similar approach is taken with Lipscomb in the *Daily Mail* (Sanderson, 2013). Lispcomb is described as having a 'fierce intellect' but is also a 'telegenic', 'striking 34-year-old' with a 'lethal grace' and 'leonine locks'. Sykes receives the same treatment bringing 'glamour', 'colour' and 'passion' to her role while not being 'just a pretty face'. Her feminist ambitions have resulted in her becoming 'a Professor of Science Communication' but she has managed to keep her

feminine body as she is ‘a bit of a babe’ (Viner, 2008). The reader is informed that she is ‘single’ so there may be a discourse of career over relationships (Genz, 2010) being played out.

Using the word ‘girl’ for the ‘History Girls’ article in the *Daily Mail* (Hilton, 2013) tapped into a debated area in feminism. In the 1970’s feminists campaigned against the term ‘girl’ as it was considered demeaning and a way of infantilizing grown women. Baumgardner and Richards (2004) attempted to re-claim the word stating that, ‘second wave feminists fought so hard for all women not to be reduced to a ‘girl’ – they didn’t lay claim to the good in being a girl.’ (Baumgardner and Richards, 2004, p. 62). As McRobbie (2009) points out the kind of ‘girl’ Baumgardner and Richards (2004) are writing about is western and white and has enough capital to be able to enjoy consumerism in her pursuit of all things ‘girlie’. This is a form of neoliberal feminism where the empowered woman is encouraged to show her independence by spending and consuming. The young historians in the article are ‘girlied’ through grooming and fashion. For the picture they pose and look like fashion models. All the women are successful career historians, but their interests are seen through the lens of gender. Williams is interested in Josephine and Napoleon’s love and Josephine’s jewellery, Rubenhold is concerned with women’s lives in the past, Whitlock is absorbed with Tutor people’s emotions, and Lipscomb believes that people enjoy history because it gives them feelings of security.

Bateman is a woman with a political opinion and would not normally receive a platform for her opinions in the media. Removing her clothes and using her body gave her a voice and the opportunity to be heard, by a large audience. Bateman is subverting the idea that a nude woman is a passive sexual body (Berger, 1972).

In all the articles, the female celebrity academics’ success is presented as an individual achievement. This fits with a neoliberal discourse but also with Genz’s (2010) ideas that individual achievements are positioned against collective pursuits. The discourse of individual academic pursuits was picked up in an article about the primatologist, Jane Goodall. In the film about her life she is alone in the rain forest in Gombe, Tanzania, watching and recording the lives and behaviours of chimpanzees. In reality, a team of local Tanzanians, who Goodall acknowledges and thanks, accompanied her (Graham, 2018). Research and documentary production are always a team effort, but this is not acknowledged in any of the articles on the women.

Discourse analysis illustrates that post-feminist sentiments are prevalent in the articles which feature celebrity academic women. The apparent feminist success of academic women in public life is in fact a

much more nuanced story. Their success in linked to a particular kind of femininity, which is one of a white, heterosexual, middle-class, youthful beauty. However, their youth and beauty are 'tightly fettered to time' (Chapkins, 1986 p.14). No wonder Erica Jong writes, 'We are terrified at fifty because we do not know what on earth we can become when we are no longer young and cute' (Jong, 2006 pxiii).

4.2.3 A Post- Feminist Discourse Analysis of the representation of Male Celebrity Academics in the media

A feature of gender as a bodily property is the 'obsessional preoccupation with the body' (Gill, 2007, p. 255). It is relevant to consider whether the media is obsessed with celebrity male academics' bodies. A post-feminist discourse analysis has been carried out on Cox, Schama, Scott and Olusoga. The men represent different types of masculinity (Connell, 2005) (see section 4.1.4)

Llewellyn Smith (2018) writes about Cox's body in *The Times*. She describes him as 'impressively slim' with 'taut features' and wonders if he has taken an 'eternal youth potion' as he 'barely looks old enough to have passed his driving license'. In the pictures, accompanying the article, Cox has grey hair. It is unlikely a woman with greying hair would be described as so youthful looking. The reader is informed that Cox has a 'famously beguiling grin', is 'well into middle age' with 'floppy greying hair'. In the images, Cox appears relaxed and friendly sitting in a coffee shop. His clothes are smart casual. His jacket evokes the stereotype of a lecturer's cord jacket, giving him a slight 'nerdy' look appropriate for a physicist.

Professor Brian Cox (Llewellyn Smith, 2018)





Figure 32. Professor Brian Cox

In the *Daily Mail* Cox is described as 'a smartened-up member of Oasis' (this is a reference to Cox's pop star past). He is 'the sexiest man alive', 'looking gorgeous in exotic landscapes' with 'silver bits sparkling like stars in his elfin cut black hair'. He is '49' with 'very kissable lips'. He arrives for the interview dressed in 'black from his boots to his hoodie'. This article has four pictures of Cox. Two of his entire body and two are from the waist up. There is an interest in his appearance, and he is represented as a handsome nerd.

There is no comment on David Olusoga's body in the *Daily Mail* article (Coen and Rouse 2018) or in *The Telegraph* (Rees 2016). There is no remark on his physical appearance, his clothes and hair, his age or his career history. *The Daily Mail* writes three times that Olusoga' s father is Nigerian as a reference to his 'race'. Michael Scott is referred to as having 'expert knowledge' but he does not feature in the *Daily Mail* article about his research (Griffiths 2013). It is his research work on Roman Britain, rather than a description about him as an attractive blue-eyed 34-year-old, that is of interest. Simon Schama is described as '73 years old' but there is no description of his looks or clothes.

There is no other mention of sex, eroticism or sexual subjectivity in any of the articles on the academic men. Cox is described as being 'married with a son called George' (Moreton 2017). In *The Telegraph* article, Llewellyn Smith (2018) calls Cox a 'superstar' who is 'cautious discussing family life'. He is clearly

heterosexual but there is no evidence of him as a sexual subject 'being up for it'. Any reference to his sex appeal is almost old-fashioned making him an 'object' of desire rather than a 'subject'.

Gill (2007) argues that a postfeminist sensibility in media culture will be devoid of any political statement and every aspect of life is presented as a personal choice. The article in the *Daily Mail* (Moreton 2017) describes some of Cox's earlier life as a pop star. It was his free choice to do a PhD after the pop group split up and this is presented as 'pleasing oneself'. There is no notion of a beauty regime being any part of his life. The suggestion of Botox in *The Telegraph* (Llewellyn Smith 2018) was not a serious consideration and was presented as a joke unlike the issue of cosmetic surgery for Kate Williams. 'Being oneself' and 'pleasing oneself' (Gill 2007 p259) does not include male body labour. In *The Telegraph* Cox is presented as considering a future in politics. The choices he makes are powerful ones.

The articles that feature David Olusoga concentrate on history and not on his personal narrative and choices. Michael Scott does not personally feature in the *Daily Mail* article on his work. No personal information is included in the article about any 'choices' he might have made in his life. Cox is described as 'slim' indicating some level of discipline over his food choices. He cuts his hair but does not cover his grey hairs. This is also true of Olusoga and Schama. Their performance of successful masculinity requires some level of discipline (haircuts and the wearing of smart clothes) but there is no evidence of the level of self-surveillance demanded of the women. There is no evidence of a makeover paradigm. None of the men are required to transform into something better. There is no evidence of irony or knowingness. There is humour used with Cox over the suggestion of Botox, but this comes from him not using it, 'Botox, me? I don't think so.' (Llewellyn Smith 2018). Cox makes a science joke about needing 'oxygen' for the thing he most needs for a perfect weekend. There is no mention of love or consumer items. This is a deliberate avoidance of devolving personal information. There is no other humour in the articles on the other male celebrity academics. There is no mention of body labour in acquiring a masculine body (apart from Cox's enjoyment of running). Difficulties in juggling relationships and childcare with a career are not mentioned. Brian Cox is the only celebrity academic to reference a relationship when he remarks that his wife is a 'great laugh' and is 'provocative' (Llewellyn Smith 2018).

Gender is less overt for the male academics. Their elite masculinity has a taken for granted quality that does not require descriptions or work to transform. Cox's good looks are described. Scott is missing completely and Olusoga and Schama are present in the articles but there is no mention of their

personalities or attributes, apart from Schama who is described as 'commanding'. This is an adjective not normally used for women. There is no attempt to present the men as emotional for their interests. For example, 'passionate' is used about Alice Roberts and 'enthusiastic' is used about Hannah Fry, Janina Ramirez and Charlotte Uhlenbroek. Cox's communication skills are described as 'eloquent' and 'blunt' which are gendered to have a more male, less emotional, feel about them.

Male celebrity academics do not appear to operate under the same constraints as female celebrity academics. The findings indicate that Cox does receive different treatment from the other male academics. This is likely to be because of his 'superstar' status (Llewellyn Smith, 2018) as a 'rock star cosmologist' who 'fills Wembley stadium' (Moreton, 2017). There is an interest in his looks and clothes that the other academic men do not experience. This is juxtapositioned against his intellectual achievements and his desire to enter politics. A significant feature for the male celebrity academic is that their work is self-supporting. It is Scott's expert knowledge, rather than his body, which is featured in the article on his work. Olusoga and Schama also present their work rather than themselves. Although the types of masculinities they represent are different they are not required to regulate or manage themselves in the way the women are. Gill (2007) asks if neoliberalism is gendered with women as the ideal subjects? It certainly appears that the individualism, self-regulation and self-management of the female celebrity academic outweighs anything required of the men.

Conclusion

Several themes of interest have emerged from the discourse analysis of the younger female celebrity academics. There is great interest in the female bodies and appearance of the women, which is juxtaposed against their career achievements. They are admired because of the way they look but it is also clear that their image requires labour and discipline. The younger academic celebrity women represent a new form of successful femininity where the woman is clever, self-made through hard-work and always looking impeccable or undergoing transformation to become a better version of herself. 'A post feminine heroine has appeared who is empowered and autonomous, while also playful and youthful' (Gerodetti and McNaught-Davis, 2017, p.352). As successful women they have also become de-politized. Feminist issues of careers, motherhood and childcare are presented as individual choices. Privileged upbringings and financial support to enable their success is ignored. The silent discourse in these narratives is the march of time that will inevitably rob them of their youthful beauty and appeal.

As has been seen with the older academic women (see 4.1.3), wisdom without youthful beauty is undesirable. It appears that the celebrity male academics do not operate under the same time constraint.

4.3 The academprenuer and celebrity

So far, the analysis and discussion has been about the representation of female celebrity academics in the form of stereotypes, post-feminism and stigma and the influence neoliberalism plays in this. The discussion moves now onto the role of celebrity academics for the neoliberal university. First, I want to demonstrate that academia has become celebritised and that celebrity academics are part of this narrative. I then want to suggest that the move to a neoliberal university has resulted in a new kind of female celebrity academic whom I will term an 'academprenuer'. The academpreneur is a symbolic role model who represents a neoliberal femininity for HE. She is liberated, self-made, playful, youthful and undergoes aesthetic labour. She uses her academic knowledge as an enterprise for individual gain while being someone other women can aspire to. In this sense, she operates as an advert for HE.

4.3.1 Celebritisation

Driessen's (2012) 'model of celebritization' uses the concepts of democratisation, diversification and migration as part of the 'celebritisation' of individuals. Mediatisation, personalisation and commodification are the notions used to explain 'celebrification' of society and culture (see 2.2.4). I have adapted Driessen's (2012) 'model of celebritization' to academia. Driessen's adapted model and Hollander's concept of celebrity characteristics which include 'gestures, ways of speaking, hair styles, facial expressions and items of clothing' (Hollander, 2010, p. 390) will be used to analyse the media representation of the celebrity academics. Genz's (2015) idea of the intersection between consumption, gender and celebrity and how these manifests onto the neoliberal feminine subject, will also be discussed. This corresponds with 'branding' and having a unique self to sell (ibid).

Mediatisation

When considering mediatisation, it is necessary to contemplate how extensively celebrity academics use the TV, the radio, the news media, magazines and social media. This is a tautology as without the use of the media the celebrity academic would not exist. However, as the table below indicates celebrity academics make extensive use of the media to promote both themselves and their products.

Table 5. *Celebrity Academics Use of the Media*

Celebrity academics	**Use of TV, radio, news media (including magazines) and social media (predominantly twitter and Facebook)**	**Use of TV, radio, news media (including magazines) but no use of social media such as twitter or websites**
Dr Maggie Aderin- Pocock		The above
Dr Victoria Bateman	All	
Prof Mary Beard	All	
Prof Brian Cox	All	
Dr Catherine Edwards	All	
Dr Amanda Foreman	All	
Prof Germaine Greer		The above
Dr Bettany Hughes	All	
Prof Suzannah Lipscomb	All	
Prof David Olusoga	All	
Dr Janina Ramirez	All	
Prof Alice Roberts	All	
Prof Simon Schama	All	
Prof Michael Scott	All	
Prof Kathy Sykes		The above
Dr Charlotte Uhlenbroek		The above
Prof Kate Williams	All	
Dr Lucy Worsley	All	

It is relevant to consider why Aderin -Pocock, Greer, Sykes and Uhlenbroek do not use social media. Sykes and Uhlenbroek are among the less well-known celebrities. Sykes was last on TV in 2011 and Uhlenbroek in 2009. Their decision not to use social media might be because there is less interest in them and therefore, less need to self-promote. Aderin-Pocock's and Greer's decision not to use social media is likely to be a personal one.

I have followed the celebrity academics that use twitter for the last 18 months. (Please see appendix three for examples of tweets from the celebrity academics.) Although most of the academics have a

twitter account, I have observed that some use it more than others. The well- known celebrities such as Beard, Cox, Schama, Worsley and Williams are regular users and comment about their activities and sometimes their politics. The others tend to use twitter to promote a new book or a TV programme they will appear on. Most of the celebrity academic women have received abuse and they tweet about this. Beard, in particular, obtains many negative comments.

The celebrity is 'both the product and the producer of labour' (Driessens, 2012, p. 652). The celebrity academic sells their merchandise (TV programmes, books and talks) and themselves in a congested marketplace. Their success depends on how desirable their brand is rated. The greater the success of the brand (the academic and her labour), the more desirable the brand manufacturer (HE institutions) is held by the consumer (prospective students). All the celebrity academics are attached to an institution and all the media articles state which institution it is. This serves as an advert, promoting the success of the graduates who attend the institution. Cox is reported to be the eleventh most influential British man and his influence on science has been called the 'Brian Cox effect' (*Greater Manchester News*, 2013). There is also the promise of being taught by a celebrity. Cox is described as a 'Professor for Public Engagement in Science' and 'an academic who still teaches first year undergraduates' (Moreton, 2017). Both Brian Cox and Michael Wood, a Professor of Public History who is regularly on TV, appear on the UoM online advert (UoM, 2014). The celebrity academics are connected with the most prestigious universities in England.

The celebrity academics' credentials and their previous and current work are combined in the media articles to make the commodity they are selling more valuable. In the *Daily Mail* article (Lambert, 2018) Beard is described as a 'Cambridge University Classics Professor' and 'co-presenter for the BBC's *Civilisations'*. Thus, both the university and her TV appearances are publicised. In a feature on Roberts in *The Independent* (Gallagher, 2014) she is working as the 'Professor of Engagement at Birmingham University' doing a 'pop-up store' at the city's shopping centre. The article finishes with a short biography advertising her books, her TV documentaries, a talk at the British Science festival and a description of her new book, written for a general audience, *The Unlikeliness of Being* by Alice Roberts is out in hardback on 4 September, £19.99, Heron Books'. A TV review of Ramirez's documentary *Saints and Sinner* is described as 'informative but pacey' while she is described as an 'Oxford Art Historian'. Aderin Pocock, who has a 'Doctorate in Mechanical Engineering at London's Imperial College', is also described as a presenter for 'children's space programmes for the BBC' (Baker, 2012). Although Scott

does not feature in the *Daily Mail* article (Griffiths, 2013) he is described as an 'Assistant Professor of Ancient History at Warwick University who has a new 'TV series on the Roman invasion of Britain'. In the *Daily Mail* Lipscomb is called the 'Head of History at the new college of Humanities in Bloomsbury, London' who has 'written four books' and studied at Oxford' (Sanderson, 2013). Williams is described as having 'written acclaimed biographies and novels' and 'lectures at Reading University' (Membery, 2018). The Daily Mail informs the reader that 'her third novel, *The Edge of the Fall*, is out now' (Mulley, 2015). In *The Guardian* (Gold, 2007) information is given that Sykes co-directs Cheltenham Science festival, created Famelab and has taken 'part in TV science programmes'. Worsley is called 'the chief curator at Historic London Palaces' who has a 'first in History from Oxford University' while she talks about her 'latest historical subject Queen Victoria' (Rose, 2018).

In *The Telegraph* (Jardine, 2011) the reader is informed that Foreman 'now has another project writing about the American Civil war, which is due to be made into a six-part TV series by the BBC and HBO' and that she was awarded the Whitbread prize for her book *The Duchess* which was made into a film. Hughes is described by Hodges (2017) in the *Daily Mail* as an author, academic and 'a provocative historian behind such titles as *Helen Of Troy: Goddess, Princess, Whore and Sin City: London In Pursuit of Pleasure*' and is the 'presenter of several major television documentaries'. Edwards book, *Mothers, Murderers and Mistresses: Empresses of Ancient Rome* is written about in *The Guardian* review of her documentary (Adewunmi, 2013). *A Daily Mail* article about a new 'revamped Tomorrow's World' TV programme presented by Cox and Fry describes their academic credentials and their previous celebrity fame (Moreton, 2017). David Olusoga is termed a co-presenter in '*Civilisations*' by Coen & Rouse (2018) in the Daily Mail and as the 'presenter of *Black and British*' by Rees (2016) in the articles about his work. Uhlenbroek promotes her book and TV documentary called *Jungle* in *The Times* (Hoggart, 2003). Schama is described as 'television's most distinguished historian' who has 'published many critically acclaimed books including two volumes of a history of the Jewish people (with a third to come)' (Moreton, 2018). Schama's TV programmes, *A History of Britain* and Simon Schama's *Power of Art* are also included in the article. Thus, the products produced by the celebrity academics, the institution they belong to and their trustworthiness as knowledgeable academics are publicised, which increase both fame and profitability.

In some cases, it is the person rather than their labour that is promoted. In *The Telegraph* (Alexander, 2019) the reader is advised how to buy Roberts' 'look' as she turns from 'Boffin to belle of the ball'. This includes information on skin and hair products, make up and her clothes. Worsley gives her 'style

secrets' to Greenstreet (2017) while Williams describes her 'love of fashion clothing' and models her favourite clothes, while promoting her new novel *The Edge of the Fall* to Mulley (2015), both of which are in the *Daily Mail*. In these examples, there is a blurring between the private self and the public self which is a crucial part of self-branding and self-promotion (Genz, 2015). By appearing to be both physically and mentally attractive, the brand is made stronger.

The body, particularly the naked body, has a greater significance for the FCA. Genz (2015 p. 546) describes a 'gendered brand space' which allows the gendered 'construction, marketing and consumption of female subjectivity'. I believe that this can be seen in the following example. Bateman, an Economics Fellow from Cambridge University, wrote her political views with a pen on her naked body and went onto the public stage. In so doing, she was given a voice. Bateman claims this was a feminist act as she was not the passive victim of the male gaze but an active agent who wanted people to look at her so that they would listen to her message (Weaver, 2019). This is a post- feminist act. She has a voice and an opinion she wants to share with others. This is the feminist position. However, to ensure she is taken notice of she removes her clothes and goes onto BBC radio 4 'This Morning' and TV's 'Good Morning Britain' naked. This is an act of self-promotion and one which places gender identity to the fore. She has constructed and marketed herself for public consumption. She is selling her ideas by writing them onto her naked body. She is also selling herself as a Cambridge academic which gives her ideas legitimacy. It is the combination of academic credibility and her nude body that gives her a public voice.

Dr Victoria Bateman



(Gwyer, 2019)

Dr Amanda Foreman



(Chitterdon, 2008)

Figure 33. Dr Bateman and Dr Foreman appear naked

Foreman promoted her book, which was based on her doctoral research (at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford) on Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire, by posing naked for *Tatler* Magazine. She also discussed her troubled relationship with her father, a Hollywood script writer (Chittenden 2008). The public and private self are blurred. The act of promoting her naked self and her book ensured her celebrity status and commodified both. The book went on to win a *Whitbread Award* in 1998 and was made into a film.

The naked Greer is selling her brand which is her unique self (Genz, 2014) as a feminist academic and author. Her arm is held up as if in a victory air punch. The angle is also a flattering one as it pulls the breasts up. Her expression is not the passive look that is expected from a nude (Berger, 1972). Her expressions and poses give her agency. The pictures fit with her brand as an outspoken feminist. The image of a naked Greer in 1973 is likely to be associated with publicity for her acclaimed book, *The Female Eunuch*, printed in 1970. Once again, the female body sells the product of her labour.

Dr Germaine Greer



(Borland 2000)



(Greer in 1973, Pinterest)

Figure 34. Dr Germaine Greer poses naked

Taylor (2014) observes that Greer is criticised for courting publicity as if this were something that a celebrity should not do. A member of the public wrote to Alice Williams calling her the 'cash register professor' (Membery, 2018). This suggests some disquiet about an academic's relationship with money and a misunderstanding of their roles as celebrities.

All the current celebrity academics, with the exceptions of Greer, Aderin-Pocock and Edwards use Twitter. Some of the academics such as Roberts and Ramirez might tweet multiple times in one day. Their tweets are about events they have coming up and activities they are involved with. In some cases, they tweet about their children, pets and friends.

'The fact that I have just had my hair trimmed by the wonderful @garylinkhamhair has nothing to do with the fact it is the first TV episode of new front row tomorrow at 11.05 on BBC2. Promise.' (Beard, 2018a)

'I'd be grateful if you'd watch my new TV series on the last Tsar and Tsaritsa of Russia Nicholas & Alexandra: The Letters. Hear their story in their own words. It starts in one hour on yesterday channel'. (Lipscomb, 2018b)

'Thank you to everyone who came to Manchester this evening. It was a very special night for me in my home town – I couldn't have imagined we could fill an arena with ideas! I chose this picture because most of you are in it 😊' (Cox, 2019a)

Genz (2014, p. 547) refers to the blurring of the private and public self as 'authenticity labour'. The celebrity divulges private information so that they appear more genuine. This is another tool which is used in the promotion of the self.

'Well tonight has been interesting. My 9yo son has a friend sleeping over. It's nearly 2am. Apparently the funniest thing in the world is shouting 'expecto penis' at the top of their voices. I am losing the will to live…'. (Ramirez, 2019)

'STILL my favourite letter of complaint ever: 'I used to enjoy the programmes of Dr Worsley, an elegant and apparently well-educated lady UNTIL I heard her refer to a jigsaw puzzle as a jigsaw'. (Worsley, 2018)

'We lost our much-loved cat Rocky Raccoon today - here he is in 2005 when he didn't really look all cat :-)' (Cox, 2019b)

Celebrity academics are using social media to endorse both the private and public self as part of the promotion of their brand and to establish their 'authenticity labour'.

A feature of a successful celebrity, according to Driessen (2012), is that they will migrate out of their original area of fame into others. Not all the celebrity academics have successfully migrated into other fields, although as can be seen from the examples below, many have. This is likely to be due to several factors such as their personality, their celebrity status and how successfully their 'brand' has been marketed. Roberts has migrated from anthropology into archaeology programmes such as *Digging for Britain* (Radio Times, 2019a). Beard has migrated from Ancient Rome to current affairs where she presents BBC *Front Row Late* and appears on *Question Time* (Radio Times, 2019b). Cox has migrated from astronomy to presenting BBC *Tomorrow's World* (Radio Times, 2017) and Radio 4 *Infinite Monkey Cage*. Foreman's research became a book, *The Duchess* and then became a film (Foreman, 2019). Ramirez has migrated from a TV presentation on the Saxons to success as an author of children's books (Ramirez, ND). Greer, a successful academic feminist, appeared on *Celebrity Big Brother* (Gibson, 2005) migrating from academic programming to mainstream entertainment. Williams writes novels, is part of the team on the BBC 2 programme *Restoration Home* and appears as a celebrity panellist on *Would I Lie To You?* (Williams, 2012). Schama has presented documentaries from a wide range of subjects from British history, Jewish history, Art and American Politics (Columbia University, ND). Worsley has also presented a large range of TV programmes on subjects such as home décor over the centuries, the Russian Romanovs, the Suffragettes, Henry VIII wives and Elizabeth I's fireworks. She has also written a children's novel (Worsley, 2019). Fry has presented on several TV and radio programmes. She has given

a TED talk on the mathematics of love and presented a TV programme about trains, called *Trainspotting Live* (Fry, ND).

Part of branding is having characteristics that are recognisable and which make the celebrity visible in a crowded media field. 'Gestures, ways of speaking, hair styles, facial expressions, items of clothing - anything that can be defined as a trademark is made use of' (Hollander, 2010, p. 390) As can be seen from these examples below, the media and celebrities make use of celebrity trademarks.

Hair becomes a distinctive feature of a celebrity. Hughes has long 'dark tresses' and is described as 'raven haired' (Hodges, 2017). Hughes has had her hair in this style since she first appeared on TV in 2012. Beard has long grey hair, which is a distinctive characteristic as grey hair on older women is often hidden (Clarke & Griffin, 2008). Lipscomb is known for her 'leonine locks' (Sanderson, 2013). She has long, blonde, curly hair. Williams has long curly red hair, which she describes as 'uncontrollable' (Membery, 2018). Worsley has a blonde bob and has had this hair style since she first appeared on TV in 2009. Fry has long red hair. It is interesting to note that none of the men are bald. Cox has kept the same hair style since he was first on TV in 2010.

Any other defining feature is used to attempt to make the celebrity unique. This is an important part of branding. Hughes has a 'trademark décolletage' (Hodges, 2017) and is described as 'sexy' and voluptuous. Beard does not wear make-up and with her grey hair this is a very distinctive look. Roberts appears in vest and trousers in many of her pictures (Alexander, 2009). This gives her a hands-on appearance which suits her 'boffin' look which is discussed in both articles (Alexander, 2009 and Gallagher, 2014). Ulhenbroek, who is another outdoor academic, also wears vests and combat trousers as part of her image. The vest is described as her 'trademark' (Hoggart, 2003). Worsley has a lisp and nearly always dresses up in historic costumes on TV. If she does not dress up, she is beautifully presented in a dress. She has stated that she does not wear trousers making this a defining feature (Greenstreet, 2017). Bateman's trademark is that she is naked. Greer is described as sparking 'outrage' (Kaplan, 2018) and as can be seen from the 1970's picture of her unusual naked pose, this has become something of a trademark for her. Cox is described as having a 'wry smile' by Moreton (2017) and a 'beguiling grin' by Llewellyn-Smith (2018), making his smile one of his trademarks. Schama's and Scott's appearances or any defining characteristics are not discussed in the articles. Their trademark is as the hegemonic male academic with an authoritative voice.

Aderin Pocock and Olusoga are currently the only black celebrity academics who appear regularly on TV. This is not referred to in the articles. 'Race' is implied when it is stated that they both have a Nigerian father. This is another example of a silent discourse (Foucault, 1972). Stuart Hall (1997) suggests that racial difference should be read like sexual difference, in that the manifestation of it gives rise to an established set of knowledge and assumptions. Thus, it is not necessary to state 'black' or 'woman' because behind the 'corporeal schema' (ibid, p. 16) is another schema with its own cultural narratives. Hall argues that despite any scientific evidence one of these schemes of knowledge is that there is still a 'persistent and widespread belief in the inferior mental capacities of black folk' (ibid, p2). The Anthropologist, Mary Douglas, described classifications that exist where society thinks they should not be as, 'matter out of place' (Douglas, 1966). The silence around the subject of 'race' in the media articles is reminiscent of dealing with 'matter out of place' or in other words, black intellectuals in a classification that was reserved for white elite men. It is necessary to be alert to the idea that 'silence' around race does not mean that it is not being regarded. In fact, the opposite is the case. The silent discourse is a powerful one that shouts, 'matter out of place' and a cultural scheme of knowledge around the construct of race that has not changed in generations.

An important factor in neoliberal ideology is the appearance that anyone with ability can achieve meritocratic success through hard work (Littler, 2018). Consequently, academia must appear to be democratic and open to all with ability. This is an important component of the marketing of academia, which the celebrity academics represent. The refrain is that if you, the consumer, buy the product and work hard, then you could be the next Worsley or Cox. The celebrity academics should appear ordinary and 'just like us' to maintain a discourse of meritocracy (ibid). A striking finding is that this is not the case.

Social class is notoriously difficult to define without a lot of information about the individual. Over the course of the twentieth century The Registrar General Scale of Class has been predominantly used in the UK (Bland, 1979) and this defines class through occupation, usually that of the male. A more nuanced understanding of social class considers economic, social and cultural factors and it is important to recognise that there are more forms of capital than materialism (Bourdieu, 1986). Despite the illusion of 'being just like us' (Littler, 2018) 44% of the celebrity academics attended private school (see section 3.2.3 for detail). This compares with 7% of the British population (Sutton Trust, 2019). This percentage is

comparable with actors, where interestingly research found that the same percentage are privately educated, along with news columnists (44%) and staff at the news media (43%) (ibid). 63% of the celebrity academics graduated from Oxbridge despite only 1% of the population achieving this (ibid). There are issues of elitism and power in these percentages. The Sutton Trust (2019, p2) illustrates this when they write, 'The most common pathway into the elite is attending independent school followed by Oxford or Cambridge, making up 17% of the whole group, and forming a strong 'pipeline' into the highest status jobs'. It is certainly not possible to see the celebrity academics as representative of the British population who have achieved through their meritocratic success. Littler (2018) argues that the elites present themselves as commonplace as part of a discourse that reproduces their success. The media re-enforce this with a narrative of an extraordinary academic ability, which results in meritocratic achievement through hard work.

Not only is the schooling the celebrity academics receive not typical of the population, but they are not representative of university academic staff. 90% of the celebrity academics are white. Data on BME academics in 2018-19, indicated that 17% of academic staff identified as BME (HESA, 2020) suggesting that celebrity academics are less diverse than the university academic population. Of the women included in the research 50% are professors, which compares with 27% in 2018/19 of women working in academia (HESA. 2020). Figures from HESA (2014) indicate that 14% of female academic staff are aged between 31 and 40, which compares with 56% of the FCA in this sample. Looks are important for celebrities (Hollander, 2010). Genz and Brabon (2009 p. 8) argue that 'the ideal postfeminist subject' is seen to be a 'white, middle-class, heterosexual girl'. It appears that this is also the case for marketing academia with young white, middle class, heterosexual academic woman in the forefront of other academic women for TV work. This selection of academics gives a distorted impression of reality. These women are 'not just like us' (Littler 2018) and they are not representative of academia. They are an elite group whose success cannot be judged to have been the result of meritocracy.

As an area undergoes celebrification, new areas of academia become part of entertainment in a process Driessen (2012) refers to as mediatisation. Astronomy has been on TV since 1957 when Patrick Moore presented *The Sky at Night* (BBC, 2012). Kenneth Clark presented *Civilisation* on the BBC in 1969 (BBC One, 2019). Since then, the field of academia has diversified, and most areas are now open to mediatisation. These include Archaeology (Channel 4, *The Time Team* 1994-2013 and BBC *Digging for Britain* since 2010), Anthropology (BBC *Meet your Ancestors the Neanderthals*, 2018), Physics (*The*

Secrets of Quantum Physics, 2014), Art (BBC *Picasso's Last Stand*, 2019), Finance (BBC *Money Saving Expert* Martin Lewis) and Architecture (BBC 4 *Architecture Season* 2016).

By applying Driessen's (2012) model to academia it seems that it has indeed undergone celebrification and commodification. The celebritisation of some academic individuals is part of this trend. They act as symbolic role models for an ideology that states that the meritocratic ideal is available for anyone would they consume HE. However, this neoliberal democratising ideology does not stand up to scrutiny. The celebrity academics are not representative of the public and they are operating as a myth (Barthes, 1972). Despite the anomaly between ideology and reality, the celebrity academics are successful in selling themselves, their products and the institutions they are attached to as opportunities open to all. They are rewarded with Professorships and the freedom for regular radio and TV appearances. Young female academics have been successful in branding themselves by using their female bodies and their image for public consumption under a neoliberal postfeminist platform. This has not been the case for older women, which is a reflection of what is valued and what 'sells'. The younger, female, celebrity academic is in the forefront for marketing the neoliberal university and for attracting new HE customers.

4.3.2 The academpreneur

Olssen and Peters (2007, p. 315) believe that, 'in neoliberalism the state seeks to create an individual that is an enterprising and competitive entrepreneur' The academpreneur is this neoliberal role model for academia. She promises the success that can be achieved through HE. She is a 'superwoman', who is individualistic, self-made, young and has undergone transformation both mentally (through acquired learning) and physically (glamour through aesthetic labour). She undergoes self-monitoring so that she is constantly self-improving through the purchase of artefacts that support her mental and physical transformations. This may include a make-over for Alice Roberts ('From Boffin to Belle', Alexander 2009) or a new research project for Amanda Foreman ('She now has another project writing about the American Civil War, which is due to be made into a six-part series by the BBC and HBO', Jardine, 2011). The academpreneur is free from restrictions and can 'choose' in which ways she wants to self-improve. Her superwoman status is apparent with examples such as, 'super-mum' Alice Roberts who writes a book while breastfeeding her new-born, or the fearless Charlotte Ulhenbroek who dives into the amazon in a white swimming costume to show the river's dark colour or the ingenuity of Kathy Sykes

who makes a microscope out of a saucepan. The women are presented as thriving in a post-gender, post-class and post-race, meritocratic world.

However, this is a representation rather than a reality. As has been discussed the women are predominantly white, middle class, heterosexual and young. Apart from Beard who has successfully made age her brand (Genz, 2015), older academics and black academics are missing from this narrative. Political issues that have concerned feminists for generations are silent. Issues around motherhood and childcare are presented as individual choices. Kate Williams' childcare in London is described as being 'one of her greatest extravagances' in *The Sunday Times* (Memberry, 2018). In *The Times,* Lucy Worsley has no interest in the issue of equal pay and whether her male co-workers are paid more than her (Rose, 2018). Research and the creation of TV documentaries are by necessity collaborative, collective initiatives but in the media, they are presented as the result of individual's work.

The discourse of the academpreneur role model is to act as an advert, which states that anyone with ability can have an education and climb a meritocratic ladder of success. Meritocracy promises every person, regardless of their background, skin colour or wealth, that British society will provide the opportunity they need for their hard work and talent to be rewarded (Littler, 2018). Meritocracy is a pillar of neoliberalism. The academpreneur is this meritocratic success embodied. As has been discussed, this is a fallacy. Littler writes of the TV reality show that, 'instead of opening up a wide range of representations of ordinary people, it denigrates a large swathe of them whilst glorifying the winners' (Littler, 2018 p. 60). This applies equally to celebrity academics. Instead of seeing the meritocratic dream on TV of all types of women enjoying the benefits of learning, the viewer sees only the representation of a certain kind of woman. Older women are not visible. Not only is this inequitable but it is also time limited as the young woman will age.

It is worth considering how this cultural myth of the academpreneur impacts on inequity for women. The post-feminist media produces a particular type of successful academic woman who is strongly linked to neoliberalism and consumption. She is also stereotyped as the 'thinking man's' crumpet' and belongs to 'emphasised femininity' in Connell's (1987) gender hierarchy. By implication, only certain women can belong to this group which exposes the falsehood of all being able to climb the meritocratic ladder. The myth also helps to maintain this gender hierarchy by appearing as if it were open to all women. Reflecting on the genealogy of HE and feminine attractiveness it is possible to trace an 'emergence' of

the discourse that only certain types of femininity are valued. The episteme of all women being unsuitable for education has changed to one where certain kinds of women are unsuitable.

5.1 Conclusion

In this thesis I have considered how celebrity academic women are represented in the media. My assumptions were that gender stereotypes were in evidence and that this undermined the women's academic contributions. I also felt concerned that there was mainly one kind of academic woman visible and she was young, glamorous, underwent aesthetic labour and was middle-class. I recognised that this interest was based on my own entry into lecturing in HE and turning 50. I had become one of the many women who watched and read about celebrity academics but could rarely see themselves in the portrayal. My research questions were to consider the use of academic gender stereotypes in the media, to investigate how older celebrity academic women were portrayed and to scrutinise the media's representation of younger women with the use of a post-feminist sensibility. Finally, I wanted to consider why there had been a materialisation of celebrity academics in the media. They were not so numerous in the past. What were the changes in society and academia that had resulted in there being so many on our TV screens?

A post structural approach was chosen for this research. This allowed a both/and approach to understanding media texts and gender relations, rather than an either/or (Hughes, 2002). This is significant because of the perception of power and an attempt to move away from a binary understanding of women and men where women are placed as victims. Celebrity academic women can be both powerful and experience inequality. Certainly, it would be difficult to argue that these successful, educated and privileged women are simply victims. It seemed important to recognise that they could be successful, educated, privileged and experience inequality in the form of their representation and the privileging of certain femininities over others. A post structuralist approach also allowed a more subtle and complex understanding of how power operates through discipline and social relations.

An investigation into discourse analysis methods to use for the media encountered a problem. A post-feminist sensibility (Gill, 2007) which focused on self-surveillance, the female body and aesthetic labour was mostly appropriate for young women. Gill (2007, p. 99) recognised that 'older bodies are strikingly

absent' and that 'older women are never accorded sexual subjecthood' (Gill, 2007 p. 259) in the media. Using Gill's (2007) post-feminist sensibility on older women revealed the extent of this absence. Baxter (2018) offered an interesting perspective on the representation of women in the media which explored stereotypes and gender binaries and recommended re-constructing the discourse in the text so that 'a panoply of insights about the news subject' can be constructed (Baxter, 2018, p. 149). I was also keen to incorporate McRobbie's (2009) understanding of post -feminism which is when both feminist and anti-feminist discourses appear in the same text. The solution was to merge the approaches together to create a new method of discourse analysis which I have termed a 'Post-Feminist Discourse Analysis'. This enabled an analysis using a post -feminist representation of women in the media, which included the representation of both young and older women, the use of stereotypes and allowed a re-construction of the discourse to give readers agency over a different narrative. There has not been space to include re-constructions in this thesis, but my reconstructions are in appendix two.

The literature for gendered stereotypes suggested that stereotypes give women less agency and are often used as a method to slow or resist social change (Baslow, 1992; Kanter, 1993; Ross and Carter, 2011). Based on thick description (Geertz, 1975) and an insider's knowledge of this society's culture and history, I arrived at six gendered academic stereotypes which are easily recognisable in British culture. For women these academic stereotypes include the 'blue stocking', the 'thinking man's crumpet' and the 'school ma'am'. Academic male stereotypes include the 'hegemonic male', 'the nerd' and the 'complicit male'. Connell's (1987) gender hierarchy mirrors the value given to these different stereotypes, with the hegemonic male at the top and all other stereotypes underneath. The thinking man's crumpet has associations with Connell's stereotype of emphasised femininity, and it is this stereotype that is given the most attention and admiration in the British media. Stereotypes can limit the way people see themselves, but it is evident from the analysis that women experience greater constraints. It is important to recognise these stereotypes for what they are; a method of undermining academic women.

A post-feminist discourse analysis of the articles suggests that the media is using several representations for younger academic women. There is a preoccupation with the female body, with her looks and image being as important as her intellect. Aesthetic labour and consumerism are strongly linked to being considered an attractive and desirable woman and is an essential component of neoliberalism (Elias, Gill & Scharff, 2017 and Gill, 2007). The thinking man's crumpet is seen as an ideal neoliberal subject who

undergoes discipline and transformation in the quest for success. There is a strong discourse of 'superwoman' (Byrne, Fattoum & Diaz Garcia, 2019) where the celebrity academic becomes a symbolic role model for others to aspire to. In order to be aspirational, she must inspire envy (Berger, 1972) for her physical and mental transformations brought about through aesthetic labour and extended study. As a celebrity she is both labour and the product of her labour (Driessen, 2012) and she sells both herself and HE. She becomes a myth (Barthes, 1972) that promises the prospective consumer what ability and hard work can achieve. She is the assurance of the meritocratic ideal that anyone with talent can be successful (Littler, 2018). She is an 'academpreneur', a self-made, liberated, sexualised, young, successful, academic woman.

In the representation of the thinking man's crumpet there is an entanglement of feminist and anti-feminist discourses. Gill (2007) considers that there is an individualising discourse within post-feminism, where success is seen as an apolitical choice. The women's academic achievements are presented as individual successes that are the result of hard work and merit. Class, economic constraints and the feminist issues of an equal wage or the difficulties of motherhood and a career are presented as a lifestyle choice to be overcome. There is a silence around 'race' and old age. Gendered neoliberal discourses such as 'the best of both worlds' and 'the good mother' (Hughes, 2002) are evident in the media which encourages ideas around being a caring mother who also finds time for her career. This helps to perpetuate the myth of an 'individualised entrepreneurial femininity' where there are no barriers to success other than your outlook. The implications of this are the impression of a society that is post-class, post-race and post-gender (Littler, 2018).

A genealogy of HE and feminine attractiveness suggests that the academprenuer is an emergence that can be traced back to women first accessing HE, when femininity was regarded as either a hazard or an opportunity for educated women. Applying Driessens' (2012) model to academia it appears that HE has undergone celebrification and as a result some academics have experienced celebritisation. Marshall's (2014, p. 243) statement that celebrities 'work to organize the markets of the cultural industries' indicates the role academic celebrities take. Through their celebrity status as neoliberal subjects, academia becomes seen as an individual endeavour for self-gain rather than a collective initiative for public good. 'The media shape, convey and legitimate a certain version of reality' (Radu and Renaud, 2008) and the academpreneur becomes the role model that is seen as the true representation of an academic woman. The promise that all can climb the ladder of success must exist in a neoliberal

economy (Littler, 2018). Education provides some of the rungs in this ladder with the academpreneur acting as a meritocratic advert for the potential successes of consuming the neoliberal university. Academia must appear to be democratic and the celebrity academics should represent this, but the ideal of democratic, meritocratic, participation is undermined in the choice of the academpreneur as a marketing tool. As a youthful, white, heterosexual, playful, middle-class, academic woman she is the most valued tool for advertising higher education, but she is not democratic or meritocratic. She is most likely to belong to an elite group of privately educated, Oxbridge graduates but she is represented as 'one of us', As Radu and Redien-Collet (2008, p.259) explain, 'Social representations are the result of perceptive and cognitive constructs of reality which transforms social objects (people, contexts, situations) into symbolic categories (values, beliefs, ideologies)'. However, despite her elite status, her success as a 'symbolic category' is time limited. With the passing of the years and the waning of her youth, she does not become wiser; she disappears.

Older women in our society experience stigma, ageism and misogyny (Arber & Ginn, 1991; de Beauvoir, 1963; Butler, 1969; Beard, 2017). Women often respond to the stigma of ageing by trying to hide the source of their shame (Twigg & Majima, 2003). Mary Beard's refusal to undergo the make-over paradigm and to transform into a younger version of herself has resulted in trolling and discipline in both the media and in social media, where she has received death threats (Dowell, 2013). However, her uniqueness in looking like an old woman with long grey hair and no make-up has become her successful 'brand' (Genz, 2015). Other older academic women, however, have not followed her success. There would seem to be a prohibition on older women.

Another method that is used on stigmatised groups is to remove them so that the 'normals' in society do not see them (Goffman, 1968). The CfOW (2013) found that on TV only 18% of presenters over the age of 50 were women. Thus, it could be argued that older women are made invisible in the media so that the younger adults do not see them. Academia is a career of the mind and it should follow that the older one is, the more knowledge one accrues. However, the absence of older academic women in the media can be understood as an 'incorporeal discourse' (Foucault, 1972) which reveals the lack of value placed on knowledge when it does not accompany a youthful female body. The few older women that do appear in the media are stigmatised. They are portrayed as eccentric, outrageous individuals. Their hair, clothes and looks are not referred to. They are not given a sexual subjecthood. This should be a positive aspect but linked to the description of their personalities, it re-enforces them as 'Other'.

In order to compare the representation of male academic men with that of women, articles were chosen for analysis which looked at a selection of celebrity male academics. The stereotype of the hegemonic academic does not exist for women but was in evidence for the men. Older men are also visible on TV with 82% of those over 50 years of age being men (CfOW, 2013). As has been discussed there are many older male, academic celebrities in the media. A post-feminist discourse analysis of some of the male academic celebrities suggested that they were not sexualised, their appearance was focused on much less and they were not required to undergo transformation. The ideal post-feminist subject does indeed, appear to be female (Gill, 2007).

The media and the neoliberal university produce the celebrity academic, which results in some forms of femininity becoming role models while other, less valued forms of femininity, become stigmatised stereotypes. In 1792, Mary Wollstonecraft compared women to flowers arguing that 'strength and usefulness are sacrificed to beauty' (Wollstonecraft, 1988, p.7). In 2020, we have a requirement for all three; strength, usefulness and beauty. In today's neoliberal world this can be translated into self-improvement, a self-made career and youthful beauty, maintained through discipline. As such, this is not a feminist success story and greater awareness of the representation of women in the media is essential. I started this thesis observing how the achievements of Kamala Harris were linked to her being a 'beauty icon'. Over the last six months this conversation does not appear to have changed. Controversy was stoked in January 2021 when Harris appeared on the front of Vogue wearing skinny jeans and converse trainers with the title, 'By the People, For the People, The United States of Fashion' (Elan, 2021). Apparently, the informal picture had been chosen without her knowledge and appeared to imply disrespect for Harris by making her look too unceremonious to be taken seriously (ibid). Silent discourses of undermining women by linking their achievements to their looks and by not taking the successes of black women seriously were apparent, suggesting that this issue continues to be of importance.

So finally, I arrive at the end of this research journey and wonder if I could answer my first thoughts about how an academic woman should look and be. By taking this voyage from a feminist perspective, certain observations have been made that would not otherwise have come to light. The first is that the story of learning and academia is a white male narrative which women struggled, and continue to struggle, to fully enter. As Eagleton (2005, p. 204) suggests, 'our problem relates to the historical and

cultural understanding of what an intellectual actually is.' The intellectual voice is male, and academia is a male narrative. It is a male domain and women's arrival has unsettled this authoritative voice and who it belongs to. I suggest that the response to this has been to allow media space for only certain types of academic women so that the gender hierarchy is maintained. She is the 'thinking man's crumpet', the emphasised female of Connell's (1987) gender hierarchy. Thornham (2000) asks what would a narrative look like if the woman was the hero of the story? When A. A. Gill (2012) wrote that Mary Beard was 'too ugly for TV' he should have added for male viewers. I wonder if this were a female narrative, then the hero might well look like Beard or any other academic woman who loves learning and inhabits a multitude of different female body types. It is this that will give academic women an authoritative voice in British culture and challenge the power structures of the gender hierarchy where certain types of femininity are valued over others, regardless of their academic ability.

In this thesis, I have attempted to answer my research questions. I have applied post-feminism and neoliberalism to create the concept of an academpreneur. I have argued that academic stereotypes are in evidence and that older celebrity women belong to a type of femininity which is not valued as highly, resulting in stigma. The type of femininity most valued is the thinking man's crumpet whose role in the neoliberal university is as an academpreneur that people desire to be. A neoliberal ideology is present in the media which provides a post- feminist representation of celebrity academic women. This ideology helps to maintain both the gender hierarchy (Connell, 1987) and the male voice, as the authoritative academic voice, in a male cultural narrative.

I recognise that this is a partial view. As is the nature of qualitative research, the findings cannot be generalised (Thomas, 2013). The findings are supported by other research, but this is both a strength and a weakness. It is a strength in that it supports the findings. It is also a weakness, in that Thornham (2000) writes about the conflict for women arriving in the male domain of cultural studies as long ago as the 1970s and yet 50 years later I am writing about what celebrity academia might look like if the woman were the hero. Gill pointed out the post-feminist treatment of women in the media in 2007. The CfOW in Public Life was published in 2013, but I still had difficulty finding female celebrity academics over 50, despite Beard's popularity. Tuchman looked at the narrow and constricting stereotypes of women in the media in 1981, and yet they are still in evidence in 2020. As I have argued, this is being driven by a pervasive ideology of neoliberalism where the representation of women is key to a consumer culture and a commodified female body. These areas would benefit from further research as

the history of women's struggle for education should not be undermined by the media giving a representation that only certain kinds of women are suited to academia. It should surely be considered unethical that clever women, who acquire expert knowledge over many years, should be valued more for their youthful appearance and then disappear from our TV screens as they age. As I have discussed the representation of the academpreneur has implications for women working in academia and their career prospects. A weakness in the research sample is that only two black celebrity academics were included. There is currently not enough diversity in our universities (Bhopal, 2016) and the paucity of black academics is reflected in the lack of black celebrity academics. This is an issue I address in my recommendations.

5.2 Recommendations

As society becomes increasingly digitalised, it has become more widely recognised that the public need help on how to be aware of 'fake news'. The University of Sheffield (UoS) offers a free online course called 'how to make sense of data in the media' (UoS, 2019). I would recommend that all college and university students are taught how to recognise discourses, alongside fake news, in the media as part of a study skills module. If students can read, deconstruct and then reconstruct articles with a different discourse they will become more apt at seeing and challenging gender representations.

Since I started this thesis Judith Baxter has, unfortunately, died. I would like to continue her work by using and developing her feminist post structuralist discourse analysis by sharing this with other discourse analysist groups through publishing and by attending seminars and research groups.

The Advertising Standards Agency (ASA) has introduced new rules which prevent advertisers from using gender stereotypical activities to promote goods (ASA, 2019). The Fawcett Society (2017) is raising the profile of harmful gender stereotypes and currently is involved with a Commission on Gender Stereotypes in Early Childhood. These actions on stereotypes are positive steps which could be extended to include stereotypes in media articles. Gender stereotypes, however, are often presented as a natural gender ideology and skills are needed to be able to recognise them. Teaching all university and college students how to do this would be a valuable contribution towards challenging the current situation.

Several of the younger celebrity academics are now in their 40s and are approaching older middle age. Charlotte Uhlenbroek (now 52) and Cathy Sykes (now 54) are no longer visible in the media. Monitoring of the media should take place to ascertain whether Hughes, Roberts and Worsley continue to appear on our screens or whether they are replaced by younger academic women. Ofcom (2018) keep records on diversity and have reported a small increase in the numbers of female managers working in the media, but do not provide information on the number of older women visible on the media. The CfOW recommended that this should be monitored in 2013. Pressure on the BBC and other media outlets needs to be maintained to achieve this[21]. Individual celebrity academic women could be encouraged by the universities they work for, to see themselves as an academic collective and to bring colleagues that they work with onto their TV documentaries for consultation as different experts. This would facilitate the public seeing different types of women in academia.

British society and HE currently exist in a neoliberal world. To make change happen more quickly a neoliberal solution is required. Feminists have a long history of improving the world for women. The suffragettes fought for the vote. Wealthy philanthropists, Elizabeth Jesser Reid, Emily Davies and Barbara Bodichon helped to fund HE opportunities for women (Robinson, 2010). Katherine Dexter McCormick, working with Margaret Sanger, funded the research that produced the first birth control pill (Fields, 2003). Perhaps now is the time for a wealthy female philanthropist[22] to fund a female led and authored media outlet, which gives accurate information which is relevant for women and which is free of stereotypical, stigmatised and post-feminist representations.

It is likely that 'Woman's' Hour' on BBC radio 4 will be interested in the absence of older academic women in our media and that the proliferation of female celebrity academics is not quite the feminist success story it first appears. I will contact them and offer to talk on the radio.

More research is needed on black academic celebrity stereotypes in the media. This is an emergent conversation which could be developed to include the American context where there is a larger sample to investigate. The competing agendas of race and gender need to be taken on in this context. To my knowledge this has not been synthesised with reference to academic celebrities.

[21] The MP, Harriet Harman, called on Ofcom to publish data on older women in broadcasting in October 2020 (Weaver, 2020).
[22] Megan Markle after her treatment by the British media might be one such woman who could be interested in this idea.

My findings on the post-feminist academpreneur and academic stereotypes overlap into the fields of education, cultural studies and gerontology. These findings can be viewed as a call to action to be taken into feminist literature. Teachers and educationalists should be made aware of academic stereotypes and the negative impact that they can have on girls and women. I will publish my findings on this in both academic journals and on more accessible platforms like the Fawcett Society.

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Appendix One

Template of the Post-feminist Discourse Analysis method

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)

What is the narrative about?

Stages two and three: reading against the grain (deconstruction and reconstruction)

Step one - micro linguistic level

What words are used to describe her looks, her clothing, her personality, her experiences, her qualifications?

Step two – textual level (binaries)

What are the themes present? Could the same story be told about a man or a younger/older woman?

Step three – the representational level (stereotypes)

Is there evidence of stereotypes being used?

Step four – discoursal level -What are the sub themes using a post-feminist sensibility

- *Femininity as a bodily property:*
- *Sexualisation of culture:*
- *From sex object to desiring sexual subject:*
- *Individualism, choice and empowerment:*
- *Self-surveillance and discipline:*
- *The makeover paradigm:*
- *Irony and knowingness:*
- *Feminism and anti-feminism:*

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

Appendix two

Post-Feminist Discourse analysis of the selected articles presented in in chronological order

1. Charlotte Uhlenbroek in *The Times* 2003

Reading along the grain – Construction

The article is a promotion for a new TV wildlife documentary presented by Dr Charlotte Uhlenbroek who is described as a 'sexy, fearless and committed ecologist'. It is explained that Uhlenbroek is a 'superwildlifepresenter!' who is promoting her book and TV programme but is also worried about her 'shiny nose'. It is described as a 'does my bum look big in this moment'.

The image of a fearless Uhlenbroek climbing trees with spiders and rafting down the Amazon river is juxtaposed with a description of her on the publicity circus tolerating make-up and frocks. She is uncomfortable in 'posh frocks'. It is explained that she usually likes to wear vests so that she can feel the air on her skin. The vests have become her 'trademark'. They have contributed to her being described as having an 'athletic, almost innocent sexiness' and appearing as a 'breathy primary school teacher'. Her name, the reader is told, is an anagram for 'Hello! Rather cute! Want to bonk?'

The author, Hoggart, describes Uhlenbroek as being part of the new category of 'beautiful, intelligent and authoritarian' female presenters. Such is the 'British taste' for this kind of female presenter that it is remarked that Sir David Attenborough might not get a job as a TV presenter if he applied today 'on the grounds of a deficient-audience-hormone-response-count'. Uhlenbroek is described as 'slight', 35 years old, brave and fit. The reader is then given two accounts of her athleticism and bravery (floating over the tree canopy in Boneo and climbing up a rotten tree stump) followed by some personal history. Her Dutch father worked for the United Nations which resulted in her growing up in exotic countries and going to an English boarding school. The adventurous theme is continued with an account of Uhlenbroek escaping from school only to be caught by the headmaster walking his dog. She went onto take her PhD studying wild chimpanzees in Tanzania under Jane Goodall, the famous primatologist. This required her to live alone among the wild life. Hoggart asks her to mimic the chimpanzee pant hoot, which she does. He is reminded of Meg Ryan pretending to have an organism in the film 'When Harry met Sally'. At the end of the article the reader is retold that 'below the surface' Uhlenbroek is an 'earnest and deeply committed ecologist'.

The impression created by Dr Uhlenbroek is of a very attractive, clever woman who has managed to combine being successful, brave, beautiful and sexy. She epitomises 'the bright young thing' story line and is someone that the reader might aspire to be. Despite her good looks being described to us, a picture is not included.

Stages two and three: reading against the grain (deconstruction and reconstruction)

Step one (micro-linguistics)

Words used to describe her looks	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes
Sexy, woman, athletic, strapping thighs, Hello! Rather cute! Bonk?, young-looking 35-year-old, slight,	Combat trousers, trademark sleeveless vest, khaki shirt, white swimming costume, never	Fearless, committed ecologist (used twice), shy creature, superwildlifepresenter, good-humoured amusement, almost

extremely fit, dispenses with make-up, shiny nose.	worn dresses.	innocent, confidential, eager, slightly breathy, enthusiastic primary school teacher, female Dr Doolittle, The Charlie Dimmock of wildlife, a Tarzan-babe, an eco-friendly Lara Croft, the new David Attenborough, physically brave, loves diving and rafting, rescuing stray dogs, resists confinement, discreet about her relationship, itchy feet, expert, PhD, earnest, likes to feel the air on her skin.

The article is a promotion of Dr Uhlenbroek's work, but it is clear from the start that her appearance is of more interest than the documentary. The combination of her image and her personality are represented as being unusual. Her image is described as a *slight* (another word for slim), *sexy, young looking, athletic, fit, thirty-five-year-old Tarzan babe woman.* Her personality, however, is described as *innocent, enthusiastic, breathy, eager, shy, good humoured, brave and fearless.* The result is that Uhlenbroek appears as an adventurous schoolgirl in a beautiful woman's body. The description of her innocence and breathy eagerness is reminiscent of the sex kitten role played so well by Marilyn Monroe.

Step two – textual level (above the sentence)

The themes present in the article are:

- A new attractive, sexy, female wildlife presenter is on TV (her appearance is described in detail)
- She is surprisingly brave (the article features several stories illustrating her bravery)
- She is exotic (She has grown up and lived in many distant parts of the world)

These themes are gendered. Her appearance is foregrounded over her academic credentials for the job. Wildlife presenters need to be brave to do their research, but the article is written in such a way as to demonstrate her bravery as surprising and that she does unusual things.
'she demonstrates the strength of liana vines with an impromptu display of gymnastics'.
'she plunges into an Amazonian river in a white swimming costume to demonstrate the black-tea-coloured water'
'If you do get stuck, I don't think we can rescue you, Charlotte.'
'In another stunning sequence she climbs up the hollow core'
It seems unlikely that Hoggart would have used the same tone for a male wildlife presenter. Dr Uhlenbroek is young, white and heterosexual. The exoticness of living in distant lands is important as it creates a mystery and sensual allure which adds to her appeal. This is re-enforced when she mimics a chimpanzee hoot, which sounds like her simulating an organism. She is given sexual subjecthood (Gill 2007).

Step three – Gender stereotypes

Hoggart describes the stereotype for the reader when he refers to Uhlenbroek as *an enthusiastic primary-school teacher.* This fits with the 'sexy school marm' in that she has authority, is a sexual fantasy and is unobtainable. Uhlenbroek also fits with the 'thinking man's crumpet' in that she has a PhD, is described as an expert and is depicted in detail for her good looks. The stereotype of the thinking man's crumpet is evident in the labels Hoggart gives to her (although he is clear that they have come from others) 'female Dr Doolittle, 'The Charlie Dimmock of wildlife', a 'Tarzan-babe', 'an eco-friendly Lara

Croft', 'the new David Attenborough' and 'Hello! Rather cute! Bonk?'. Hoggart presents her as an idealised woman.

Step four – dominant ideologies using a post-feminist sensibility (Gill 2006)

Gender and Femininity as a bodily property

That Uhlenbroek is a woman is central to the article. Everything that she does is of interest because she is a woman rather than because she is a wildlife presenter. Her 'sexy', 'slight', 'athletic', 'extremely fit' body with 'strapping thighs' is key to who she is. Her identity is wrapped up with her body. To research animals in the wild it is necessary to be brave, fit and athletic, but her bravery and fitness are presented as surprising. One can only surmise that it is surprising because she is a woman.

The sexualisation of culture and the woman as a sexual subject

'Sexy' is the first word used to describe Uhlenbroek. The anagram of her name, 'Hello! Rather cute! Bonk?', calling her a 'Tarzan-babe' and including the story of her chimpanzee hoot which sounded like her simulating an orgasm, sexualises her and her academic work. Re-counting that she did the chimpanzee hoot for David Attenborough gives the impression that she is 'up for it' (Gill 2006 p 111) and ready for a laugh. This is part of a 'technology of sexiness' where sexual knowledge is key to the idea of the modern woman as a sexual subject.

Individualism

There is evidence of individualism and empowerment manifested in the concept of 'being oneself' and 'pleasing oneself'. Uhlenbroek is an individual in her 'trademark vest' and combat trousers. She is also empowered to live alone among chimpanzees in Tanzania as part of her research.

The makeover paradigm

Uhlenbroek laughs with Hoggart about the idea of her applying make up while she is on the branch of a tree following an ape. However, when it comes to promoting a book or a TV documentary the make over paradigm is important. 'Posh frocks' and 'make up' must be endured. There is evidence of self-surveillance when Uhlenbroek is reported to be worried about having a 'shiny nose'. This serves to emphasise sexual difference. Uhlenbroek's gender is always fore fronted over her role as wild life researcher. Irony, another feature of post feminism, is apparent in the anagram of her name and the response she has on men. These are items that would not usually be discussed but by making them into a joke they become sayable.

'Oh yes, and an anagram website has her down as "Hello! Rather cute! Bonk?", but we won't dwell on that'.

She has the kind of athletic, almost innocent, sexiness that used to get Sir John Betjeman steaming like a pressure-cooker, inspiring poems about strapping thighs (hers) and weak knees (his).

Feminism and antifeminism

Dr Charlotte Uhlenbroek is an educated woman who has chosen to do something she loves in sometimes remote and dangerous parts of the world. This would make her a feminist icon. However, the first word used to describe her is 'sexy'. Much of the article focuses on her good looks. That she is young, slim, heterosexual and sexy is a central part of the discussion about her. Feminist and antifeminist ideas are entangled together so that a brave, educated zoologist becomes a brave, sexy, young wildlife presenter.

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

The dominant discourse in the article is of gender. The sub theme is of a successful academic who did her PhD under the guidance of an eminent female primatologist, Jane Goodall, and published her work. It is this theme that could be given prominence in a reconstruction of the story. Uhlenbroek's physical athleticism and fitness are presented as surprising because of her gender. The focus could be changed to the need for physical fitness for this type of work for both men and women. She is described as an 'eco-

friendly Laura Croft'. Laura Croft is a computer game of a dare devil woman with an emphasised female body. A post-feminist critical stance notices that articles often remove politics from a discussion. Uhlenbroek could be re-presented as an eco- enthusiast who educates the reader about animal conservation and the work that she does. Missing from the narrative are the long hours of study, loneliness and physical hardships that are an essential part of Uhlenbroek's story. This could be given a voice to create a more realistic understanding of what it takes to become a successful academic.

Notes for analysis

By developing the theory of technologies of the body and selfhood, Foucault (1988) considered the ways in which individuals were able to transform themselves through agency on their bodies, thoughts and conduct. Gill uses this idea to develop the notion of 'sexual entrepreneurship' (2011) and 'sexual subjectification' (2003).

Foucault, M. (1988) 'Technologies of self'

Reference

Hoggart, P. (2003) 'Charlotte Uhlenbroek running wild' The *Times* (Online) November 22nd [Accessed 24th July, 2020] Available at https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/charlotte-uhlenbroek-running-wild-9v8dcfznswd

2. Kathy Sykes in *The Guardian* 2007

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)

The article strikes a humorous tone by starting with a description of a missed opportunity to create a wall of penises so that teenagers could visit a teen-friendly human body exhibition. It is explained that Sykes is a Director of Science who listens to what young people want. Sykes was only 35 when she became a Professor of Science Communication at Bristol University and has since gone on to give advice to the government and take part in TV science programmes. Humour is continued with stories about being a magician's assistant and working with VSO in Zimbabwe. It was the later experience, described as a 'revelation', that influenced how she went on to listen and find out what students already know before she can respond to their needs. Sykes explains how there is a need to change the culture so that academics listen rather than talk. She sees this as her role in science communication. She set up and co-directs the Cheltenham Science Festival and created Famelab, a national science competition for communicating science. She has also set up public consultation meetings where scientists and the public get to talk about issues that interest them such as drugs. She gives advice on how the Government should consult with people in a constructive way which does not result in people just screaming at each other. After the public's refusal to have GM crops Sykes says that the Government had to accept that they needed to listen. Sykes is then asked about her appearance on TV when she made a telescope out of saucepan lids. However, she insists that she does not want to sell science or herself. The article ends with six short questions on her age, likes and dislikes and her career. The reader is informed that she is single. There are no pictures used in the article.

Stage Two and Three – Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)

Step one – micro linguistic level

The article starts with humour about a wall display of penises. 'Penis' is a medical term, so the reader is assured that although there is a joke, the tone is still correct and scientific. The word 'change' is used six times in the article and 'listen' is used five times. It is difficult not to see these words as gendered. Change is created by having a female Science Professor and women are stereotyped as being better communicators and listeners than men. Sykes brings 'a dash of colour', 'glamour' and 'passion' to her role. It is unlikely that these terms would be used for men. 'Posh voice', 'brave' and 'lucky' are words she uses to describe herself. The journalist makes no reference to class in the article.

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
attractive and 40,		Asks students what they really wanted to know, added a dash of colour, intelligence, passion, glamour, endless energy, change the whole culture, listen, ideas, scientists you must listen, posh voice, brave, lucky, what could be sexier than a woman who can	Professor of Science Communication at Bristol University, PhD, doctorate, set up and co-directs Cheltenham Science Festival, invented Famelab, UK's youngest

		make a protractor out of some bark and a frog's tongue?	professor … aged 35, Bristol University professor of public engagement in science and engineering

Step two – textual level

Binaries appear in the article. There is a right way and a wrong way to engage with the public over science. Sykes knows the right way. Listening and not listening are also set against each other. The way men and women do science is also established as being in opposition and that is why Sykes needs to change the culture.

Step three – the representational level

Sykes is idealised as a successful scientific woman. She challenges the status quo, wants to change the culture and listen to voices not normally heard. She is presented as fun (a magician's assistant), caring (She did VSO and wants to listen to people), has innovative ideas (Famelab, Cheltenham Science Show, Public Forums for Science), became the youngest professor (at 35 years old) and it is slipped into the article by using irony that she is sexy and attractive. As a role model she is set too high for most women to aspire to. The story of her success is made to appear easy. Changing cultures is notoriously difficult to achieve but this is not mentioned. Her class and ethnicity are ignored apart from when Sykes mentions that she has a 'posh voice' which gives a clue to her background.

Step four – discoursal level

This is not a post-feminist text. However, a few post-feminist themes do appear in the article. Sykes fits into neoliberalism ideology as an individual who choose her successful career and as such is an empowered woman. There is no mention of class or resources that allowed these choices to be possible. It is interesting to note that her role is University Professor of Public Engagement in Science and Engineering. Public engagement is part of the new neoliberal role of the university (and is a similar job title to Alice Williams). Although the article is very supportive of Sykes there is a discourse of her success being tied up with gender characterises of listening and wanting to change the previous way that science was undertaken. The previous way would have been the male way. This reasserts sexual difference. Irony is introduced through a joke made by a comedian which allows reference to her sexual appeal. 'What could be sexier than a woman who can make a protractor out of some bark and a frog's tongue?'

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

The text could be reconstructed to give voice to sub and silent themes. Sykes's story is made to appear too easy and her success undemanding. How does one go about changing a long held scientific culture? What personal challenges has she faced in trying to achieve this? What suggestions does she have for other women trying to achieve the same thing? The complexities of her role could be given foreground. Her class could be given greater prominence in the story. Her 'posh' voice suggests a family with the resources to support her study and overseas volunteering. Giving voice to this would enable other women to understand how advantage contributes to success. The neoliberal university with its need for publicity is a factor is her job title. It would have been interesting to look at this rather than ignore it, especially as she became to youngest Professor in the UK.

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3. Kathy Sykes in *The Independent* 2008

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)

This is a short article reviewing Tv programmes from the previous evening. The journalist starts by introducing Kathy Sykes but then goes straight into a description of how she looks and how different the professors looked in his day. The BBC is, he jokes, one of the last bastions for sexism and only when the BBC appoint an ugly female academic as a presenter can Emily Pankhurst rest easily. However, Viner is keen to point out that Sykes has not been given the job because of her looks. When it comes to hypnotism as she can uphold a balance 'between cynicism and an open mind'. The tone is kept humorous with an anecdote by Tommy Cooper and a long list of the conditions that hypnotism can help. More jokes follow about Vines runny nose and how hypnosis didn't work on it. The article continues with two stories for whom hypnotherapy didn't work for before concluding with one that did. The jokes continue until the end. A picture of Sykes is not included.

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
a bit of a babe, middle-aged academic, unusually telegenic		Not just a pretty face, maintains even keel between cynicism and an open mind,	Professor of sciences and society at the University of Bristol

Stage Two and Three – Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)

Step one – micro linguistic level

The words used are chatty and informal using terms like 'in my day', 'skipping lectures' 'visualising by nose as a tap'. Every paragraph includes a joke or anecdote. The word 'babe' and 'not just a pretty face' are clearly gendered.

Step two – textual level

Several binaries are apparent here. A binary of a male professor (with a grey beard where finches could nest undisturbed) and a female professor (who is a bit of a babe). Another binary included is whether hypnotherapy works or does not work. Viner admits that it is a bit of both.

Step three – the representational level

The suggestion that Sykes is a 'bit of a babe' with a keen, 'open mind' implies that she could be placed in the 'thinking man's crumpet' stereotype.

Step four – discoursal level

The article is too short for many post-feminist themes to be apparent, but irony and humour are used so that Sykes's good looks can be referred to, when it was unnecessary for them to be included. Sexual differences between young women and older men are emphasised and set up in opposition to each other.

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

A re-construction of the TV review could be to write about the programme for its entertainment value and its strong science. Humour and anecdotes could be left in without referring to Sykes's looks. The sub themes of hypnotherapy working for some people and that academia has more female professors than it did when Viner was a student could be foregrounded.

Reference

Viner, B. (2008) 'Last Night's TV: Dream woman with a hypnotic presence Alternative Therapies, BBC2' *The Independent* (Online) 18 March [Accessed 24th July, 2020] Available at https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/tv/reviews/last-nights-tv-dream-woman-with-a-hypnotic-presence-797105.html

4. Alice Roberts in the Telegraph (2009)

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)

Alice Roberts is presented as an outdoor action heroine and is called 'the boffin with a backpack'. A re-cap of her academic and TV achievements is given. Her usual style is explained as being outdoor clothes or smarter black linen for lectures. She is asked to tell them what her dream dress would be. Her dream dress is a Vivienne Westwood dress, but she prefers ethical clothing and local produced brands. She describes her student days as having a gothic style. She dyed her hair black and red which came out blue and pink.

She is made up and detail is given about the brands and colours of the makeup. Her skin is described as in an 'amazing condition, although she has a few blocked pores and a bit of high colour on the cheeks.' Her hair is described as 'fine', in a 'good condition' but not having any 'shape'. Detail is given of the products used to wash and style her hair. The journalist describes Roberts as a great role model both in her career and her clothes. She thought it was great fun to see the change from 'boffin to ballgown'. Roberts then gives detail about the different outfits she tried on and her opinion of them all. She describes it as 'a fantastic experience and I just had fun'. The article finishes with information about her next TV appearance.

Stage Two and Three – Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)



Roberts looks directly into the camera and smiles.

The other pictures accompanying the article are no longer available. This one shows Roberts in her 'dream dress' which is a Vivienne Westwood ball gown and is described by Roberts as 'punk colliding with high fashion'.

She connotes a white middle class woman in a ball gown. The punk element gives her individuality, an important part of modernity.

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials

Make-up free, with her long, dark blonde hair blowing in the wind or twisted into a knot, she manages to look great while making science look fun. Alice's skin is in amazing condition, although she has a few blocked pores and a bit of high colour on the cheeks. Alice's hair is naturally fine, but was in good condition, although it didn't really have any shape.	Stout walking boots and practical, high-tech, performance gear, typical outdoor clothes, smarter black linen separates, dream dress - a Vivienne Westwood ballgown, a corset-crinoline in a mix of black PVC and flesh-tone tulle. Alice's clothes are almost always eco-friendly. Great fun seeing the change, when she went from boffin to ballgowns	She scales mountains, sleeps under the stars in deserts, camps in Siberia and treks through jungle, a secret fashionista lurks within Alice's scientific shell. Alice is a great role model, both in her career and her clothes.	Dr Alice Roberts is the boffin with a backpack, impressive academic record and is a qualified Dr of medicine, has a PhD in paleopathology, and is a senior teaching fellow at Bristol University,

Step one – micro linguistic level (could the same words be applied to men, is she being pigeon holed into familiar categories)

The article would not have been written about a man.

Step two – textual level (binaries)

The binary of boffin and ball gowns. A boffin looks 'hands on' while a ball gown is feminine.

Step three – the representational level (stereotypes)

Thinking man's crumpet – image and brains

Blue stocking – so clever but needing help in being feminine.

Step four – discoursal level -What are the sub themes

Idealised as a role model.

Branding and celebrity; her trade mark image and her TV programs and books

Femininity as a bodily property:

Femininity is created through her make over. Skin, hair, face and clothing all in need of femininising.

Sexualisation of culture:

Not evident

From sex object to desiring sexual subject:

Not evident

Individualism, choice and empowerment:

Her career choices, her clothes choices, independent role model.

Self-surveillance and discipline:

Her image is carefully constructed to suit her 'brand'. She wears make up and makes conscious fashion choices. She was aware that on TV her clothes would be scrutinised and decided what to wear accordingly. She has 'blocked pores' and hair without 'shape' which needs remedying.

The makeover paradigm:

Transformed into a belle. The reader is told what they need to purchase to be able to undergo the same transformation.

Irony and knowingness:

Not evident

Feminism and anti-feminism:

Role model and career woman.
Transformation into a belle in a ball gown.

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

Is this kind of transformation necessary for an academic?

Reference

Alexander, H (2009) 'From boffin to belle of the ball on television, Dr Alice Roberts treks through jungles in stout walking boots. Here she swaps them for her dream dress' *The Telegraph* (12th July) [Accessed: 24th April 2019] Available at http://fashion.telegraph.co.uk/news-features/TMG5797963/From-boffin-to-belle-of-the-ball.html

5. Amanda Foreman in *The Telegraph* 2011

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)

The article starts as a story of transformation. Foreman only got an 'E' in her English A' level, even after re-taking it. Not a single university made her an offer. She scraped into an American college and isolated herself in the library. She was also two stone over weight, lonely and unpopular. Now at 42 she is a 'publishing phenomenon', married with five children and has no 'mummy weight'. Despite the success of her book 'The Duchess' which was made into a film she is described by David Starkey as writing historic Mills and Boon. She now has another project writing about the American Civil war, which is due to be made into a six-part TV series by the BBC and HBO. Foreman describes the difficulty with being a working mother and the sacrifice the family make. Her parents were a set producer and designer, but her mother gave up work to look after her children, which makes Foreman feel guilty for not doing the same. She misses 'special time' with her children. The subject of her A' levels are returned to and Foreman tries to explain them.

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
Two stone over weight, 42, no mummy weight,	Clothed, photographed naked apart from a few books, for Tatler,	Lonely, isolated, married, five children, charming, working mother, wife and daughter-in-law, worrier, history excites her.	An E in English A' level, no British universities offered her a place, publishing phenomenon, Whitbread prize, historical Mills & Boon, poor A' level results,



Historian and writer Amanda Foreman at home in Fulham, London. Photo: Geoff Pugh

Foreman poses by sitting with her legs crossed at the edge of her seat. This is not a comfortable sitting position but is a flattering one for a photograph. She holds her hands together as if she were a little nervous. Her head is at an angle and she smiles into the camera. Her hair is long and blonde and is styled into waves. Her face is made up with red lipstick being most apparent. She is sitting in what looks like her living room and we are told that she is on her London home. Family photographs are visible. The painted walls, carpet, rug and sofa are in a neutral beige colour. Foreman wears a purple patterned dress, high heeled shoes and flesh coloured tights. She is wearing a watch and earrings.
The pose, clothes and surrounds connote taste and cultural capital

Stage Two and Three – Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)

Step one – micro linguistic level

Her family life as both a child and wife and mother, her academic failures followed by success and her change from being lonely and overweight to successful and slim are key to the narrative.

Step two – textual level

The focus on her A' level results and not being able to gain a university place is positioned opposite her success. Her early academic failures are unnecessary, but they add to the story by making it an individual story of transformation, achieved through lonely work in the library. The transformation is also mirrored in her appearance.
Her husband looking after the children in New York is constructed as not quite the right thing to do. It is doubtful that this would have been mentioned were the wife at home with the children and the husband was publicising his book and TV series.
'in 2008, Reg was diagnosed with non-Hodgkin's lymphoma. After his treatment for cancer, he appears to be clear, but Foreman's mind keeps skidding off to how her family are faring without her in New York. "As a working mother, wife, daughter and daughter-in-law, I have to make constant moral choices," she agonises. "Every choice I make results in someone else suffering. I'm here to support my book, which I must do, but in New York my husband is doing everything.'

Step three – the representational level

Foreman represents a respectable attractive woman with a salacious past (she posed naked). She is a tasteful thinking man's crumpet in that she is attractive and clever.

Step four – discursive level

Femininity as a bodily property: It is highly unlikely that she would have posed naked as a man to sell books. Her body is wrapped up with her success.
From sex object to desiring sexual subject: Foreman has posed naked with her books as a publicity stunt.
Individualism, choice and empowerment: Forman chose her subject and studied in the USA when she was rejected from British universities. She is presented as an empowered working mother and wife. There is no mention of money being the key to allowing this to happen.
Self-surveillance and discipline: She is groomed and made up for her photo shoot.
The makeover paradigm: Foreman was two stone overweight and lonely in her 20's. She did not do well in her A' levels and could not get into a British university. After hard work in the library she is successful, slim, married with five children and appears on TV.
The reassertion of sexual difference: Foreman leaves her husband to look after the children while she works away. This is presented as the less than an ideal choice.
Irony and knowingness: *'infuriating those with fewer assets to flaunt. "If I'd known, I would have brushed my hair," she says, now that the fuss is safely behind her.'*

She would have brushed her hair had she known there would be so much interest in her posing naked with her books. This seems an odd point to make and suggests that she is being flippant. The journalist is suggested that those that made a 'fuss' about her posing naked were simply jealous of her body. This ensures that anyone who says that this is not an appropriate publicity stunt for an academic are jealous because their body is not attractive enough for them to do the same.
Feminism and anti-feminism: Forman describes her struggles as a working mother who makes a choice to work, but which leads to guilt and not having much 'special time' with her children. The politics are removed from this which is presented as an individual choice. Her academic success is presented alongside her successful physical transformation. Her stunt at posing with her book is presented as nothing unusual or significant. It might be something that any woman would like to do.

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

Silences – wealth of the family ensuring her success with choices.
Questions of the feminist perspective about posing naked to sell oneself and one's work.
Reference
Jardine, C. (2011) 'From lonely failure to duchess of Hollywood Writer Amanda Foreman on motherhood, movies and the $100m Hollywood adaption of her new book' *The Telegraph* (Online) 12th June [Accessed 6th April 2019] Available at https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/8569303/From-lonely-failure-to-duchess-of-Hollywood.html

6. Maggie Aderin- Pocock in *The Financial Times* 2012

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)

The article starts with, 'Maggie Aderin-Pocock, 44, is the first to admit that she doesn't look like a space scientist' making it clear how old she is and that her appearance is the most interesting thing about her (she is a black woman). She dresses in an old-fashioned way, is a mother and wife and enjoys watching the stars from her suburban house in Guilford. She is currently working on a European Space Agency/ Nasa project to see deeper into outer space. Since becoming a mother, she also presents on TV for children's space programmes for the BBC, which always used to be done by greying white men. She says that fellow scientists do not always understand who she is but once they start talking about science, barriers are broken down. The journalist, Barker, creates a domestic scene describing the garden and artefacts in the house. Aderin-Pocock's Nigerian father is referred to. Barker is surprised at how little there is in the house which refers to space. Aderin-Pocock had a difficult childhood. Her parents divorced, and she moved school 13 times. She also has dyslexia and was put into the remedial classes at school. She was advised to become a nurse. She found that her interest in space helped her to cope with racism, because 'you cannot see divisions from space'. She has had a varied career working for the Ministry of Defence and the Gemini telescope in Chile. She wants more people, especially girls, to get involved with science. The journalist then returns to the domestic scene, describing the solid house and the garden with an apple tree, raspberry canes and sage.

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
44, she doesn't look like a space scientist, looks like a housewife from a bygone era.	Dressed in 1950's style dress.	Husband, daughter, mother, approachability, enthusiasm, won audiences, warm nature, life long passion for outer space, motherly, love of outer space, hard work being a space scientist with dyslexia.	MBE, designs optical equipment for satellites and telescopes, doctorate in mechanical engineering at London's Imperial College.



Maggie Aderin-Pocock in the garden of her home in Guildford, Surrey © James Royall

Stage Two and Three – Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)

Step one – micro linguistic level

The words used are gendered. Her interest in science is emotional. She is passionate, enthusiastic and loves science. This is presented as contributing to her approachability and warm nature which has won her a TV audience. It is unlikely that these terms would be used to describe a male scientist. (They are not used for Brian Cox)

There is an equal focus on her domestic environment, her garden and the artefacts in her home. She is also described as wife, mother and daughter as well as a scientist. The reader is told three times that she does not look like a scientist. The journalist considers that she looks motherly and like a housewife.

Step two – textual level

There are binaries between the scientific world and the domestic world.

There is a binary between the expected image of a scientist and the image of a housewife.

Step three – the representational level

There are two stereotypes being played out here. One is a traditional housewife who offers tea and cake to her visitor, enjoys her garden, is warm hearted and motherly and wears 1950's dresses. The other stereotype is of the school marm who is passionate about her subject and wants more children to love it. She is not a thinking man's crumpet as there is no mention of her good looks. She is not presented as particularly academic. She 'designs' scientific projects which makes her appear more practical than a theoretical 'bluestocking'. Her academic qualifications are mentioned only once.

Step four – discourse level

Feminist and anti-feminist themes run throughout the article. On one part she is an empowered woman working in a man's world, but she is also described as 'motherly', looking like a 'house wife' and she is given identity through her family relationships and her home and garden. She is not given a sexual identity. Her looks are not described other than that she is motherly and housewifely. This could suggest that she is overweight. This is not usual for a celebrity scientist. Her fellow scientist Dr Kathy Sykes's looks are described as they are for the historian Dr Bethany Hughes, who is the same age as Aderin-Pocock.

The make-over paradigm is evident in that she is a neoliberal success story. She is a black girl with dyslexia whose Nigerian father made pizzas in London and encouraged her to do well at school. Through hard work she became a success. The themes of hard work, racism and that she is not what people expect from a scientist are referred to. That she is female and black are skimmed over as much as possible.
Aderin-Pocock is not considered young enough or attractive enough to be given the post-feminist treatment experienced by other celebrity academics.

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

The resilience needed to succeed in science and to be taken seriously as a dyslexic black woman in science. More detail about the scientific projects that she is contributing to.
Forefront the themes of academia and minimise the domesticity of the article.
Reference
Baker, T. (2012) 'At home: Maggie Aderin-Pocock The space scientist balances an unstable past and an out-of-this-world career with a down-to-earth domestic life' *The Financial Times* [online] [Accessed 7th April 2019] Available at: https://www.ft.com/content/d467e260-13c0-11e2-9ac6-00144feabdc0

7. The History Girls in *The Daily Mail* 2013

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)

Dr Kate Williams explains why she is interested in seventeenth and eighteenth century history. It is because it is the start of documented records and she is interested in women's stories, which have previously been untold. If she could travel back in time she would go to Ancient Egypt and Pudding Lane in 1666 to put out a fire. She would like to 'get her hands on' a love letter between Josephine and Napoleon and Josephine's jewels.

Hallie Rubenhold is asked what women bring to history. She answers that both men and women find different part of history interesting and this does not fall along gender lines. She would go back to the eighteenth century but only if she had immunisations to avoid the many infections. She would go back in time to meet Mary Wollstonecraft who lived beyond the conventions of the time. In a time capsule she would put a copy of the gossip magazine Heat and a copy of her own novel.

Dr Anna Whitelock fell in love with Tutor history after learning about the Tutor monarchs. She believes that women bring an interest in the everyday reality of people's lives to history. She would go back to the sixteenth century to see how people managed without basic comforts and what made them angry and happy. She would like to go have an autopsy report on Elizabeth I to find out if she was really a virgin and she would invite Will Somer, a Tutor court fool, to dinner for some royal gossip.

Lisa Hilton enjoys the Renaissance as there are still so many questions to be answered about it. She talks about finding David Starkey's comments about female historians offensive and argues that although women were marginalised in the past, they were never unimportant. She believes that what is taught about the past influences the way we see the present. She would go back to an upper class home before the first world war, to observe an old social system dying. She would invite Edmund Champion, an Elizabethan catholic martyr for dinner. She believes that his passion made him charismatic and sexy.

Dr Janina Ramirez fell in love with old English, the language of the Anglo-Saxons. The digital revolution has given people access to the past and their family trees. Her husband knows her so well that on Valentine's day he took her to Lindisfarne which is where she would go to if she could travel in time. She would go back and meet Simon Sudbury, the leader of the peasant revolt and apologise for handling his skull in her TV documentary. She would put an iPhone in a time capsule.

Dr Cassie Newland finds archaeology 'irresistible' as it is all about human beings. When asked about the role of women in archaeology she argues that being a white female gives her a perspective which might not have been important in the past. History allows a sense of perspective which makes current problems seem smaller. She would go back to medieval England disguised as a man to discover what people thought and felt. She would resurrect Michael Faraday as the 'grandaddy' of telecommunications. Her time capsule artefact would be an iPhone as a sign of globalisation.

Dr Suzannah Lipscomb describes her interest in the Tutors as a 'love affair'. She believes that our interest in history helps to give us a sense of security and 'roots'. If she could go back in time she would travel to Henty VIII court and sail to Mexico to see the beginnings of a new civilisation. In a time capsule she would put expensive handmade luxury goods as an antidote to mass consumerism. She would invite 19th-century composer Franz Liszt to her dinner party, who was so handsome women fainted.

Stage Two and Three – Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)



From left: Dr Anna Whitelock, Hallie Rubenhold**,** Dr Kate Williams, Dr Suzannah Lipscomb, Dr Janina Ramirez, Dr Cassie Newland, and Lisa Hilton

Step one – micro linguistic level (could the same words be applied to men, is she being pigeon holed into familiar categories)

'Being dated has never been so now. With their unique perspectives, these historians have rescued studying the past from the clutches of fusty academia and changed our view of yesteryear for ever.'
These two sentences could not have been written about male academics. Being dated is a pun on being in a relationship and dating artefacts from the past. This makes the link between traditional female pursuits of being in a relationship and between the historical work these women do. Their 'unique perspective' is that they are women. Because they are young and glamorous they have 'rescued' history form 'fusty academics' which is a reference to male academics. The sentences are loaded with stereotypes and with the male/female binary.
The academic women are referred to as 'history girls'. This is a pun on 'land girls' who helped the war effort. In the same sense the 'history girls' are helping to rescue history. Feminists dislike grown women being called 'girls' as it is infantilising.

Dr Kate Williams

	Kate's research is inspired by everyday documents, such as this deed of sale for a piece of land, written on vellum in 1735. 'A spinster called Elizabeth Smith of Bath is selling her property to one Charles Young. I love the stories and lives contained in such documents. They are the stuff of my work'

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
34,	None	Lives with her partner and child in London.	Author of England's Mistress, a biography of Nelson's lover Emma Hamilton, Becoming Queen, which is about the young Queen Victoria, and Young Elizabeth, about our current Queen, as well as a novel, The Pleasures of Men. Kate teaches at Royal Holloway, University of London, and is the social historian on BBC Two's Restoration Home.

Hallie Rubenhold

	This 1790s silhouette of an unidentified woman was a prompt for one of Hallie's books. 'My greatest pleasure as a historian has been to uncover the names and stories of those previously unknown to us'

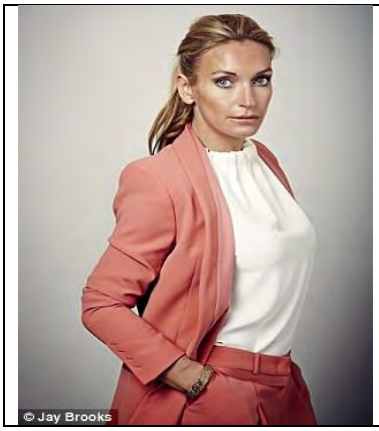
Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
39,	None	Is from new York and lives with her husband in London.	A social historian specialising in the 18th Century, has written several books about 18th-century women. Her first book, about the lives of prostitutes, was the basis for the BBC Four documentary The Harlot's Handbook. She was a consultant on Channel 4's City of Vice, a drama set in Georgian London. Her novel Mistress of My Fate was published in 2011.

Dr Anna Whitelock

	This replica Tudor chamber pot unites us with our ancestors, says Anna. 'It is the kind of "piss pot" that a Tudor would have used. It symbolises the things that across the centuries unite us all, king or pauper, such as going to the loo!'

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
36,		She lives in Cambridge, fell in love with the Tutors,	16th- and 17th-century England. She is senior lecturer in early modern history at Royal Holloway, University of London, and is the author of Mary Tudor: England's First Queen and Elizabeth's Bedfellows

Lisa Hilton

	No accompanying text and she does not hold an artefact. She is the only woman to have had a change of outfit for this picture.

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
37,		She lives in London with her daughter.	Specialises in Renaissance Europe, is the author of four historical biographies, including Athénais: The Real Queen of France and Queens Consort: The Lives of England's Medieval Queens, and three historical novels.

Dr Janina Ramirez

	A 15th-century Book of Hours made for a Belgian noblewoman sparked Janina's love of manuscripts. 'It belongs to my old undergraduate college St Anne's and was the first medieval object I encountered in the flesh'

Words used to describe her appearance and use of	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials

beauty products			
33,		Love of a manuscript, fell in love with old English, married with two children,	a medieval specialist, teaching history of art at Oxford University, presented several documentaries for BBC Four

Dr Cassie Newland



Cassie's favourite bit of kit is her mattock. 'I love it! People think archaeologists spend all day tickling with brushes. While this is true when you're excavating something delicate, there's usually several feet of muck to shift first. When you find a good mattock you hang on to it'

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
37,		Married with two children, loves in Bristol	Specialises in historical archaeology, research associate at King's College, London, a visiting fellow at the University of Bristol where she lectures in archaeology and anthropology, regular contributor to Channel 4's Time Team and BBC Two's Coast

Dr Suzannah Lipscomb



A map of Nîmes from 1562 by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg is from the same period as Suzannah's latest book. 'At the moment I'm writing about the lives of Huguenot women in 16th-century France. I marvel at the fact that this map of Nîmes, which hangs above my desk, was drawn at the time they were walking in the city's streets'

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
34,		Lives in London	Specialises in the 16th century, historian, broadcaster and convenor for history at New College of the Humanities, London

Step two – textual level (binaries)

Women's interests and men interests.
Williams is interested in women's histories, love letters and jewellery. Hilton would like Elizabeth I ring which continues the themes of jewellery.
Rubenhold is interested in women's lives. When asked what women bring to history but she tries to avoid the gender binary but her answer makes no sense when her interests are explained to the reader.
Whitelock thinks that women bring an interest in the 'underdog' to history.
Ramirez is interested in family trees as technology has created access to the past.
Newland is interested in people that lived in the past, their thoughts and feelings and communication.
Lipscomb is interested in history as it offers a sense of belonging and history.
All the women's interests are traditional female interests.

Step three – the representational level (stereotypes)

Williams looks like a thinking man's crumpet in her images. The reader is assured of her intellect. The same is true for Rubenhold, Hilton, Ramirez, Hilton, Newland, and Lipscomb.

Step four – discoursal level -What are the sub themes

A historical artefact is another commodity to represent learning and academia.
Kate Williams holds a vellum land sale from 1735, Rubenhold poses with an eighteenth century cameo, Whitelock poses with a replica 'piss pot' which goes alongside her interest in the everyday reality of people's lives. Ramirez holds a manuscript belonging to a Belgium noble woman. Newland poses with a mattock which she says is an essential tool for archaeology. Lipscomb poses with a map which was drawn during the same period as her research is based on.
Academic women are no threat and are still 'girls' interested in 'girlish' things. Ramirez talks about family and her husband on valentine day. These are the themes of family and love.
Celebrity and commodity
Every academics' paragraph finishes with information about a new book or TV programme. Ramirez makes a link to her TV documentary during the interview. Lipscomb's map gives her an opportunity to make a direct link (plug) for her new book.
Femininity as a bodily property:
Their model poses, their hair styles, the clothes and shoes, the full make up shouts femininity. Their historical interests are represented as belonging to female issues.
From sex object to desiring sexual subject:
Sexualisation of culture:
Was Queen Elizabeth I a virgin? Whitlock would like an autopsy report to find out.
A martyred Elizabethan Catholic priest was charismatic and sexy (Hilton).

Franz List was so handsome women fainted (Lipscomb)
Individualism, choice and empowerment:
They are presented as empowered women whose choice has resulted in their individual historical interests.
Self-surveillance and discipline:
Kate Williams looks and poses like a model. She wears full make up, has styled red hair and wears a fitted knee length yellow dress with her arms exposed and blue high heels. Rubenhold has blonde styled hair, full make up and wears a fitted knee length blue dress with her arms exposed and high strapped heeled shoes.
Whitelock is more modest in a long sleeved red shirt but the arms are made of sheer material so that they can be seen through. She wears chunky rings to match her outfit. Her long hair is styled and her lipstick matches her top.
Hilton wears a peach trouser suit and a cream blouse. She has had an outfit change from the off the shoulder fitted dress she wears in the main picture. Her blonde hair is tied back.
Newland wears a red trouser suit which is appropriate for her pose with a mattock, an 'essential' tool for archaeological digs. Her sleeves are pushed up exposing a bracelet. She is laughing and looking directly at the camera. Her long dark hair is styled into waves. She wears very high blue stiletto shoes.
Lipscomb poses in a halter neck dress with a full skirt and high heeled stiletto shoes. Her long blonde hair hangs in curls around her face. She is fully made up.
The makeover paradigm:
Academia is responsible for the makeover. Through learning they are transformed into successful career women who are glamourous and enviable.
Irony and knowingness:
Not evident
Feminism and anti-feminism:
All the women are successful career historian interested in women's concerns such as love and jewellery (Williams), women's lives (Rubenhold), the underdog and emotions (Whitelock), thoughts and feelings and security (Lipscomb).

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

Rubenhold tried to disagree with the gender binary in history subjects but the article still focuses on her interest in women lives. Whitelock also does the same, but similarly is pushed into talking about subjects that belong to women's interests. Hilton does too.
All the women at some point try to talk about the feminist agenda. Newland mentions race and gender. Lipscomb attempts to veer away from 'female' interests but all the women end up talking about them. These sub themes could be foregrounded.
Ask the women to wear what they would normally and to write questions for each other so that their knowledge and unique questions could be voiced.

Reference
Hilton, L. (2013) 'The History Girls: meet the women building a bright future from the past' *The Daily Mail* [Online] 3 November [Accessed 17th April 2019] Available at https://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/you/article-2479096/The-History-Girls-meet-women-building-bright-future-past.html

8. Suzannah Lipscombe in The Daily Mail 2013

Reading along the grain (Construction)

The article starts with a discussion about which hair product Suzannah Lipscomb recommends and refers to her 'twinkling' nose stud. Alongside this she is described as having a 'fierce intellect'. As the article continues the reader is informed that she is 34 years of age, is striking and is unafraid to have an opinion which she gives in her 'own elegant, understated style'. Suzannah Lipscomb gives her views on Henry VIII and on the tutor historian David Starkey whom she 'likes and respects' but considers to be a 'sexist'. She believes that equality has not yet been achieved with history programmes on TV and cites A.A. Gill with his 'shameful' comments about Mary Beard. Lipscomb's biography is included with information on her family and her academic successes. She gives her opinion on Gove's changes to the national school curriculum for history and gives examples of how Tony Blair and David Cameron re-interpreted history for their own political motivations. The article then turns to a discussion of royal births in the past and present. The article finishes with a description of her new post as Head of History at an 'elite UK university' where students pay £18,000 a year.

		
Dr Suzannah Lipscomb can talk as comfortably about the decision of Tudor monarchs as she can about the best hair products for curly hair	**So the seeds of history were sown from an early age for Suzannah. But when she won a place to study at Oxford her first plan was to go into international development**	**Last September she took up her post as Head of History at the New College of the Humanities in Bloomsbury, London**
Accompanying text	**Accompanying text**	**Accompanying text**

			
She and fellow historian David Starkey went head to head last week as they discussed Anne Boleyn for the BBC's Tudor season	**Suzannah likes to focus on male dominated subjects, such as the wars of Henry VIII**	**She does not agree with Michael Gove's plans for teaching history, and thinks that it should be compulsory until 16**	**The first elite UK university since the establishment of Oxford and Cambridge, students face fees of £18,000 a year**
Accompanying text	**Accompanying text**	**Accompanying text**	**Accompanying text**

The photographs used of Suzannah Lipscombe could be of a model in an affluent country house. She is very 'lady like' in her poses in that she sits and stands with her legs crossed. She looks and smiles directly at the camera but has a demure quality. Tynan (2016) suggests that power relations are proclaimed through clothing. Lipscomb's clothes connote a middle-class woman. Lipscomb is avoiding a sexy look. There is nothing to link the statements which accompany the photographs. The journalist has chosen them as significant strap lines form the article. It is interesting to note that these are her knowledge of hair products, that she went to Oxford University and that she is now Head of History at a new university. Beauty products are as much part of who she is as are her studies and her career.
David Starsky is described as 'old and grey', 'cantankerous' and 'history'. The photograph used of him re-enforces this as he looks stern and unfriendly. His pose is like that of Henry VIII who is known for his unfair treatment of women. The picture of Gove is an action shot and he looks staid. All three men are presented in a very different way from Lipscomb. The picture of the building is to show the reader a picture of the new private university.

Stage two – reading against the grain

Step one – micro linguistics

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
Telegenic, leonine locks, best product for curly hair, nose stud twinkles,		Buy it at Superdrug, its cheap, lucid presenting style, new star, isn't afraid to criticise,	Academic, fierce intellect, historian, right academic credentials, written four books,

striking 34-year-old, elegant, lethal grace, eyes bright		understated style, explains patiently, knack for bringing history alive	curator at Hampton Court Palace, Head of History at New College of the Humanities (stated twice), study at Oxford, doctorate, double first in history

The words used to describe Dr Lipscomb are very positive. The reader is told not only that she is very attractive with 'elegance' and 'grace', but that she is clever, 'patient' and is a 'new star'. Although she has opinions and is not afraid to criticise others, she does so in her 'own elegant, understated style'. The juxtaposing of these two phrases suggests that criticising others is not necessarily a good thing, but the way Lipscomb does it makes it acceptable. There is an implication that she undertakes the masculine behaviour of criticising and makes it feminine. Her long blonde hair is compared to a Lion's mane. The author, Sanderson, is so impressed that she can converse about Henry VIII and curly hair products that this becomes the caption under a picture of her. Lipscomb buys her hair products from Superdrug which is a cheap beauty shop. Including this information is more likely to make Lipscomb appear to be 'one of us' whose 'fierce intellect' has resulted in her being Head of the History Department at Britain's first private university.

Step two – textual level

Men and women are placed in opposition to each other in the article. The title of the article reveals the positioning of gender as adversaries 'You're history, Dr Starkey! TV's new telegenic academic tells 'sexist and grey-haired' older rivals that 'Genitalia do not help anyone understand better''. Old grey -haired men should move over for young telegenic women who can explain history just as well as men but are more pleasing to look at. It is interesting that sexist and grey haired are placed together indicating that they are both undesirable. The disagreement between Lipscomb and Dr Starsky is portrayed as a battle of the sexes where young women, with their good looks, are victorious. Lipscombe tries to put a more balanced argument across by stating that the gender of the person should not influence how the history is told. The article presents the idea of male and female historic subjects, thus creating another binary. The reader is informed that Lipscomb likes male historic subjects such as wars. The reader is informed that Starsky believes that Henry VIII has suffered with feminised history because so many female historians have written about his wives. Lipscomb thinks that this is a sexist opinion. This theme continues with an account of Mary Beard who the TV critic A. A. Gill wrote was too ugly for TV. Lipscomb describes this as 'shameful' and something that would not happen to men. Young and old are also set up in opposition to each other with young being desirable and old being undesirable.

Another binary that is played out in the article is true and false history. Lipscomb knows 'true' history and is disturbed that history has been manipulated by politicians such as Blair and Cameron. There is also a right and wrong way to learn about history which Michael Gove has got wrong.

Step three – the representational level

The stereotype being played out is the 'thinking man's crumpet' who is described as a 'star' and a 'striking 34-year old'. Gender is overly foregrounded in the article. If Lipscomb was not an attractive young woman and a 'thinking man's crumpet' it is difficult to see where the story could go. She would become another historian who had a different point of view from Dr Starsky. Family details are included in the article. The professions of her mother, father and brother and her schooling are built into the narrative. Women's family history is often included as part of their identity.

Step four – discoursal level

Femininity as a bodily property: Lipscomb is presented as a desirable heterosexual subject and it is her female body and appearance that give her power. Her gender is central to her status over Starsky.
From sex object to desiring sexual subject: In some ways Lipscomb incorporates elements of objectivity rather than subjectivity. Her poses are demure and modest. Her legs are crossed, her skirt is not too short, and she wears flesh coloured tights famously worn by royal women. Her shoes have kitten heels which is just high enough to appear feminine but not too high as to appear sexy. She appears sweet rather than sexy. She is for looking at rather than asserting that we look at her.
Individualism, choice and empowerment: Lipscomb's narrative is one of neoliberal success. It is indicated in the article that her parents are police officers and through her intelligence she 'won a place' at Oxford University where she went onto do a PhD. History is her choice of subject. She is presented as an authoritative empowered woman. There is no mention of finances which allowed her to study full time for as least six years and the support she would have needed. These realities that allowed her success, which would be denied to most working-class students, are silent.
Self-surveillance and discipline: Lipscomb symbolises successful middle class, white, heterosexual femininity. Her hair, make up, clothes and poses, her performance of gender, must all be worked at.
The makeover paradigm: Hair products feature in the article as does her 'leonine' long blonde hair. Her 'telegenic' appearance is central to her success. The journalist presents Lipscomb as having good taste and high cultural capital.
The reassertion of sexual difference: Men and women are placed in binary positions over their ability to present on TV, their historical interests and attractiveness.
Irony and knowingness: There is no evidence of sexual humour or knowingness in the article. Lipscomb is presented as earnest and serious during her interview. She talks about history and gender in an academic way. Differences in male and female anatomy are called 'genitalia' rather than given a more playful term.
Feminism and anti-feminism: Feminist wanted to be taken seriously for who they were rather than what they looked like. Lipscomb is credited for her success but central to this is her appearance combining feminist and anti-feminist ideas.

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

Lipscomb is a successful celebrity academic woman. In a field that was dominated by men this is an important point in its own right. A sub theme in the article is that female historians can enjoy areas of history previously considered male. Giving voice to this might help to encourage women to study or present on documentaries about battles and wars, rather than royal wives and historic clothing. Her disagreement with Dr Starsky could be re-written as a difference in opinion between respected Tutor historians, rather than a battle between male and female, old and young. The silent discourse in the article are the funds needed to study, class, the success that can follow attending a prestigious university and the creation of private universities. A reconstruction could give voice to this theme allowing a more balanced understanding of what is needed to become a successful academic woman beyond a 'fierce intellect'.

Reference

Sanderson, E. (2013) 'You're history, Dr Starkey! TV's new telegenic academic tells 'sexist and grey-haired' older rivals that 'Genitalia do not help anyone understand better'' *The Daily Mail* (Online) 1st June [Accessed 12th February, 2019] Available at https://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-2334387/Youre-history-Dr-Starkey-TVs-new-telegenic-academic-tells-sexist-grey-haired-older-rivals-Genitalia-help-understand-better.html#comments

9. Catherine Edwards in *The Daily Mail* 2013

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)
The journalist, Stevens, describes the TV documentary Empresses of Ancient Rome, presented by Catherine Edwards. Stevens has mixed feelings about the documentary. He found the story itself interesting but the presentation dreary and dull. He describes Edwards as making the effort to ensure it is as boring as possible. He injects humour by likening the portrayal of Rome to a wet Tuesday night in Sheffield. Edwards, he thinks, presents as if she were talking to 'recalcitrant school girls' and he expects to be told off. When ever the story might become interesting he complains that Edwards 'wheeled on another fusty academic with a lisp, a squint or a moustache'. He concludes that the story itself is too interesting to be 'stifled by stuffy academics'.



Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
		Dull, intriguing, stuffy academic	Professor,

Professor Catherine Edwards did her best to make Ancient Rome look like Sheffield on a wet Tuesday night (Caption under the photo)
The image denotes an older, grey haired woman looking into the camera. Her arms are crossed, and she appears to be standing in front of a stone pillar. She is wearing beads around her neck, a gold watch, a dark blue smart jacket and a silky looking paler blue blouse. Her clothes connote status and the folded arms suggest that she is uncomfortable.
Stage Two and Three – Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)
Step one – micro linguistic level
Many of the words and sentences used conjure up a boring world of books and dust or an exciting world away from academia.
'every time Empresses of Ancient Rome (BBC4) threatened to become too interesting, she wheeled on another fusty academic with a lisp, a squint or a moustache'.
'Nothing puts viewers to sleep faster than a chap with facial hair in corduroy spouting Latin quotations in a university reading room'.
'Every possible device was used to stop the story becoming too compelling'
Stevens does his best to describe how a story about 'poisoning, orgies, murderous feuds, slow starvation, reckless affairs, divorce and betrayal' are made 'dull' by academics. Edwards is described as presenting the story to the audience as if they were 'recalcitrant school girls' who she is about to tell off. This statement feels gendered and ageist. It is a comment that is unlikely to have been made about a male presenter or a young woman.

Step two – textual level

Academia is set up in opposition against the real world. Academics are established as fusty, old and dull while in the outside world there is murder, betrayal and orgies. This is boring academia against an exciting world.

Step three – the representational level

One of the stereotypes presented is academia as an ivory tower which is out of touch and consists of old men with facial hair talking in Latin. Edwards is presented in stereotypical terms as a disciplinarian and school marm who manages to make the most interesting things dull.

Step four – discoursal level

The ideologies running through the narrative are academia as being out of touch with the modern world and that a grey haired post-menopausal female professor is no different from a dull school marm.

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

In a one-off remark Stevens refers to Edwards as making the story intriguing. Thus, she is not boring all the way through. It is this that allows an alternative narrative to be constructed. This part of the story could be given more foreground so that the documentary is presented as being more of a combination of interest and boredom. There is no mention that Edwards has published a book on the women featured in the documentary and that years of painstaking research will have gone into revealing the story. This silent discourse could be given a voice. The two new themes I have suggested would provide challenge to the stereotype of 'school marm'.

Reference

Stevens, C. (2013) 'The evil empress triumphs over an attack of the beardy boffins: Christopher Stevens reviews last night's TV' The Daily Mail (Online) 30th May [Accessed 24th July, 2020] Available at https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-2333065/The-evil-empress-triumphs-attack-beardy-boffins-Christopher-Stevens-reviews-nights-TV.html

10. Catherine Edwards in *The Guardian* 2013

Construction

Edwards documentary, which is based on the book she wrote Mothers, Murderers and Mistresses: Empresses of Ancient Rome, is reviewed in a short paragraph after its showing on BBC4. Adewunmi describes the programme as being about a family of women surrounding the first Emperor Augustus. Adewunmi found it 'enjoyable' but disliked the 'hokey exposition from old blokes in tunics'. Apart from using the term 'star turn' there is no other comment about Professor Catherine Edwards. A photograph of her is included.

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
			star turn, professor



Professor Catharine Edwards, presenter of Mothers, Murderers and Mistresses: Empresses of Ancient Rome

The caption simply states who she is. The discourse is words as information. Adewunmi makes no comment that Edwards is a grey-haired older woman.

Reference

Adewunmi, B. (2013) TV Highlights The Guardian [Online] 29th May [Accessed 24th July,2020] Available at https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2013/may/29/mothers-murderers-and-mistresses

11. Michael Scott in *The Daily Mail* 2013

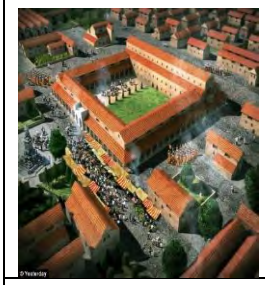
From a bustling port to a 160-mile 'motorway': Amazing digital reconstructions bring forgotten Roman Britain to life

- The CGI images have been produced to give historians a clear understanding about what settlements in Roman Britain looked like
- Dr Michael Scott, an assistant professor of Ancient History from Warwick University, used his expert knowledge to inform the creation of the pictures
- An image of the Roman town of Calleva Atrebatum in Hampshire, paints a picture of a wealthy and busy settlement

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)

The article is about the Roman invasion of Britain and includes reconstructions of Roman cities and industry. CGI images are used to reconstruct a Roman 'motorway', a town and a garrison base which was a centre of 'Roman industry'. Scott's 'expert knowledge' is used to enable these reconstructions. The article features in the science section. Details for the showing of the TV programme is listed at the end of the article.

Stage Two and Three – Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)

			
This CGI image shows the bustling Roman town of Calleva Atrebatum, which was near Silchester in Hampshire. It used to be a wealthy town with public baths, an amphitheatre and temples, but failed to develop into a modern city like Chichester and London	An image of a 160-mile road from Exeter to London, which was a 15 feet high and 85 feet wide, allowed vast numbers of Roman soldiers to march to and from London. The road above ground level to 'show off' the power of the Roman Empire to the conquered Brits	This image shows a huge Roman port and military base in Caerleon, South-Wales, which was found in 2011. It is just the second Roman port to be found in the UK after London and was known as Isca	Healam Bridge in Yorkshire was a garrison base and the centre of Roman industry. A Roman fort in the area was excavated in 2009 by a team of archaeologists as part of a £318million Highways Agency scheme to upgrade the A1 between Dishforth and Leeming in North Yorkshire

All the reconstructed images denote productivity and industry. People are active in the world of the military, trade and production. Two women can be viewed in the rural scene and are involved with traditional female tasks of food production and sewing.
The images connote a link with the past. Roman Britain was as industrious as modern Britain. The images symbolise a past that is familiar.

Words used to describe his appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe his clothing	Words used to describe his personality and attributes	Words used to describe his academic credentials
Dr Scott is absent from the article	Absent from the article	Absent from the article.	A professor, assistant professor of Ancient History at Warwick University, expert knowledge,

Step one – micro linguistic level

The article describes Dr Michael Scott's new TV series on the Roman invasion of Britain and what Britain might have been like under Roman 'occupation'. There are sub-topics within the article. One of the topics considers the development of industry and infrastructure ('power watered mills', 'motorways', 'ports' and 'armies') two thousand years ago in Roman Britain. The second sub- theme is the conquering of the British people. The third sub-topic is the professional expertise of the creators of the programme. They are referred to as a 'devoted team' of 'adventurers and archaeologists'. Dr Scott is acknowledged for his 'expert knowledge'.
The use of affective words like 'conquered' creates awareness of the difficulty of life for British people under Roman occupation. The article, however, does not focus on being a conquered people. The interest is on Roman productivity and how that links with productivity today. As a result, the language of war and military history seem disconnected from the subject matter. CGI (Computer Generated Images) is always used in abbreviation. Using scientific jargon makes the technology more mysterious and expert. The article states that using CGI allows a 'lost' world to be recreated. This adds to the idea of 'expert knowledge'.
Words such as 'machine', 'arteries and muscles' are collective symbols indicating how efficient Roman Britain was. The imagery these words evokes is of harmony with each small part contributing to the efficient whole.

Step two – textual level

The article suggests that the binaries of past and present are linked through with a continuous theme of industry and productivity.
Gender is missing from the description of Roman life, but the military terms and the images suggest that the Roman world was a male world.

Step three – the representational level

Dr Scott is missing from the article. He is thirty-six and photogenic but the only reference to him is of his 'expert knowledge'. None of the personal information that one would expect to see is included. This is

unlikely to happen for an article with a female academic. The historical work stands by itself without celebrity input. This is a hegemonic male academic who can stand apart from his work.

Step four – discoursal level

Scott's absence from the narrative speaks loudly. This is male expert knowledge about a male Roman world, which needs no commentary. The work stands by itself. This is a luxury afforded to few academics in the media.

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

What happened to the conquered British? Include women into the British Roman story.

Reference

Griffiths, S.(2013) From a bustling port to a 160 – mile 'motorway': Amazing digital reconstructions bring forgotten Roman Britain to life' *The Daily Mail (*Online) 22nd November [online] [Accessed 26th December 2017] Available at http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-2511338/Roman-Britain-brought-life-amazing-digital-reconstructions.html

12. Alice Roberts in *The Independent* 2014

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)

The article starts off with humour and the subject of 'gonads'. Reference is made to two chapters in a book Roberts has written. She wrote a book while she was on maternity leave, her 'maternity project' where she became successful in typing and breastfeeding at the same time. She wrote her book for a general audience. During the interview she is working as the Professor of Engagement at Birmingham University doing a 'pop-up store' at the city's shopping centre. She 'passionately' describes her interests to the journalist Gallagher. She talks about giving birth as a 'spiritual' experience. She receives support from her husband, a stay at home dad, and admits that she couldn't have done it without him. She thinks that the Government should do more to help parents with young children. After leaving medicine she taught at Bristol University for a decade. Her field, both on and off screen is dominated by men and her success came at a price. She says that she received 'flak' for her TV work as some colleagues believed that this is not the role an academic should take. She believes that she was passed over for promotion because she is a woman. Words like lacking 'gravitas' are used to justify her not getting promoted but she believes that gravitas is another word for maleness. As a result, she walked away from Bristol University and worked free-lance writing a book. Now she is a Professor of Public Engagement and she cites other academics who do the same. The journalist notes that they are all men. In some subjects women are entering the sciences, such as in medicine, but in other STEM fields it is predominantly male. The problem goes back to schools and the number of girls taking A' level physics. The article ends with details of Roberts' new book.

Stage Two and Three – Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)

	
Dr Alice Roberts in front of a "tree of life" she painted at the University of Birmingham's pop up stand at the British Science Festival	No accompanying text

The two images denote Alice Roberts. She is white, blonde, slim woman in her early middle age. She wears an engagement and wedding ring. Her hair is tied back, and she wears casual clothes; vests and trousers. In the second image she has changed her top, but it is still a vest. The first picture shows her at work in front of a painting. The text informs us that this is a 'tree of life' which has been painted by Roberts. Her trousers are covered in paint which supports this although it is interesting that she does

not have paint on her hands or tops. She wears a silver necklace and matching ear rings. She smiles in her first picture but gazes, unsmiling, directly into the camera for her second.
The first image has a contrived quality. It is meant to connote a 'hands on' woman at work but with the absence of paint on her hands and top this is unconvincing. Wearing vests in both pictures suggests a 'trade mark' image, important for celebrities. Her make up and hair connote what is attractive for a middle class, heterosexual, white woman. Her jewellery is fashionable for this time; silver with links to the past. The link with the past is important and it symbolises her work as a paleo-anthropologist.

Step one – micro linguistic level (could the same words be applied to men, is she being pigeon holed into familiar categories)

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
41	'Her paint-splattered baggy brown corduroys, with a pair of dangling ammonite earrings highlighting her love of archaeology'	hands on, passionately describes, has children (daughter Phoebe), faced every challenge with a smile, beams, bounces, inspires.	anatomist and broadcaster, the anatomist and anthropologist, Professor of Public Engagement in Science at Birmingham University,

The tone of the article is pro-feminist. Roberts is applauded for her achievements as an academic, presenter, woman and mother. Sentences such as, 'A field dominated by men', 'She is the only female professor of Public Engagement', 'She has no doubt that earlier in her career she was passed over for promotion because of her sex' and 'Only 20 per cent of those studying A-level physics are girls' supports this. Her husband looks after their child, as a stay at home dad, while she works. There is a quality in the article of the 'super woman' who can achieve so much in every area of her life.
She is described as 'passionate', 'beaming', 'bouncing' and 'facing every challenge with a smile' which are unlikely adjectives to use for a man. In the heading she is described as a 'boffin'. A 'boffin' is a noun used to describe a person who knows a lot about science (Cambridge Dictionary ND). The term connotes a man which is why it is being used ironically for Roberts.

Step two – textual level (binaries)

Men are positioned against women in scientific academia. Roberts is passed over for promotion and there are 'Not enough female professors'.

Step three – the representational level (stereotypes)

Blue stocking. She is described as a Boffin in the title and the article makes great play of her academic achievements. There is only one mention about her appearance which is for her ammonite jewellery and paint splattered trousers. This is an attempt to make her look the part for her work.

Step four – discourse level -What are the sub themes

Celebrity and neoliberalism v

Roberts promotes her work during the article:

- A book she has written - *The Incredible Unlikeliness of Being: Evolution* and *The Making of Us*,
- TV documentary - I'd made *The Incredible Human Journey* for the BBC, presented several successful TV shows including *Time Team* and *Coast*. *Time Team Live* in 2001
- She is speaking ahead of the British Science Festival
- The article ends with *'The Unlikeliness of Being by Alice Roberts is out in hardback on 4 September, £19.99, Heron Books'* which is followed by her biography of her TV documentaries and books.

Roberts raises the question about what universities should be doing and she offers an answer. Universities that agree with her view are described as 'more enlightened than others'.
'*There were some colleagues who didn't think it was part of what a researcher or a university academic should be doing and that's still a battle we are fighting in universities. Some are more enlightened than others and some departments are better than others, realising that an academic can be many things.'*

Her views co-exist with a neoliberal university where self-promotion on a national stage provides more customers. It is however, presented more as democratising and promoting knowledge.
Her image appears carefully constructed to look like a feminine 'hands on' anthropologist 'boffin'. Even her choice of jewellery supports this.

Discourse of 'having it all' and 'best of both worlds'
Over simplification of a successful woman who 'has it all' (Genz 2010).
The new post-feminist woman (Genz 2010)

Feminist values	versus	Feminine body
Collective achievements	versus	Individual achievements
Professional career	Versus	Personal relationships

Genz (2010) argues that for the new post-feminist woman these different components of a woman's life are set in opposition to each other. To 'have it all' creates stress and anxiety. In this article Robert appears to successfully 'have it all' and manages to juggle breast feeding with writing a book.
The 'best of both worlds' is argued by Hughes (2001 p71) as 'both an amelioration of discourses of the 'good' mother and an accommodation towards the market'. There is evidence of this in the article as Roberts is portrayed as the 'good' mother by breast feeding while working and of fulfilling her career goals as a celebrity academic with the neoliberal university, while her husband looks after the baby.
Femininity as a bodily property:
Roberts appears feminine.
Sexualisation of culture:
Not evident
From sex object to desiring sexual subject:
Not evident
Individualism, choice and empowerment:
Being oneself, following her ambition, leaving the glass ceiling (Bristol University), individually finding a solution to be a good mother.
Self-surveillance and discipline:
Roberts cares for the way she looks. She appears feminine but 'hands on'.
The makeover paradigm:
Not evident

Irony and knowingness:
Not evident except in use of the term boffin.
Feminism and anti-feminism:
Feminist
'spirituality associated with giving birth'
'David Stevens who she met at Cardiff University in 1997 when she was a medical student, is a stay at home dad'
'Their daughter was just two months when filming for *Digging for Britain* began and Roberts took the family with her around the country'
'her broadcasting breakthrough in a field dominated on and off screen by men came at a price.
She has no doubt that earlier in her career she was passed over for promotion because of her sex. 'a man, suggested it was because I lacked 'gravitas'' 'what they mean by 'gravitas' is that I don't have a beard or any other male accoutrements'

Anti-feminist
The successful neoliberal individual who manages to juggle life so that she is portrayed as a 'having it all' superwoman.

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

Giving a voice to the difficulty of 'having it all' and how to manage this.
Hearing from her silent male partner caring for the children in the background.

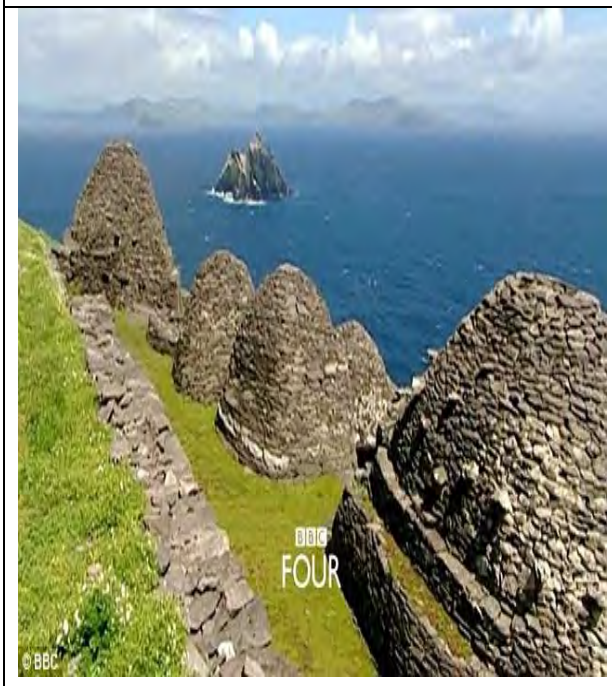
Reference
Gallagher, P. (2014) Alice Roberts: She's done pretty well, for a boffin without a beard The anatomist, anthropologist and broadcaster tells Paul Gallagher about her new book on evolution and why her early TV work drew flak from (mostly male) colleagues *The Independent* [online] [Accessed 24th April 2019] Available at: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/alice-roberts-shes-done-pretty-well-for-a-boffin-without-a-beard-9701801.html

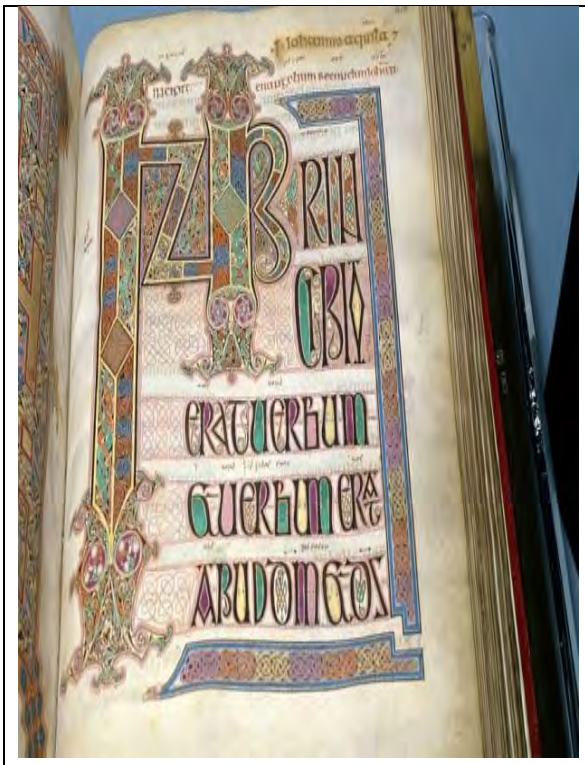
13. Janina Ramirez in The Telegraph and The Daily Mail 2015

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)

These two articles review Dr Ramirez's TV documentary 'Saints and Sinners' which was shown on TV in February 2015. The articles are generally approving and enjoy the scenery and information provided by Ramirez.

Stage Two and Three – Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)

The Daily Mail images accompanying the TV review	
	
Saints And Sinners: Britain's Millennium Of Monasteries (BBC4) traced the history of Christianity	Dr Janina Ramirez, the Oxford art historian, started on Skellig Michael, a rock off the west coast of Ireland that was home to a colony of monks 1300 years ago

	The Telegraph accompanying image for TV review
The Lindisfarne Gospels Photo: Alamy	

Step one – micro linguistic level (could the same words be applied to men, is she being pigeon holed into familiar categories)

The Telegraph
'No wonder Janina Ramirez, the presenter, said: "Wow!"'
'I was provoked to disagree'
'Someone should also tell Dr Ramirez that "hermetic" is not the adjective for being a hermit'

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
Looks normal in appearance,		She got excited, she exclaimed, she was bowled over, has an ordinary voice, her subject was awe and wonder,	Presenter, Dr (used once),

The Daily Mail
'Sometimes her enthusiasm carried her away'.
'Dr Janina went into an ecstasy of statistics'.

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
		Informative but pacey, enthusiasm, ecstasy,	Dr Janina Ramirez, the Oxford art historian,

Step two – textual level (binaries)
Emotional women vs sensible men
Step three – the representational level (stereotypes)
School 'marm excited by her subject, normal looking with an ordinary voice,
Step four – discoursal level -What are the sub themes
Female academic not being taken seriously. Called a presenter and corrected. Overly emotional.
Selling a documentary.
Femininity as a bodily property:
Normal looking
Sexualisation of culture:
No evidence
From sex object to desiring sexual subject:
Not a sexual object or subject
Individualism, choice and empowerment:
Self-surveillance and discipline:
Too emotional, made up
The makeover paradigm:
Academic success
Irony and knowingness:
Not evident
Feminism and anti-feminism: Career women still being judged by her looks.

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

Foreground the praise for her enthusiasm.
Include her academic knowledge.
Remove comments about her looks.

References

Howse, C. (2015) 'Saints and Sinners, BBC Four, review: 'enthusiastic' Dr Janina Ramirez was a compellingly wonder-filled guide in BBC Four's 'Saints and Sinners', says Christopher Howse' The *Telegraph* (Online) 19th February [Accessed 24th April 2019] Available at https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/tvandradio/tv-and-radio-reviews/11423830/Saints-and-Sinners-BBC-Four-review.html

Stevens, S. (2015) 'Mind-bending murders and crazy clues - I'm in paradise! CHRISTOPHER STEVENS reviews last night's TV' *The Daily Mail* (Online) 23rd February [Accessed: 24th April 2019] Available at

https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-2960624/Mind-bending-murders-crazy-clues-m-paradise-CHRISTOPHER-STEVENS-reviews-night-s-TV.html

14. Kate Williams in *The Daily Mail* 2015

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)

Williams describes her love of fashion clothing and explains the story behind her new novel. Her favourite fashion era was the 1920's with the beaded dresses but she also likes the distinctive silhouette of the Victorian dresses. She likes to go shopping for vintage clothes which she has altered to fit her. She has a few clothes from the High Street and an expensive designer jacket which she bought after a book deal. She admits to being a hoarder and has boxes of old clothing she hasn't worn in over a year. She used to eat too many carrots (over 10 a day) and this made her hands an orange colour. She doesn't have many shoes or handbags but her handbags are full of note pads and pens. Her fashion tip is to wear what you like.

Stage Two and Three – Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)



Kate loves flattering fitted jackets. Here she wears a pretty one by Armani Collezioni, teamed with a dress from The Kooples and Hobbs shoes
Though Kate doesn't often shop on the high street, she likes to wear this Kookaï denim jacket, lace top from Zara top and Jigsaw skirt
This Vivienne Westwood jacket is the most expensive item in Kate's wardrobe. She splashed out after landing a book deal. Her dress is from Oasis and her shoes are from Reiss

The accompanying wording changes the meaning of the images to show us that Williams is modelling her favourite clothes. She wears high heels, short skirts and fitted jackets in all of the pictures. She smiles at the camera and adopts model like poses. Her hair is styled and she wears full make up. It is not made clear where she wears clothes like this. They appear more fashionable and revealing than would be expected in every day academia.

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials

37, small frame	Would wear crinoline all day if she could, I love wearing green, and I like grey and black but I don't think they really suit me. Colour is really important to me when buying clothes. I wear a lot of fitted jackets and because I'm small, I avoid long skirts and coats. And I hate wearing hats. TV shows prefer a clean, modern look, so I've developed a wardrobe full of plain, bright colours.	Lives with her partner and daughter in London, fascinated with historical fashion,	The royal and historical expert on TV shows such as Restoration Home and Radio 4. Professor of history at the University of Reading, has written several fiction and non-fiction books. Her third novel The Edge Of The Fall is out now.

Step one – micro linguistic level (could the same words be applied to men, is she being pigeon holed into familiar categories)

This article is pigeon holing a woman into 'female interest.' Money from her book is used to buy an expensive jacket. This article would not be written about a man.

Step two – textual level (binaries)

The binary is 'women's interests' which include fashion clothing and jewellery.

Step three – the representational level (stereotypes)

The thinking man's crumpet

Step four – discoursal level -What are the sub themes

All women are interested in fashion, even academic women. Despite her intellect she is no more than a clothes horse. We are told that she is a professor but she is called Kate throughout the article.

Femininity as a bodily property:

Williams illustrates commodified beauty through her choice of expensive clothes and vintage outfits. Her body is more of her identity than her brain or personality.

Sexualisation of culture

Although fully clothed Williams wears short skirts and high heels.

From sex object to desiring sexual subject:

Not evident

Individualism, choice and empowerment:

Williams' individuality is through her fashion choices. She pleases herself by buying the expensive jacket from a book sale. Short skirts, fitted jackets and high heels are presented as her individuality when in fact they are standard wear for many women. This is emphasised with her comment 'wear what you like'.

Self-surveillance and discipline:

Full make up, posture and poses of a fashion model.

The makeover paradigm:

Not evident.

The reassertion of sexual difference

Women like fashion and are interested in it.

Irony and knowingness:

Not evident

Feminism and anti-feminism:

‘Double entanglement’ of an intellectual career (feminism) and consumerism and traditional female interests. (McRobbie 2004)
Feminist ideas are included but depoliticised (Stacey 1987).

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

Refer to Williams as Professor rather than Kate and forefront her knowledge and the politics involved in the changing lives of women mirrored through fashion.

Reference

Mulley, L. (2015) ‘In the closet with TV historian Kate Williams THE TV historian steps back in time with Victorian frocks and vintage jewels’ *Daily Mail* [Online] Dec 13, [last accessed 18th April 2019] Available at https://www.express.co.uk/life-style/style/625397/TV-historian-Kate-Williams-fashion-style-secrets

15. David Olusoga in *The Telegraph* 2016

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)

The article is a review of the programme 'Black and British' which is presented by David Olusoga. The journalist, Jasper Rees, reviews it as a 'likable' programme and wonders why it took so long to be made. Olusoga follows the story of three people, identified by archaeology as being black; a trumpeter in the service of Henry VIII, a Moorish legionary on Hadrian's Wall and a woman who appeared on Beachy Head during the Roman era. Olusoga lays a memorial plague for them as some of the earliest records of Black British people. In more recent history, Olusoga identifies a descendant of Francis Barber, Dr Johnson's servant, and shows how the descendants of 10,000 black Londoners disappeared into the white population. Rees considers the programme 'fresh' and from a particular perspective.
There are three pictures of Olusoga out and about. One shows him in contemplation looking at the camera, another shows him smiling and chatting to school children and the final pose is a full body photograph of Olusoga at Hadrian's Wall.

		
Presenter David Olusoga Credit: BBC	David Olusoga in Cumbria, with pupils from Burgh by Sands Primary School Credit: BBC	David Olusoga at Housesteads Roman Fort, Hadrian's Wall Credit: BBC

Stage Two and Three – Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)

Words used to describe his appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe his clothing	Words used to describe his personality and attributes	Words used to describe his academic credentials
None	None	None	None

Step one – micro linguistic level

The word black is used five times, the word African twice and Moorish once. Olusoga is not directly called a black man but the subject matter and his pictures give him identity as a black man. His academic ability is not mentioned but he is praised for the information that is presented in the documentary. The focus is on the history rather than on Olusoga who is referred to as a 'presenter'.

Step two – textual level

The binaries in the article are of race and particularly black and white people in the past and today.

Step three – the representational level

Olusoga is present in the article only through his three photographs. The article is about the history and the 'fresh' perspective it offers. The photographs are all about him going about his work. His academic ability is unquestioned and not referred to. He is called a presenter. It is unclear whether he is an academic at all.

Step four – discursive level

The discourse is to challenge the assumption that all British people were white before the eighteenth century.

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

Olusoga could be placed into the story. His interpretation and understanding as an academic could be added. Rather than a 'presenter' he should be called an academic and some of his credentials could be added to the article.

Reference

Rees, J. (2016) 'Black and British: A Forgotten History revealed a fascinating side of our past – review' *The Telegraph* (Online) November 9th [Accessed 13th April, 2019] Available at https://www.telegraph.co.uk/tv/2016/11/09/black-and-british-a-forgotten-history-revealed-a-fascinating-sid/

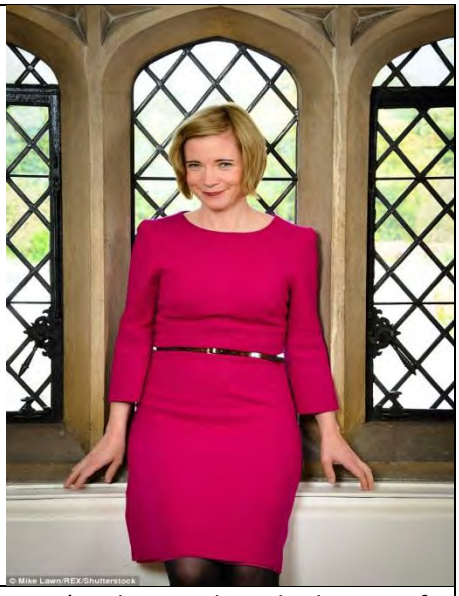
16. Lucy Worsley in *The Daily Mail* 2017

Chief curator of Historic Royal Palaces Lucy Worsley, 43, lives in London. She says she's quite old fashioned and likes to look cheeky and friendly. Here, she reveals her style secrets to Rosanna Greenstreet

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)

The article is about Lucy Worsley's 'style secrets'. She likes bright colours but 'sexy' is not her style. She describes trying on a Georgian busk and explains why they were made the way they were. She is asked a series of questions. When asked about her body hates she replies that one shouldn't hate part of one's body. She accepts her legs. She prefers dresses to trousers. She likes shopping in John Lewis and buys second hand clothes which she has altered to fit. She has worn some of these dresses on TV. She makes a joke about her 'cheapskate' clothing which are now called vintage. Jackie O is her style inspiration and she describes the tricks she uses to keep warm outside. She is a minimalist and gives her dresses to her mum, who never wears them because they are too bright. She takes exercise at home watching history programmes on IPlayer. She used to be a cross country runner and her large nostrils helped her to breath. She eats when she wants to and mentions porridge in a pot and light tuna fish. She has two personas; the normal her and the made up TV version. She has been on a makeup course and cuts and colours her hair. She has a rucksack rather than a handbag. She has a new book coming out.

Stage Two and Three – Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)

		
Chief curator of Historic Royal Palaces Lucy Worsley (above), 43, lives in London with her husband Mark Hines	Lucy says: 'I am quite old-fashioned: I wouldn't consciously think 'I am going to dress up in a sexy manner' because it's just not me'	Lucy 'might once have had a pair of jeans briefly' in her teens but she soon realised they weren't for her

All images are posed. She smiles at the camera in all the pictures and wears full make ups and styled hair. She is displaying the manners and posture of the white upper class female.

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
43, I like to look cheeky, friendly, approachable, I have lovely little ears and eye lashes so long, you shouldn't hate your body parts, I am straight up and down, I make a good flapper, I accept my legs, enormous nostrils,	Wears bright colours like a clown, tried sexy clothing in the past, jeans weren't for me, a dress in a bright colour, triangle shape suits me, I like clothes with a definite outline, I put a lot of thought into what I wear, clothing is intellectual, likes second hand clothing, loves sequins, red dress from Etsy, Mary Jane shoes,	Lives with her husband an architect, old fashioned,	Chief curator of Historic Royal Palaces, art historian,

Step one – micro linguistic level (could the same words be applied to men, is she being pigeon holed into familiar categories)

The article is about Worsley's body, appearance and fashion choices. An article like this would not be written about or for men. The article is in the 'femail' section of the Daily Mail.

Step two – textual level (binaries)

It is an article about women's interests (fashion and appearance)

Step three – the representational level (stereotypes)

The thinking man's crumpet

Step four – discoursal level -What are the sub themes

Commodification (buying clothes, hair styles) and celebritization (her brand, her style, her TV programmes and her book)

Femininity as a bodily property:

Her body and her dresses are her defining feature in this article.

Sexualisation of culture:

She doesn't do 'sexy'

From sex object to desiring sexual subject:

Not evident

Individualism, choice and empowerment:
Pleasing oneself with choice of dresses, vintage clothing, buying unique clothes and having them adjusted (being unique but both Worsley and Williams buy vintage clothing)
Self-surveillance and discipline:.
The size of her nostrils, ears and eye lashes, too many comments about my fringe.
Posture and pose of upper class white female.
The makeover paradigm:
Not evident
Irony and knowingness:
Not evident
The reassertion of sexual differences;
Women's topics and women's interest and women's part of the newspaper.
Feminism and anti-feminism:
Career woman who has written books and has a PhD but focus is her 'style tips' and fashion sense.

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

Foreground her knowledge of women's dress over the centuries (she starts to talk about the busk) over what she wears.

Reference
Greenstreet, R. (2017) 'Dressed to kill: I would never set out to look sexy – it's just not me, says Lucy Worsley' Daily Mail [Online] 10 May [Accessed 18th April, 2019] Available at https://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-4493362/Dressed-kill-never-set-look-sexy.html

17. Mary Beard in *The Daily Mail* 2017

- Trolled again! Outspoken historian Mary Beard in online row over black Roman soldier
- Beard defended authenticity of a BBC animation featuring a black Roman soldier
- Critics hit out at the educational video branding it 'politically correct'
- Beard said her decision to defend the video led to 'a torrent of aggressive insults

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)

The focus of the article is Mary Beard and the criticism she has received for her comments on immigration in Roman Britain. The article recognises Prof Beard's expertise as a 'leading Cambridge classicist and expert in Ancient Rome' but the interest in the story is about the abuse she has received rather than the political views presented. After comments from Beard that there was evidence that black Romans lived in Briton under the Romans, she became the victim of abuse on Twitter. Her knowledge was brought into question by a Professor of Economics from the USA who described her views as 'left wing' and 'trying to re-write history'.

Stage Two and Three – Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)

	
Popular historian Mary Beard found herself the target of bitter social media abuse after defending the authenticity of a BBC animation featuring a black Roman soldier	Popular historian Mary Beard found herself the target of bitter social media abuse after defending the authenticity of a BBC animation featuring a black Roman soldier (repeat of the caption for the first image)

The article includes two close up photographs of Mary Beard's head. An older woman with wrinkles and grey hair smiles directly into the camera. The background indicates that she is on an archaeological/historical site. The pictures connote a second level of significance (Chandler 2007) as they depict old age. There are few positive images of being an elderly woman in western society (Arber and Ginn 1991). Grey hair is a collective symbol of old age. The images are a discursive tool that speak as loudly as words and illustrate a woman on the decline. This could not be written but close images of her face say what cannot be safely written. This makes what she says as doubtful as what her critics say. By appearing to not take a position, by presenting the two arguments side by side and by including unnecessary illustrations in the 'news' story, the article reinforces stereotypes of ageism and misogyny. This also serves to cast doubt on immigration occurring in the past, which re-enforces the Daily Mail's discourse position.

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
'a torrent of aggressive insults, on everything from my historical competence and elitist ivory tower viewpoint to my age, shape and gender'. attacked for her looks on TV		Popular historian x 3, Outspoken historian, 'a batty old broad' and 'a pretentious know-nothing', outspoken academic, 'politically correct gestapo', called 'a slut'	Leading Cambridge classicist and expert in Ancient Rome, Professor Beard

Step one – micro linguistic level (could the same words be applied to men, is she being pigeon holed into familiar categories)

Misogyny is evident in the article. The journalist is careful to appear neutral and places the comments of others into inverted commas.
The layout of the article is of interest in the way Beard is portrayed. The writing underneath an image of Beard refers to her as a 'popular historian' but directly above her are the words 'batty old broad'. A broad is the American term for a woman. The photograph of her signifies to the reader that she is old. In British culture 'batty' and old often go together. 'Batty' has a slightly endearing quality but casts doubt on the person's intellectual ability. There is a strategy of presenting the contradictory comments on Beard side by side without the article appearing to take a position. This was also done at the start of the article with the headline that she is being criticised, which was followed by what her critics say.
The headline of the article describes Mary Beard is an 'Outspoken Historian'. To be outspoken is to 'express strong opinions very directly without worrying if other people will be upset by them' (Cambridge Dictionary ND). By referring to Beard as 'outspoken' less legitimacy need be given to her opinions. This is a method of controlling women by silencing them (Beard 2017). An older woman is not only silenced but is regularly made invisible (Pilcher and Whelehan 2017, Sontag 1972).

Step two – textual level (binaries)

Immigration versus no immigration
Interpreting history – who is right and who is wrong?

Step three – the representational level (stereotypes)

Old woman - the two photographs confirm her age.
Bluestocking – her qualifications are stated but there is no sexual component to her at all. Her looks are only mentioned as a form of criticism.

Step four – discoursal level -What are the sub themes

The discourse is about who tells history. The sub themes of the article are immigration in the past and present and misogyny.
The discussion is about immigration in the past and whether black people lived in Britain before the recent past. Beard argues that immigration has long been part of our human story. Her 'critics' describe

this as acting like the 'politically correct gestapo'. An economics professor, Nassim Nicholas Taleb, used Beard's comment as an example of 'the Left… literally trying to rewrite history'. Immigration occuring in the past gives it a validity that racists are keen to avoid.
One of the misogynistic methods that Taleb uses it to refer to Beard as Mrs, thus attempting to deny her legitimacy to have expert views. Beard picks up that is an attempt to silence her.
Gill (2007 p259) notes how older women are never given 'sexual subject hood' and this is illustrated when attempting to apply a post-feminist analysis to the article.
Femininity as a bodily property:
Not evident. If anything, the opposite can be seen.
Sexualisation of culture:
Not evident
From sex object to desiring sexual subject:
Not evident
Individualism, choice and empowerment:
Notion of pleasing oneself and saying what one wants to say.
Self-surveillance and discipline:
Not evident. The opposite is true. Others discipline her for speaking out.
The makeover paradigm:
The opposite is true.
Irony and knowingness:
Not evident
Feminism and anti-feminism:
Independent older woman speaking her mind based on her expertise
Outspoken historian upsetting people and should be quieter

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

Do not position the arguments side by side but make it clear the position being taken.
Present the article as the silencing of intellectual women.
Reference
Tozier, J. (2017) Trolled again! Outspoken historian Mary Beard in online row over black Roman soldier' The Daily Mail (Online) 7th August [Accessed 24th July, 2020] Available at https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4766466/Mary-Beard-online-row-black-Roman-soldier.html

18. Bettany Hughes in *The Daily Mail* 2017

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)

The article starts with a family story about Hughes in Istanbul with her two daughters during an uprising so that they could see 'history being made'. This links to her recently published book on Istanbul. Hughes introduces a feminist angle to the article. She tells the story of the producer trying to hide her pregnant belly on TV and being told that 'no-one wants to be lectured at by a woman' on TV. She tells the journalist that this put 'fire into her belly'. She had to wait until 2003 for TV presenting success with a documentary about homosexuality and the Ancient Greeks. This programme made her 'pretty hot stuff' and paved the way for her to become one of the 'leading faces in a female takeover of TV history'. It is women like her who have taken over from 'ego led' 'grumpy' male presenters like David Starkey. She sees her job as being to 'enthral' people. Hughes's love of Istanbul is dangerous as she narrowly missed being caught up in a military coup and is a regular visitor of a nightclub where 29 people were killed. As an 18 year old student she visited the archaeology on the area and 'did all the things you shouldn't do'. One of the women Hughes has done her research on was an exotic dancer with a 'bedroom trick which is sadly not printable here' which enabled her to 'bag' and Emperor. The article focuses on what it has been like for Hughes working in a male world. The emphasis is that this was all in the past. There is detail about her looks and how she feels about comments about them. She is modest. She puts her confidence down to attending St Hilda's Girls school in Oxford and knows Gove, Cameron and Johnson from her time at Oxford University (although she had nothing to do with them). She is cross with Gove about his comments on experts and never found the three men attractive, although Boris was funny. She narrowly escaped being captured by people smugglers but the only thing she is afraid of is the dark.

	
Historian Bettany Hughes fell for Istanbul when she was at Oxford	*Muslim-controlled since the Ottoman conquest of 1453, Istanbul was Christian for 1,000 years*

The photograph of Hughes denotes a white, middle-aged woman striking a thoughtful model's pose. Her long hair is wind swept. Her jacket is open to reveal a noticeable cleavage. She holds her hand up to hold back her hair. Behind her is water and Istanbul. The other photograph is of Istanbul at sunset.
Her clothes connote a casual smart dress code, which would be appropriate in academia. Her pose and open jacket connote attractiveness in women. The picture of Istanbul provides an exotic foreign, backdrop for Hughes 'spicy' stories.

The captions change the meaning of the pictures (Bathes 196). The caption accompanying the picture of Hughes tells us that Hughes 'fell' in love with Istanbul and so the thoughtful pose can be construed as that of a lover. That Istanbul has been Islamic for 1000 years adds to its exotic allure and foreignness. It also adds an element of danger which is compounded by Hughes's story of nearly being captured by people smugglers.

Stage Two and Three – Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)

Step one – micro linguistic level

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
49, dark tresses, raven-haired, trademark décolletage, sexy, voluptuous historian,	black dress, calf-length boots smeared with mud, jeans, a sleeveless tank top, a little shirt,	provocative historian, 'I'm bloody-minded', pretty hot stuff, leading faces in a female takeover of TV history, not an armchair historian, self-confidence, 'I am very head-girlish', frightened of the dark.	author and academic, heavyweight academic, provocative historian behind such titles as Helen Of Troy: Goddess, Princess, Whore and Sin City: London In Pursuit of Pleasure and presenter of several major television documentaries.

The vocabulary used is gender focused. Most of the words used about her could not be used for a male historian such as 'sexy', 'voluptuous' and having 'dark tresses'. The exceptions are when she describes herself as 'bloody-minded' and 'self- confident' and when the journalist refers to her as a 'provocative'. Interestingly, provocative has two meanings. It can mean to cause a strong reaction or to cause a sexual reaction. It is likely that the journalist used the word intentionally for these two meanings. Hughes is presented as complex woman who shows a combination of erotic, intelligent and self-confident characteristics.

NB. She has a trademark décolletage while Uhlenbroek has a trademark vest (brand?)

Step two – textual level

The binaries of female historian presenter and male historian presenter are established against each other. She is described as one of the female presenters who has taken over from 'grumpy' male presenters. This is the headline for the article which describes her as having 'stormed past the barricades of male presenters'. It is taken for granted that this is a good thing. The way presenting on TV can be done is also offered as an either/or situation where the presenter can enrage or engage. According to a common stereotype woman are better at communicating. Thus, as a female academic Hughes might find it easier to engage than enrage. The female 'engage' with the audience is unquestioningly presented as the right thing to do.

Step three – the representational level

Two stereotypes are apparent in the article. Despite being 'nearly 50' Hughes is awarded the 'thinking man's crumpet'. Her 'raven haired dark tresses' are described but there is no reference to grey hairs or hair dye. She is described as 'voluptuous' with a 'trademark' cleavage. By trademark it can be assumed that her cleavage is always apparent which would be the result of having a large bust. Her calf length boots are covered with mud after a visit to the Goddess of Love, Aphrodite's, sanctuary. This gives her an erotism. This is re-enforced in the pictures of Istanbul accompanying the article. The pictures conjure up romance and glamour. Hughes stands in a model like pose on a boat with Istanbul in the background. Stories of traffic smugglers and uprisings add to the atmosphere. Hughes refers to herself as 'head-girl' type and there is another account from a male producer who told her that no-one likes to be lectured by a woman. This and her advancing age also conjure the school marm stereotype.

Step four – discoursal level

Femininity as a bodily property: With her hair style, low cut dress, calf length boots and model like poses, Hughes is performing her gender and beauty. As an 'academic heavyweight' she is not exclusively her body but her 'sexy' and 'voluptuous' physique is central to her being a 'provocative historian'. It is presented as being key to her power as a successful academic on TV.

Sexualisation of culture: The article has a discourse of sex throughout. Not only is Hughes sexualised but so is the history she tells, from compulsory homosexuality for Ancient Greek soldiers to the dancing girl who captures an emperor with bedroom tricks too rude to be included in the Daily Mail.

From sex object to desiring sexual subject: Hughes appears to present herself as a desirable woman who has the confidence to look sexy, tell sexy stories on TV and visits sanctuaries for the goddess of love where her footwear becomes covered in mud.

Individualism, choice and empowerment: Hughes's success is presented as being down to her own hard work. She won a scholarship to a public school for girls and went onto Oxford. Her success on TV is portrayed as being down to her 'bloody mindedness' and a 'fire in her belly'. Politics is absent from the discussion. When feminism is mentioned by Hughes it is as an individualised feminism. Hughes is a neoliberal success story.

Self-surveillance and discipline: Hughes has the grooming and posture of an elite white woman. Every part of her body from her hair colour to her boots are mentioned. Hughes conforms to the standards of an attractive woman. She is said to have made an impact because of her looks. While on an archaeological dig a radio presenter became very excited about her wearing a vest. Hughes presents this as an amusing anecdote as no one could see her on radio. The implication is that she always looks this good. This would require discipline. It is unlikely that a 49-year-old woman will have 'raven hair' without any grey.

The makeover paradigm: There is no mention about being made up for the photograph. Hughes is offered to us as an attractive, clever academic woman. She is someone we might aspire to. As such she is not required to transform into something better.

The reassertion of sexual difference: Natural sex differences between men and women are played out with Hughes taking over from the old male guard.

Irony and knowingness: Humour and quoting other people allow the journalist to describe Hughes's body which is irrelevant to her knowledge about Istanbul.

Feminism and anti-feminism: The empowered, successful academic woman who chooses to be brave and travel in dangerous places fits with a feminist ideal. However, the politics of being a woman in a dangerous world who needs to travel and being a historian presenter in a broadcasting corporation dominated by the male old guard is not discussed. Her success as a woman is down to her own hard work and personality, creating a depoliticised feminism. The reader is told that she won a scholarship for

St Hilda's Girls School and went onto to Oxford University, at the same time as Cameron, Gove and Johnson. It is hard to see that this did not contribute to her success.

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

There are minor and silent themes which could be foregrounded. Hughes comments that male historians are not described by their hair colour. The focus on the way she looks could be reconstructed to become the annoyance of having her looks focused on. Hughes talks about the old male guard. How she used the 'fire in her belly' to change the male culture could be given a voice. Again, the issue of resources, family support, hard work and being a woman in academia is missing. If her family could not afford to send her to St. Hilda's School, it would be interesting to give voice to the silent theme of status, power and educational establishments.

Reference

Hodges, M. (2017) 'She came, she saw, she conquered: Bettany Hughes' new blockbuster on Istanbul shows why she's stormed past the barricades of male TV historians with some VERY spicy stories' *The Daily Mail* [Online] 21 January [Accessed 24th July, 2020] Available at https://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/event/article-4137032/Bettany-Hughes-new-blockbuster-Istanbul.html

19. Brian Cox and Hannah Fry in *The Daily Mail* 2017

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)

Brian Cox and Hannah Fry are presenting a new version of Tomorrow's World which was originally shown in the 1970's. Cox is introduced with some of the background about him. He is asked for his view on life in the universe. The journalist gives an account of how Cox gave a talk after the bomb in Manchester and spoke about how precious life is. Dr Fry is introduced later in the article and her theory on the mathematics of love is explained. She jokes about the difficulty of staying happily married. She explains how she remains happily married and talks about her love for 'beautiful' maths. They both talk about their memories of the first Tomorrow's World which Cox can remember but Fry was too young. A range of subjects will be covered including ten things predicted for the future. Fry explains how she came to love maths. Other subjects such as living on another planet are discussed where the presenters give their opinions. Cox explains how he was always into science but delayed it due to being in a pop band. When they split at 23 he started a degree at Manchester University. When they had a hit he was in the labs during the day and supporting 'Take That' in the evening. His outspoken personality is commented on and he is asked whether he would like to go into Politics, which he thinks he would. He gives his opinion on the international character of science and the need to allow foreign students to come to British Universities. Moreton is impressed that Tomorrow's World will be presented by a mathematician who understand the riddles of life and a rock star scientist who is humble.

Stage Two and Three – Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)

		
Are we alone in the universe? Do we need to get off the planet before it's too late? And how can I find true, lasting love? These are some of the questions that really matter – and nobody is better placed to answer them than Professor Brian Cox	Cox has appeared on QI, The Jonathan Ross Show and Would I Lie To You? and even played himself on Doctor Who	Brian Cox and wife Gia Milinovich attend a function at Tate Modern last month

The images conform to the idea of 'zany' fun. In the first image Cox, a middle aged white man, looks bemused while a robot hand adjusts his glasses. He wears a black jacket and a silver top which are the colours of the universe. In the second image he is wearing electronic glasses while the robot hand moves down his body. The third picture shows the successful hegemonic male, Brian Cox with his wife. Cox wears a dinner jacket and a bow tie. The script under the first picture asks the big scientific questions and the joke question about love. The script under the second image confirms Cox as a successful academic celebrity. The third picture confirms his participation in the established cultural life of the country.

		
Dr Fry says the way a marriage disintegrates is mathematically equivalent to enemy countries sliding into a nuclear-arms race	Event has brought together Cox and Dr Hannah Fry (right) for some answers as they prepare to relaunch Tomorrow's World	Michael Rodd on a 'supertrike' in the original Tomorrow's World,

The 'zany fun continues in the next three images. Fry, a young white woman with long auburn hair, looks glamorous in red lipstick and a jewelled top which emphasises her bust line. She also wears the colours of the universe, silver and sparking white. The robot arm is concerned to help Fry with her appearance and combs her hair. In the second image Cox takes a robot pose and appears to be plugged into a machine which Fry is preparing to turn on. Fry laughs and looks like his assistant. She wears high black heeled shoes, a tight silver skirt and a fitting black top. Cox wears a grey suit, a white shirt and black shoes and tie. The final picture is of the original programme which shows another humorous image of car which appears to have been built by its driver, a white man in a suit and a bowler hat.

Words used to describe his appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe his clothing	Words used to describe his personality and attributes	Words used to describe his academic credentials
Smartened up member of Oasis, looking gorgeous in exotic landscapes, sexiest men alive, wry smile, silver bits	Black from his boots to his hoodie,	He laughs and that's typical of Cox, eloquent, Lancastrian and blunt, saying complicated things in a way the rest of us can understand, fierce intellect, busy engaging with	the nutty professor, rock star cosmologist, particle physicist, big budget prime time

sparkling like stars in his elfin cut black hair, 49, very kissable lips,		people, married with a son called George, sees himself as an academic who still teaches first year undergraduates, outspoken, know-it-all but has softened, science is a humble pursuit.	documentaries, fills Wembley stadium, the new David Attenborough, Professor for Public Engagement in Science, Professor at university,

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
Younger, early thirties,	Jeans, T-shirt, jacket with a fake fur collar,	Equally stellar, married, eight month old daughter, lives in South London, enthusiasm, her face lights up when she talks about maths,	VERY brainy new partner, young numbers genius who specialises in the mathematics of love, Dr Fry, she's a lecturer too, stand up based on maths, TED talk on the mathematics of love,

Step one – micro linguistic level (could the same words be applied to men, is she being pigeon holed into familiar categories)

The tone of the article is humorous. This allows things to be written that would not normally be written because the humour makes it permissible. Humour says 'this is not to be taken seriously' which allows the author to be more liberated to write what they would not normally be able to. The phrase a 'gloriously geeky science show' illustrates how the use of humour allows a direct reference to the nerd stereotype.

Are we alone in the universe? Do we need to get off the planet before it's too late? And how can I find true, lasting love? Life in the universe, the end of planet earth and finding love are given equal importance. The juxtaposition of finding love against such serious subjects is where the humour is. It is the female presenter who has this knowledge, acquired through her academic studies of maths. Finding truelove is likely to be an important consideration to the readers of the article. It is likely to be considered a female pursuit.

The sentence describing what they wear is introduced with 'For the record', which is a jokey way of being able to easily write about what they are wearing. The humour is significant as it reveals that Moreton is aware that writing about clothes is not necessary for the article.

Step two – textual level (binaries)

Male/female

Step three – the representational level (stereotypes)

The nerd stereotype is evident with Cox in the posed images and words such as 'nerdy'. He is presented as the 'thinking woman's crumpet' with 'kissable lips' and the statement that he is the 'sexiest man alive'. He is also presented as the powerful hegemonic male, clever and with an eye on a political future. The older male with a younger female assistant is evident in the posed pictures.

Although Fry is a mathematician she uses her knowledge to calculate how to find true love which is considered a female interest. She looks like a thinking man's crumpet but there is no evidence of this in the text. Her looks are not described. She is second to Cox's primary role.

Step four – discoursal level -What are the sub themes

Some of the themes of post feminism are evident.

Femininity as a bodily property:

Fry's femininity is emphasised in the clothes she wears, the subjects she is interested in (true love and a successful marriage) and that advanced technology helps her with her appearance.

From sex object to desiring sexual subject:

Not evident

Individualism, choice and empowerment:

Fry is an independent career woman 'she is a lecturer too'.

Self-surveillance and discipline:

Fry conforms to the feminine ideal in full make up, jewellery, long wavy hair, a skirt and high heels.

The makeover paradigm:

A young school girl who read a page a day of maths becomes a successful mathematician who can work out the secrets of love.

Irony and knowingness:

Not evident

Feminism and anti-feminism:

Fry is made up and wears a tight skirt and stiletto shoes. She is portrayed as his assistant in the images. She is also a mathematician and 'a lecturer too'. Thus she is empowered but uses her scientific knowledge to tell us how to find true love. Technology helps her to comb her hair. Her intellect and the advancement of science are used for feminine pursuits.

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

Give Fry an equal part rather than being the 'assistant'. The article could give more focus to her mathematical knowledge and her role as a lecturer rather than her knowledge on love and marriage. Cox is presented more equally and interestingly as both nerd, hegemonic male and thinking woman's crumpet.

Reference

Moreton, C. (2017) 'Martians under the surface of Mars. Lab-grown bacon sarnies. A career in politics! The nation's favourite science boffin (and his brainy new partner) flick the switch on a revamped Tomorrow's World' *The Daily Mail* (5th June) [Accessed 16th April 2019] Available at https://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/event/article-4559612/Dr-Brian-Cox-reboots-Tomorrow-s-World.html

20. Brian Cox in *The Times* 2018

Reading along the grain - Construction

The article starts by providing the background on Brian Cox's success and achievements. He is still in wonder at the universe but worries about his children's future. Cox has turned 50 and is thinking about what he might do in the future. He does not want to become too comfortable with his success and feels that the country is worth fighting for (he does not explain what the fight is about). His appearance is described and he is asked if has used Botox, a wrinkle removal procedure. He explains why he is pro-remain over Europe and why so many people in his home town voted to leave. He is considering a future in politics. Currently he is planning a sell-out tour and he describes the technology being used to show pictures of space 'a huge LED screen'. Information on Cox's wife and her career is given. She is doing an art foundation course but used to work on TV. A joke is given about how many google searches there are for whether Cox is divorced. He is asked questions on his son and then on his perfect weekend. He finishes with science humour stating the thing he needs most at a weekend is 'oxygen'.
The reader is given the impression that he is tremendously successful, good looking and extremely clever with a sense of humour.

Reading against the Grain

Step one - Micro linguistic

Words used about the physical appearance of the academic	**Words used to describe the academic**	**Words used about the academic's qualifications**	**Words used to describe himself**	**His clothes**
Famously beguiling grin, barely looks old enough to have passed his driving test, well into middle age, floppy greying hair, impressively slim, taut features, eternal youth potion, glows, supernova beaming,	Superstar, enthralling, viewers love Cox, childlike wonder, unselfconscious, sunny persona, soft, sweet, tones, giggler, cautious discussing family life, unassuming, engaging, extremely busy	Physicist, Professor of Particle Science, Royal Society for Engagement in Public Science,	*father, parent, fresh faced, future prime minister, I'm quite old fashioned, [students] are here to enjoy themselves, average on the pushy parent scale,*	Black denim jeans, zip up cardigan, less fashionable grey anorak,

One of the subjects that the descriptors refer to is Cox's age. Cox has turned fifty and the prospect of using Botox is presented as a joke. He looks so young that the journalist considers him too young to have passed his driving text. She wonders if he is taking 'eternal youth potion' and describes him as taunt, glowing, beaming with an eternal grin. These descriptors do appear gender specific in that it is unlikely they would be used on a woman. There is a tone of incredulity that he looks so young. A woman with greying hair and wrinkles at fifty years is unlikely to be described as looking too young.
The information about his wife and son, his clothes and his hair are likely to be used on a woman. It could be argued that this makes them gender neutral, but it is more unusual that they are used on a

man. I would argue that they are linked with his celebrity status where individual information is prized as part of making the celebrity unique (Hollander 2010).
Cox is not presented as a hegemonic male (Connell 1995). None of the descriptors about him are 'macho' or aggressive. He is presented as heterosexual and of enjoying circuit training and thinking about taking up boxing. These are reassuring male attributes. However, he is also described as unassuming, soft, sweet, sunny, engaging and childlike. This is typical of a different kind of masculinity such as the 'complicit nerd' male who benefits from being associated with hegemonic masculinity but shows other less masculine characteristics. Since the rise of computer technology and the success of men like Steve Jobs, 'nerds' have achieved a higher status (Kendall 2000).
There is a play on words associated with Cox and astronomy. He has a 'supernova' smile and is a superstar.

Step two – textual level

The themes of the article are:

- Brian Cox the superstar academic
- Brian Cox the family man
- Brian Cox as an embodiment of the nerd masculinity.

The reader is introduced to Cox's success with the first paragraph detailing his achievements. The opening sentence announces him as,
'*The superstar physicist Brian Cox is already extremely busy. He's professor of particle physics at Manchester University and the Royal Society professor for public engagement in science.'*
His success is down to his ability as an academic and a presenter.
'Viewers love Cox for his almost childlike wonder as he surveys our universe'.
Cox is also presented as the successful family man who talks about his wife and son. His wife is described by him as, 'She's a very funny woman, my wife. She's provocative'. The journalist reminds us that she used to work in TV. This gives her agency although she is also represented as a woman at home as she no longer works in TV and is doing an art foundation course. There is no suggestion that Cox should be at home with his son. He wants to make the world a better place for his son by changing the world and politics. This introduces us to the male binary of men in the public world and women in the domestic world.
Cox's masculinity is interesting and fits with Connell's (1995) gender order. Cox has characteristics of the hegemonic male in that he is heterosexual, successful, athletic, intelligent, a father and powerful (he is considering entering politics). However, he is also described as looking young, being shy, unassuming, giggly, childlike with a beaming smile. I suggest that this places him in the complicit nerd category.
The reader is told that Cox teaches first year undergraduates. This links to marketing Manchester University and the chance to be taught by a superstar.

Deconstructing the images

The first two photographs of Cox are unrelated to the words attached to them. Cox appears relaxed and friendly sitting in a coffee shop. His clothes are smart casual. His jacket evokes the stereotype of a lecturer's cord jacket, giving him a slight 'nerdy' look appropriate for a physicist. His hairstyle, although greying slightly, is the same as it has always been since he has appeared on TV, giving him his 'trademark' look. The full picture of him portrays him as a successful heterosexual man with a strong male pose with legs wide apart.

		
Brian Cox: “Most people want to be informed and are excited about knowledge	Cox: “I’ve gone off running. Now I’ve got into boxing	Cox and his wife, Gia Milinovich

Step three – the representational level

Cox is represented as a ‘typical’ superstar academic in that he is a white, heterosexual family man. He talks about his family, teaching undergraduates and entering politics as if these were a natural mix of subjects. His family is irrelevant to the story, but their inclusion helps to represent him as the male ideal.

Step four – discursive level

Femininity as a bodily property:
Cox’s gender is not presented as an item of interest.
From sex object to desiring sexual subject:
There is no notion of Cox as ‘being up for it’. He is presented as desirable but happily married heterosexual man who is slim, has taunt features and floppy hair. His looks are not foregrounded over his success.
Individualism, choice and empowerment:
He is presented as an individual with power and authority. He talks about his political views.
Self-surveillance and discipline:
He takes part in physical activity and is ‘impressively slim’.
The makeover paradigm:
The makeover paradigm is rejected immediately when the subject of Botox is brought up.
The reassertion of sexual difference:
He is given power in the public world rather than the private world of the female.
Irony and knowingness:
Humour is presented but without any irony or knowingness.
Feminism and anti-feminism:
Cox presents his wife as a powerful individual. Despite this the impression of her is domestic holding onto her man by wearing a funny T-shirt,’ *She began wearing a T-shirt with the words Yoko Ono in large type above a much smaller John Lennon’.*

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

The silent themes of class, hard work and long hours of study could be given prominence over the glamour of being a ‘superstar’.

Equal attention is given to his youthful appearance and physical activity as it is to his political thoughts. More attention could have been given to his knowledge and research and how he juggles teaching, researching, presenting and being a family man.

Reference

Llewellyn Smith, J. (2018) 'Brian Cox: Botox, me? I don't think so The physicist talks about life, the universe and turning 50' *The Times* (Online) January 13 [Accessed 24th July, 2020] Available at https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/brian-cox-botox-me-i-dont-think-so-js6z5xprs

21. David Olusoga in *The Daily Mail* 2018

- Historian David Olusoga said: 'Almost all historical figures did good and bad'
- He said that those criticising historical statues should not be called 'snowflakes'
- Mr Olusoga, whose father is Nigerian, went on to discuss the British Empire, and said countries such as China and India 'haven't forgotten' how it treated them

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)

David Olusoga gives his opinion about British Colonial history and how there is light and shade to every historical character. While Churchill was a hero during the war, before the war he carried out events that would be described as 'war crimes' today. Africa is one of the places he considers war crimes to have taken place and also refers to the Bengal famine. He argues that people who have difficulty with statues of Cecil Rhodes and Edward Colston should be allowed a voice. He refers to 'history wars' where opposing views can both be true as people are capable of both good and bad.

Stage Two and Three – Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)

		
David Olusoga, who co-presents the new Civilisations series, said that while he accepted Churchill was a national hero, 'almost all historical figures did good and bad'.	Mr Olusoga said: 'So while I'm personally glad that Churchill overcame Halifax in early 1940 and it was Churchill who faced the Nazis that year and the years that followed, that doesn't mean that he wasn't somebody that wasn't responsible, or largely responsible, for the Bengal famine [of 1943-44]'	Mr Olusoga, whose father is Nigerian, went on to discuss the British Empire, and said countries such as China and India haven't forgotten how it treated them.

'*Reading' the images*

The photographs of Olusoga give him gravitas. He is dressed in a suit and shirt which is a respectable uniform for men of the establishment. He wears glasses and is posing with books in one picture, which indicates his knowledge and learning. The other image shows him looking serious, almost stern. He is not smiling in either of the photographs indicating that he is serious minded. His hair style and open shirt connote a friendly informality.
There is nothing dismissive in the images which seem to suggest that Olusoga has an important point to make. Berger (1972) writes that people are sophisticated consumers of images and that the image makers try to introduce irony or a 'we know that you understand' subtly to their images. In this case the images of Olusoga are of the hegemonic male academic. He is positioned with books, he looks serious and he is wearing the uniform of a male member of the establishment. By looking at the pictures alone the article appears to be taking Olusoga seriously.
The undermining of Olusoga is more subtle and is connected to the hidden meanings of words and what is left unsaid.

Step one – micro linguistic level

Mr Olusoga would appear to be harmless as this is his name. However, the word Mr is loaded in academia as it is stating that he is not a Dr or a professor. Thus, by referring to him as Mr Olusoga rather than David Olusoga, he is being subtly undermined.
Olusoga is also referred to as a BBC historian. The BBC is unpopular in right wing circles as it is considered to lean towards the ideology of the left. Thus, a BBC historian is known to mean a left wing historian which would be appropriate for the Daily Mail readers as he is challenging the memory of a national hero, Winston Churchill. A BBC historian also implies a TV historian, rather than an academic linked to a university.
Olusoga's Nigerian father is also referred to three times. Olusoga was raised by a white mother in Tyne and Wear but his is not mentioned in the article. His Nigerian father helps to create Olusoga as 'other' which could explain why he has differing views about Churchill. Olusoga argues that people with differing views of history should not be called 'snowflakes'. A snowflake is a person who is 'self-obsessed', 'fragile' and 'easily offended' (Harrison 2019). Olusoga refers to these people as having 'legitimate' views. The journalists present this information but do not comment on it.

Words used to describe his appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe his clothing	Words used to describe his personality and attributes	Words used to describe his academic credentials
None	None	Father is Nigerian (written three times)	BBC historian, historian, co-presents the civilisations series,

Step two – textual level

There are binaries of insider/ outsider or one of us/other at play here. Olusoga tries to break down binaries by stating that historical figures can do both good and bad things. The article presents this information but subtly introduces a binary of its own.

Step three – the representational level

Olusoga does not fit into the academic stereotypes of the hegemonic male academic or the nerd. His title of 'Mr' and 'BBC historian' does not give him a legitimate academic role.

Step four – discourse level

Olusoga is not a 'proper' academic and his views need not be taken too seriously. He is 'other'.
There is no interest in his looks, personality, family or clothes.

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

A focus on the history of events and their complexity.
Reference to Olusoga' s knowledge and publications to give him more standing.

References

Coen, S. & Rouse, A. (2018) 'BBC historian David Olusoga blames Winston Churchill for war crimes in Africa and famine' *The Daily Mail* (Online) 19 March [Accessed 13th April, 2019] Available at https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5516765/BBC-historian-blames-Churchill-war-crimes-Africa-famine.html

Harrison, G. (2019) 'The Kids aren't alright. What does 'snowflake' mean, who are 'generation snowflake' and what's the origin of the term?' The Sun Online 7th February 2019, 7:42 am [available at] https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/5115128/snowflake-generation-meaning-origin-term/ [last accessed 15th April 2019]

22. Germaine Greer in the Independent 2018

Germaine Greer attacks Beyoncé: 'Why has she always got to be naked?'
The feminist academic and author rants about the singer in an upcoming BBC2 documentary

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)

This is a short review about a documentary Germaine Greer appears in about her life and opinions. The journalist chooses some of Greer's opinions voiced in the documentary and at Hay Festival. The verbs 'attacks' and 'rants' are used in the opening sentence to set the scene. Greer is quoted as saying that Beyoncé has a wonderful voice but questions why she must appear naked. Greer swears and the swear words are left in with asterixis. Greer gives examples of other women such as ice skaters who appear naked and believes that nakedness is a sign of inequality. The fact that she posed naked in a magazine is raised but Greer sees that as different. The opinions she voiced on rape at the Hay Festival are focused on especially when she states that many rapes are 'just bad sex'.

Stage Two and Three – Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)

Step one – micro linguistic level

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
79 year old	Being without clothes is included. There is no mention of clothes.	Rants, attacks, took aim, opinion, posing for nude photos, sparked outrage, controversial remarks,	Feminist academic, author

The journalist focuses on Greer's 'controversial remarks'. The only description of her is her age. Greer is being pigeon holed into the category of 'barmy, cantankerous old woman'.



Feminist author Germaine Greer takes aim at Beyoncé in new BBC2 documentary.

There is no picture of Greer only that she is seventy-nine years of age.

A large picture of the undressed Beyoncé is featured in the article but there is no picture of Greer. The surrounding dancers and the microphone indicate that Beyoncé is singing on stage. The pose, which reveals her naked behind, suggests that she is a sexually attractive woman. Glamour and sexual appeal are apparent.

Step two – textual level

Binaries of young and old, dressed and naked and rape and good sex are evident in the article.

The binaries of the young 'sexy' singer and old outrageous woman are marked. The binary of being dressed and being naked are foregrounded for both women. The binary of rape and consenting sex are discussed.
Greer tries to break down the binary of sex by discussing the more middle ground of 'bad sex'. She tries to bring in a politics and gender by conveying female nakedness as a sign of inequality.

Step three – the representational level

The stereotypes of woman against woman (Greer against Beyoncé) and mad old woman are being played out (Greer attacks, rants, sparks outrage).

Step four – discoursal level

Greer as an experienced feminist academic is demeaned as a cantankerous old woman who has nothing of any worth to contribute.
The discourse of sex and female nakedness emerge where they need not.

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

An alternative discourse would be one of listening to the valued opinions of an older female academic. The issue of gender inequality and how this can manifest in dress could be foregrounded over the theme of 'sexy' nakedness. The difficulty of convicting rapists and the difference between violent rape and unwanted sex could be given prominence over the binary offered in the article.

Reference

Kaplan, I. (2018) Germaine Greer attacks Beyoncé: 'Why has she always got to be naked?' The Independent (Online) 8 June [Accessed 24th July, 2020] Available at https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/music/news/beyonce-germaine-greer-naked-feminism-clothes-bbc-a8390261.html

23. Kate Williams in *The Times* 2018

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)

This is an article about fame and fortune for Professor Kate Williams. The article starts with the cost of cosmetic surgery for her nose and how she did not have it performed. She describes it as her 'best decision'. The article starts with her academic credentials and then moves onto her looks and her desire to have cosmetic surgery following a relationship breakup. Feeling 'down' she started to 'obsess about her face'. Williams has just had three novels published about the first world war and the depression. Her partner is a publisher and they have a daughter. The rest of the article is a series of questions about her finances. She is a Professor of Public Engagement in History. She answers questions about how she spends money, the property she owns in North London, lucrative work, her pension, whether she invests in shares, her financial weaknesses and strengths and her best and worst financial decisions. A picture of her and Emma Hamilton (the subject of her PhD) is included.



Kate Williams was labelled 'Cash Register Professor' for her TV appearances, but the real money lies in books: 'A sizeable advance means a nice launch party'



Emma Hamilton: her letters inspired Williams's first biograph (National Portrait Gallery)

Williams smiles into the camera. She is wearing a white embellished dress. Her hair is groomed, and she wears red lipstick. She leans against the wall of her house.
She connotes an affluent woman in her domestic surroundings, which are tastefully decorated with historic prints. She has high cultural and material capital.
The caption points out the criticism of her but also that she does have 'real money'.
The picture of Emma Hamilton indicates what Williams' research was on, but it also provides a sensual picture of a historic ruling class gentlewoman. This sets the tone of the article.

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
39-year-old historian, long, curly red hair, uncontrollable,			Written acclaimed biographies and novels, lectures at Reading University and regularly appears on

			television

Stage Two and Three – Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)

Step one – micro linguistic level

This is an article about finances and the vocabulary represents this. The words cash, finances, credit cards, pension, saving, costs, property ownership, earnings, wealth, middle-class, sold, auction, royalties, advance, job, work, lucrative, cash register professor, investments, business, payment, rate, tax, deal, financial priority and extravagance are all used. Although Williams is an academic this is not what the article is about.

Step two – textual level

The article focuses on binaries because of the questions asked, such as what was your worst or best investment? It is interesting that her greatest extravagances are her daughter and her hair. Neither of these are commodities. Child care takes a third of her income.

Step three – the representational level

Combination of blue stocking and thinking man's crumpet. Possibly more of a blue stocking because of undercurrent of criticism.

Step four – discoursal level

The article is about wealth generation and profit making it an article about capitalism. That it is linked to education, and a celebrity academic, indicates the neoliberal discourse as education for wealth generation. Williams does bring up that she lived on a grant as a PhD student and that a third of her income goes on childcare. These are political, educational and feminist issues. There are no longer grants for PhDs and the funding of child care is an important feminist issue.

There is evidence of some post-feminist themes in the article.

Femininity as a bodily property: Although this is a financial article there is still information on her nose and hair. She is known 'for her curly red hair' which results in her physical attributes becoming part of her female identity.

Sexualisation of Culture: Sex is not referred to in the article although there is an unnecessary reference to Emma Hamilton being Nelson's mistress.

From sex object to desiring sexual subject: There is no mention of any sexual agency.

Individualism, choice and empowerment: Williams' career was presented as freely chosen although she does bring up that she lived on a student grant and grew up in a middle-class home in the West Midlands. She is presented as an empowered woman who makes choices about how she looks and whether to have cosmetic surgery.

Self-surveillance and discipline: She describes her hair as 'unruly' suggesting that she monitors how it looks. A member of the public wrote to her calling her a 'cash register professor' indicating an element of discipline.

The makeover paradigm: Being able to transform into a better version of oneself was considered by Williams. Her hair is mentioned at both the start and end of the article.

The reassertion of sexual difference: Gender roles come through the article with a discussion about her hair, face and motherhood.

Irony and knowingness: Humour and irony are absent from the article.

Feminism and anti-feminism: Williams is presented as an empowered intelligent woman but one who considers cosmetic surgery and is required to discipline her hair.

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

Williams introduces a few sub themes that are unusual and could be given greater prominence. When she went to Oxford University she met people who did not know that there were any middle-class people in the West Midlands. The snobbery of Oxford and how she coped would have been interesting to other young women thinking of studying there. She also refers to a grant and being poor while studying for her doctorate. Hard work and low income are not often picked up in these articles and this would have been interesting to foreground. The cost of child care (a third of her salary) would make working and living in London as a mother prohibitive for many women. A feminist perspective could be considered on this. Williams states that she felt down when she considered her nose job. The pressure of looking beautiful could be developed. The nose job is discussed only in terms of its cost. Williams's partner is a publisher and she has had novels published. This is left unsaid but the connection between the two could be explored. This is so that help in achieving success is not ignored. This counters the neoliberal discourse of achievement through one's own hard work and ability.

Reference

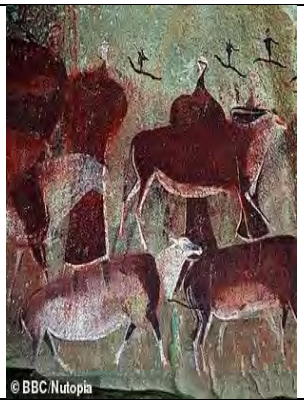
Membery, Y. (2018) 'Kate Williams: I'm so glad I didn't go ahead with the nose job. The historian, novelist and TV regular tells York Membery her best decision was not spending £15,000 on cosmetic surgery', *The Sunday Times* (Online) August 5th [Accessed 24th July, 2020] Available at https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/kate-williams-im-so-glad-i-didnt-go-ahead-with-the-nose-job-n9865s67n

24. Simon Schama in *The Daily Mail* 2018

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)

Schama is interviewed about Civilisations and the criticism he has received by some critics. He defends his comments during the episodes and does not agree that he has succumbed to 'political correctness'. Schama gives an account of living through the student riots in Paris while the original Civilisation documentary was being made in 1969. He does not agree with Mary Beard's view of the British Empire as being all about looting and plundering. He also does not agree that one should turn away from the work of an artist who has an unpleasant personality. Schama believes that education and thoughtfulness is what Civilisations is about. He mentions the next two books that he is writing.

Stage Two and Three – Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)

		
Simon Schama fiercely defends his blockbuster BBC series Civilisations, after critics have attacked it from all sides	One reviewer wrongly accused Schama of insisting that cave paintings were as good as the works of Michelangelo	

Schama sits on a dark leather chair in a room with parquet floors and dark wooden panelled walls. To his side is a stone bust in a classical style. Directly behind him is a large oil painting of a man in a robe and wig. Schama wears a dark suit with a white shirt. His watch is showing. He wears shinning, black leather ankle boots which is a nod to his individual style. His grey hair is styled into a short back and sides. He leans forward and gazes directly into the camera.
The image connotes that he is part of the establishment. He is a hegemonic male academic.
The cave paintings have been included in the article as they are a more controversial inclusion into the Civilisations documentary.

Words used to describe his appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe his clothing	Words used to describe his personality and attributes	Words used to describe his academic credentials
73 year old,	None	Crossly, upset, commanding, lives in New York, striding across our screens, an Englishman in New York,	Television's most distinguished historian, teaches art history at Columbia

			University, published many critically acclaimed books, TV presenter,

Step one – micro linguistic level

The original meaning of political correctness (PC) was to avoid using language, images or policies that would cause offense to minority groups. It has since become an insult as a way of implying that the person speaking is so worried about offending someone that what they say has little or no meaning. It is argued by some that the series Civilisations is PC. This is because the original 1969 BBC documentary was called Civilisation and focused only on Europe, whereas Civilisations gives equal value to societies around the world.

Commanding is a verb that is rarely used for women. A commanding person is nearly always a man.

Englishman in New York is a term made famous following the gay icon, Quentin Crisp's relocation to New York and the song that was written about him by Sting in the 1980's. By using this term the journalist gives the reader a cultural reference.

Step two – textual level

The binaries of civilisation/civilisations are referred to.

Mary beard is wrong about the British Empire where as Schama is correct.

Step three – the representational level

His qualifications and his image indicate that he is a 'commanding' hegemonic male academic.

There is no interest in his looks or clothes in the way a female academic would experience.

Step four – discoursal level

History is safe in Schama's hands. Although he is presented as PC by presenting on cave art and non-European art in his documentary, he can be trusted with is ideas on the British Empire and for keeping the art and artist separate. This fits with the discourse of the Daily Mail readers.

The discourse of celebrity is apparent in the article. Schama sells his documentary and his books.

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

The journalist tries to impose more certainty on the difficult subject of civilisations around the world. Multiple readings could be given room such as both Simon Schama and Mary Beard are correct about the British Empire.

Reference

Moreton, C. (2018) 'Even the BBC's own arts editor savaged Simon Schama's landmark culture series. Now he blasts back, insisting his critics are just heathens' *Daily Mail* (Online) 21 April [Accessed 15th April 2019] Available at https://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/event/article-5634949/Simon-Schama-hits-critics-BBCs-Civilisations-series.html

25. Lucy Worsley in *The Times* 2018

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)

The article starts with a humours tone claiming that television historians are usually men or Lucy Worsley. Mary Beard is 'niche' and only does the classics while Worsley will do a variety of historical subjects. Her latest historical subject is Queen Victoria. Worsley, who sips tea in Kensington Palace, explains that the latest TV drama about Queen Victoria is not history. It is entertainment. Queen Victoria was not a liberal, but neither was she an old grumpy widow. Worsley is described as marmite. One of the things that irritates people about her is the dressing up. She describes herself as a narcissist who loves dressing up. She feels that is helps to put her in character. She does not see it as dumbing down. She is friends with David Starkey and Simon Schama and plays down the arguments she had with Starkey who accused her of turning Tutor history into a soap opera. She never talks about money and has no idea if her co-host Starkey earned more than she does. 'I might be letting the sisterhood down', she comments. People on short term contracts with no maternity pay worry her more than whether she gets paid as much as Starkey. History is her main job, not the TV. When she married her husband, she signed a pre-nup agreeing that she would never appear on Strictly Come Dancing. She loves her job and decided not to try and have it all by having children. She states that she was naive to talk about not having children and hopes that it does not come to define her. She wants to be a historian and get other people interested in history. She loves to inspire people to study it. She has a different perspective on Queen Victoria. She believes that TV history needs more ethnic diversity and regional accents.



Lucy Worsley: "Television is not my career. My career is history"

A blonde, white woman wearing a red dress and red lipstick smiles into the camera in a pose that appears to have her hands on her hips. Behind her is a decorated white stone fireplace and a gold framed large picture.

The environment connotes wealth and status as does the groomed hair, make up and dress. The hands on her hips fit in with her being described as 'fun' and 'twinkly' as this is an informal pose. Her direct smile connotes friendliness.



Jenna Coleman as Queen Victoria and Tom Hughes as Prince Albert in the ITV drama Victoria. Worsley has just had a book published on Queen Victoria.

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
44 years of age	Enjoys dressing up, flapper dresses,	Twinkly, fun, knows her stuff, communicates engagingly, marmite, does not 'want it all', narcissist, naive, attention seeking.	chief curator at Historic Royal Palaces, first in history from Oxford University,

Stage Two and Three – Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)

Step one – micro linguistic level

The words used connote a friendly, informal style. Queen Victoria is described as a fat, grumpy widow and Worsley describes herself as a 'showy-offy' narcissist. She is described as someone who 'communicates engagingly'. Although there is little attention paid to Worsley's looks the vocabulary used to describe her has a female feel. It is difficult to imagine a male academic being described as 'twinkly', 'naïve', and 'attention seeking'.

Step two – textual level

The binary of male and female TV historians is raised. They are set opposite each other with Worsley being accused of making Tutor history into a soap opera. She in turn had called Starkey a misogynist.

Step three – the representational level

Worsley is presented as a blue stocking. She is a blue stocking as her passion is history. She calls history her career rather than broadcasting. She wants to encourage people to enjoy history. She is described as twinkly and fun but there is no mention of her looks or clothes, other than the ones she wears for dressing up.

Step four – discoursal level

The discourse is one of certain historical subjects as women's issues. For example, Queens, wives, domesticity and clothes are much of Worsley's history.

The feminist issues of equal pay and motherhood are asked of her, but she deliberately avoids this. She states she does not know if she is paid the same as co-hosts (Beard knew). She does not say that she

does not want children but that she decided 'not to have it all'. This is an interesting term to use as it is a feminist term used when women try to have a career and be mothers. There is much research to indicate that women are not having it all as the demands of two roles are too difficult.
Thus, on both accounts Worsley is not challenging the status quo.
This is not a post-feminist text but some themes do get picked up.
Femininity as a bodily property: Her femininity is performed in historic and present-day costume.
From sex object to desiring sexual subject: There is no mention of sex but she is presented as subject rather than object.
Individualism, choice and empowerment: Her career is presented as chosen. She is empowered to make the choices she has and has decided 'not to have it all'. It is presented as up to her to find out if she has equal pay.
Self-surveillance and discipline: Her hair, clothes and make up are always perfect.
The makeover paradigm: She re-invents herself as different historical characters.
The reassertion of sexual difference: She specialises in what could be called women's history. All her programmes require her to dress up in which ever period she is presenting on. It is difficult to see a male historian doing this.
Irony and knowingness: Her brand is naivety and girlishness. She avoids 'sexiness'. She also promotes a brand of upper middle class white woman.
Feminism and anti-feminism: She is represented as a successful, empowered woman, but she is also girlie, coy and enjoys 'feminine' pleasures like dressing up. She refuses to engage with feminist issues such as equal pay.

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

There are some interesting sub themes in the article that could be brought to the fore. She has decided not to be a mother and concentrate on her career. Feminists have argued that not all women have to be mothers. This could be presented as a personal choice or because it is too difficult to work full time and be a mother. By suggesting that she decided 'not to have it all' the implications are that it is structural factors that have made the decision. This could be explored and presented so that it can be either more usual to have a conversation about women choosing not to be mothers, or to look at the structural changes needed to support working women who also want to be mothers. At the end of the article Worsley states that she thinks TV history needs more ethnic diversity and regional accents. How this could be achieved could be developed. Her feminisation of history has resulted in comments that she is 'dumbing down' and turning history into a soap opera. This is reminiscent of feminist debates about women's literature not being appreciated as highly as men's literature. Worsley does not present this as a feminist debate, but I would argue that this is what it is. Gender politics occasionally rears in the article and this could be given more prominence.

Reference

Rose, H. (2018) **'**Lucy Worsley: It was naive to talk about not having babies. Lucy Worsley would rather not talk about the gender pay gap, motherhood or David Starkey. But she's always happy to wear a bonnet' *The Times* (Online) September 3, [Accessed 24th July, 2020] Available at https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/lucy-worsley-it-was-naive-to-talk-about-not-having-babies-w28mb6r9r

26. Mary Beard in *The Daily Mail* 2018

Stage one - Reading along the grain (Construction)

The short article features four photographs of Mary Beard.

			
Caption accompanying the picture	**Caption accompanying the picture**	**Caption accompanying the picture**	**Caption accompanying the picture**
Mary Beard argued that sexual harassment will not be 'solved' with the #MeToo hashtag	The outspoken broadcaster, 63, admitted that 'we all have bits of mistaken casual behaviour	Prof Beard (pictured for the BBC show Civilisations), has received death threats for her tweets in the past, and confessed 'I don't tweet my best when I'm drunk'	The academic is set to present the forthcoming BBC Two series of Front Row

The article headline 'Mary Beard says #MeToo movement is too obsessed with isolated incidents and will not solve sexual harassment of women' indicates that the article is about Mary Beard's opinion of the #metoo movement. The four images denote Mary Beard but there are no images of the #metoo movement. As the article develops it becomes apparent that the story is about Beard and some of her opinions and experiences. There are two headshots and two pictures from the waist up. It is notable that there are no pictures of the entire person. It is the face which is of interest. The face shows an old, grey haired woman without make-up. This is so unusual that it is as if the picture needs repeating to make sure that we 'see' this unusual fact. This has become Beard's 'brand' (Genz 2015). A brand is a method of selling oneself in a neoliberal celebrity market where authentic capital and labour is used to sell the brand of the authentic self (Genz 2015).

Berger (1972) indicates that a caption accompanying an image changes the meaning of the image. Without the captions the pictures are simply of an old grey-haired woman, which is unusual in news media. The captions change the meaning to reveal that the old woman is opinionated, has taken part in 'mistaken casual behaviour' (this is a reference to sexual relationships), gets drunk and is an academic on a prestigious BBC programme. This connotes unusual behaviour for an old woman which is consistent with her unusual image. The unfamiliarity of Beard's image and behaviour results in the reader becoming doubtful on the credibility of her opinions.

The article is about several of Beard's views on gender politics. She talks about sexual harassment and the need to place it in context, receiving death threats for her opinions on twitter and criticism for her looks by A.A Gill, equal pay for programmes that she co-presents with men, sexual relationships that she

has had with married men, a sexual assault that she experienced on a train and being a post-menopausal woman. All the stories are about her own experience. The reader is invited to enjoy their outrageousness.

Stage two and three - Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)

Step one – micro linguistic level

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
63, post-menopausal women, old lady		Outspoken, argued, woman with opinions, we all have bits of mistaken casual behaviour (used three times), resilience, spoken out about flings she enjoyed with older, sometimes married men, forced to have sex.	Cambridge University Classic professor, co-presenter for the BBC's Civilisations, academic, distinguished historian.

Beard's status is confirmed with words such as 'historian', 'academic' and 'distinguished'. However, she is also described in the article as 'outspoken', 'argued' and a 'woman with opinions'. This fits with the image of a cantankerous old woman and connotes her negatively. She is also presented as being quite shocking with descriptions such as she enjoyed flings with older married men, was 'forced to have sex with an architect' and is a 'post-menopausal woman'. These are unusual subjects for an older academic woman to discuss in the media.

Much of the article is in direct quotes from Mary Beard with text from the female journalist linking them. Mary Beard is sometimes referred to by her name and other times by her position as a professor or academic. This is relevant as her gender is not always the focus of her opinions. Professor and academic are gender neutral terms although they are more commonly associated with men. At the time of writing the first seventeen images on Google for the word 'professor' were pictures of men (Google Images 2019). The reader is informed that Mary Beard is sixty-three, placing her, alongside her pictures, as an older woman. Faircloth (2003) has indicated that the visible signs of old age result in people being viewed as 'other' which causes stigma.

A post structuralist reading of the lexicon is that Mary Beard is presented as both distinguished and outspoken. This portrays her in both a positive and negative light which helps to present her as a rounded human being rather than a one-dimension stereotype. That her age, and that she looks her age, are at the forefront of the story is a positive, as it puts old women in the spotlight rather than being made invisible. Invisibility in old age is an issue that causes concern for feminists (Bytheway 2005, Clarke & Griffin 2008).

Step two – textual level

At the textual level there is evidence of dualisms being played out. These are the binaries of men/women, perpetuators/victims, youth/age and voice/silence. Gender binaries are carried through the text with the issues on equal pay and the discussion on sexual harassment. Beard attempts to avoid framing herself as a victim when she describes being forced to have sex on a train. She answers that it would be difficult to judge if she had been wronged in the past because of the change in present day culture. Despite this, the male is seen very much as the perpetrator. Beard attempts to bring the

#metoo discussion away from Hollywood to 'offices around the country'. However, women remain the victims. Beard addresses the issue of post-menopausal women as 'being past their sell by date' and that there is a problem of where to fit them in the culture. This corresponds with the binary of youth being desirable and old age undesirable. Beard gives voice to attempts to silence her by trolls. She has received death threats and been told that 'her tongue would be cut out' and her house 'blown up' (Lambert 2018). Trolling of women on social media and aggressive misogyny is an attempt to silence women (Jane 2014). It is also a form of surveillance and of monitoring behaviour.
A post structuralist analysis would break down these binaries or reverse them (Baxter 2018). A positive re-reading of the article is that Mary Beard did receive equal pay with her male co- presenters. Her re-framing of the #metoo movement away from Hollywood actresses is a positive attempt to make it more relevant to ordinary women. It is affirming that Beard tries to start a discussion about post-menopausal women and their role in contemporary culture. Being a post-menopausal woman who does not attempt to hide her age is very constructive for this debate. The binary of voice and silence is also evident in the article. Older women are silenced in our society (Beard 2017) and Mary Beard is intent on giving her stories a platform. This is where the binary works in opposition so that Beard is given voice to take on her trolls rather than being silenced.

Step three – the representational level

A predominate stereotype is of Beard as a Bluestocking. This is confirmed when she is described as a distinguished historian and academic. Baxter (2018) argues that a text seldom uses just one stereotype, and this appears to be the case with Beard in this article. There is a sexual side to Beard that would not be expected in a Bluestocking. Some of Beard's stories place her into the 'sexy' School Marm stereotype because she openly talks about her sexual encounters. She is in the School Marm stereotype rather than the Thinking Man's Crumpet because of her age. There is something 'unnatural' in our culture for a woman of Beard's age to talk openly about her sexual encounters in the media. Cruikshank (2009) suggested that we view older women and sexual activity with disparagement. The two stereotypes are played out in the text and come into the fore depending on which story is being told. Beard appears fixed as either a Bluestocking or a School Marm.
Beard does attempt to break out of the stereotype and represent herself as an empowered older woman. There is evidence of this in the text over her equal pay and when she states,
''I'm really, really glad that I didn't do any telly until I was gone 50 because it meant I enjoyed it,' she said.' (Lambert 2018)

Step four – discourse level

There are four discourses in this article. The article is about Beard's experiences as both a young and older woman. Experience and its credibility is an important discourse in the media and among feminists. Recounting her experiences gives Beard a voice about her understanding of the culture she lives in. Extracts of her stories are given briefly one after the next, with the most shocking elements highlighted. This serves to make the narratives correspond with the idea that Beard is 'outspoken' and a 'woman with opinions' which results in her experiences as 'truths' being less credible. The discourse could be viewed positively as giving an older woman a voice, which is an important feminist demand. However, the way the extracts are presented along with the images places Beard into a stereotype of being an eccentric Bluestocking not quite in touch with the 'real' world. This would be consistent with the right wing political ideology of the Daily Mail. Subtly undermining her credibility also affects the status of her 'brand'. An alternative reading of the discourse of experience is to re-frame her experiences as a discourse of celebrity branding. Beard's stories feed into the narrative of authenticity and refusing to let her opinions be silenced. This, her image and her academic prestige has become Beard's brand and part of her authentic labour (Genz 2015). The journalist is quietly chipping away at this.

Age features in the text in a predominantly negative way. The headshots of Beard direct the viewer to her age. Her story of there being nowhere in our society for post-menopausal women to 'fit' re-enforces a negative interpretation of being older. This also means that many of the key post-feminist themes are not relevant for Beard as the media's focus is on young attractive women. Beard refuses to go along with the 'make-over' paradigm but has successfully manged to turn this into her brand (Genz 2015). Although Beard does not take part in self-surveillance she is a victim of surveillance as her stories of her trolls indicate. There is predominantly an essentialist view of gender where women are placed as the victims of sexual harassment by men. This places men and women into binary positions and asserts sexual differences. The theme of feminism and anti-feminists are entangled in that Beard is outspoken and independent but also sexually promiscuous and inappropriate.

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

The article does offer several opportunities for re-reading the meanings in the text. The story is about an older woman recounting her experiences and opinions. It is unusual for an older woman to be given a platform to do this. The more we encounter and see old age in the media the more there is an opportunity for the stigma of the 'other' to be broken down. Beard tries to include a more balanced narrative recounting her experiences of equal pay and the potential for change because of increasing awareness of sexual harassment. It is this discourse that could be made prominent.

Reference

Lambert, L. (2018) 'Mary Beard says #MeToo movement is too obsessed with isolated incidents and will not solve sexual harassment of women' *The Daily Mail (*Online) [Accessed 5th January 2019] Available at https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5410857/Mary-Beard-MeToo-hashtag-does-not-solve-problem.html

27. Victoria Bateman in *The Guardian* 2019

Stage one – Reading along the grain (Construction)

The article is about the Cambridge academic Victoria Bateman who has joined the Brexit debate by removing her clothes to ensure her voice is heard. Her message is that Brexit leaves the UK naked and she uses her naked body to emphasise this point. Bateman appeared on Good Morning Britain and Radio 4's Today programme naked with her message that Brexit was the equivalent of the Emperor's New Clothes. She invites MP Jacob Rees- Mogg to a naked or clothed debate. She makes the point that Britain has many economic problems including the NHS, food banks, housing and stagnating wages but that these are not the fault of the European Union. Bateman states that she is not an exhibitionist and wants to use her body for more than sex and babies. She argues that naked women are everywhere but are always silent. She wants her voice to be heard as a naked woman. Written on her body is 'Brexit leaves Britain naked'. She has received thousands of messages of abuse on social media.

Stage Two and Three – Reading against the grain (de-construction and reconstruction)

Step one – micro linguistic level

Words used to describe her appearance and use of beauty products	Words used to describe her clothing	Words used to describe her personality and attributes	Words used to describe her academic credentials
Naked, nude,	Naked	exhibitionist	Cambridge academic, economics fellow,

Very little is stated about Bateman other than her nakedness.



Naked anti-Brexit campaigner Dr Victoria Bateman appears on Good Morning Britain - video

Step two – textual level

The binaries are being heard and not having a voice and being clothed or being naked.
These are binaries that would not be applied to a man.

Step three – the representational level

Dr Victoria Bateman is a naked blue stocking. Despite being naked there is nothing sexual in the presentation of Bateman's body. The tone of the article is bemusement of the strangeness of a woman

removing her clothes to make a non-sexual political message. This could fit in the Ivory Tower stereotype of an academic woman not quite in touch with the real world.
She is contradictory as she presents removal of her clothes as a feminist act. As a result her gender is overly fore fronted.

Step four – discursive level

Feminism and anti-feminism:
The short article is about an academic removing her clothes to give her message about Brexit. Dr Victoria Bateman is a woman with an opinion who would not normally receive a platform for her opinions. Removing her clothes has given her the opportunity to be heard. Is this simply playing the system and understanding that a naked woman is likely to attract attention or is she making a principled stand that naked women are not given a voice and she wants to subvert this. Is she being a feminist or an antifeminist?
Would a naked man attract as much attention? Is a man likely to consider taking his clothes off to make a political point? The answer is probably not. In this case, the issue becomes gendered. Why would a woman take of her clothes to make a political point? It is most probable that she has done so because she is aware of the attention this is likely to attract. This makes it an anti-feminist act. Although Batemans is subverting the idea that a naked woman is a passive sexual body she is using the history of the female naked body to gain a platform for her views.

Reconstruction with an alternative discourse

The theme presented by Bateman is that she is empowered to remove her clothes to ensure her voice is heard. She presents it as a feminist discourse. The journalist presents the situation with humour.
An alternative discourse would be to recognise that the media responds to a naked woman and whether it is for the male gaze or the male ear, a woman's naked body attracts attention if it does not attract desire.

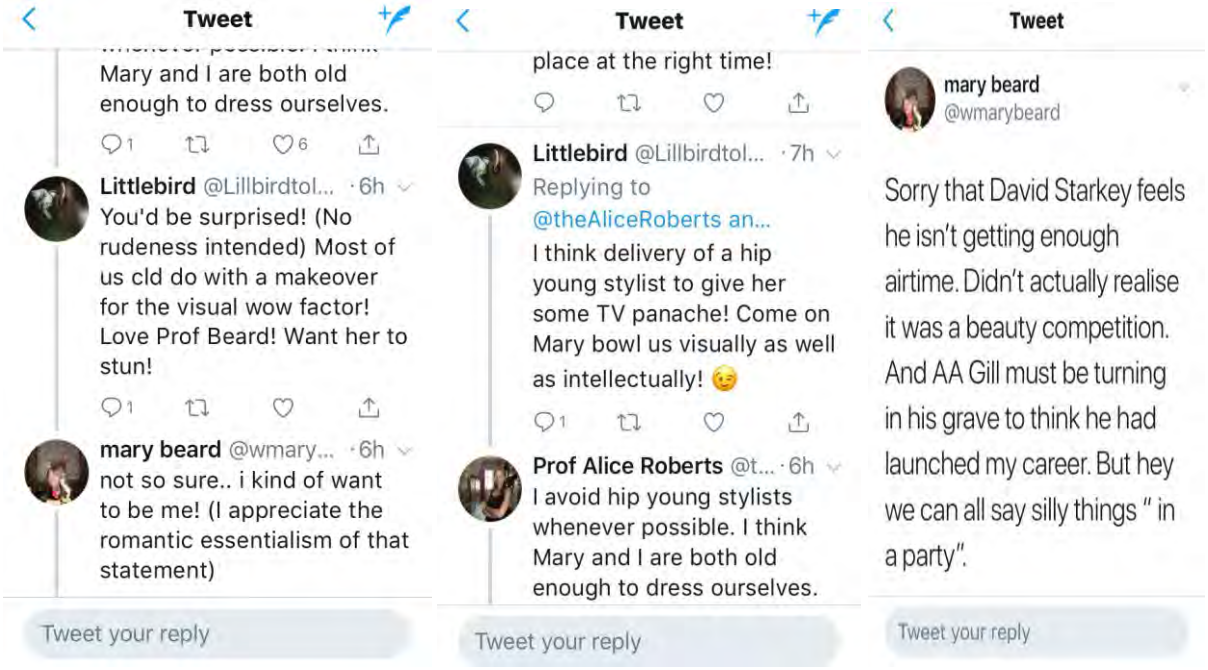
Reference

Weaver, M. (2019) 'Naked anti-Brexit campaigner challenges Rees-Mogg on live TV Cambridge academic Victoria Bateman repeats invitation to have a debate but says Tory MP can keep his clothes on' The Guardian [online] 12 Feb [Accessed 24th July, 2020] Available at https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/feb/12/naked-anti-brexit-campaigner-challenges-rees-mogg-on-live-tv

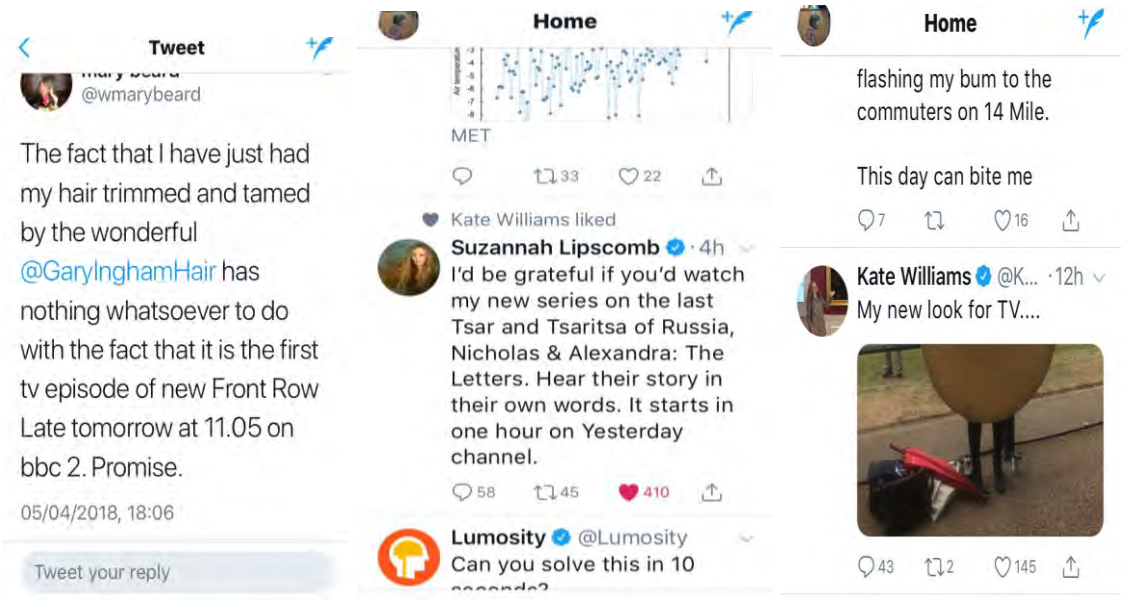
Appendix three

Celebrity Academic Twitter comments

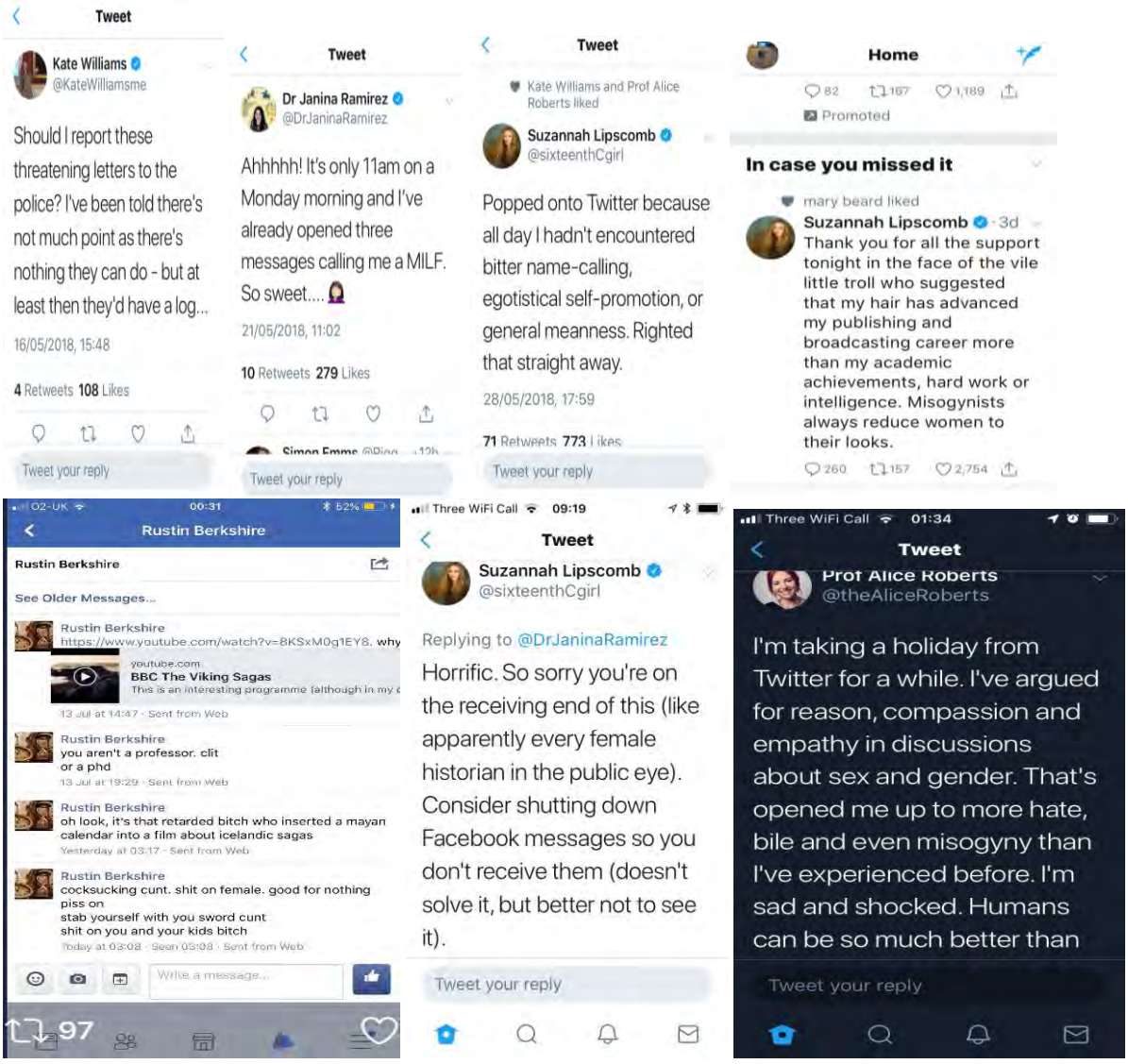
i)Mary Beard replying to comments about her appearance and Alice Roberts give her support with a tweet for Mary Beard



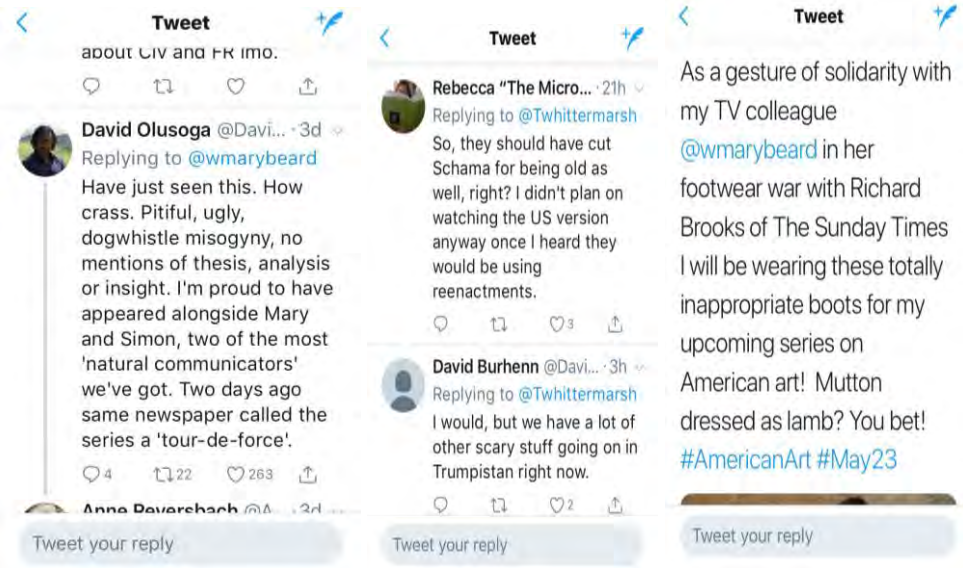
ii)Mary Beard promotes front row, Suzannah Lipscomb asks people to watch her latest programme and Kate Williams draws attention to her appearance on TV.



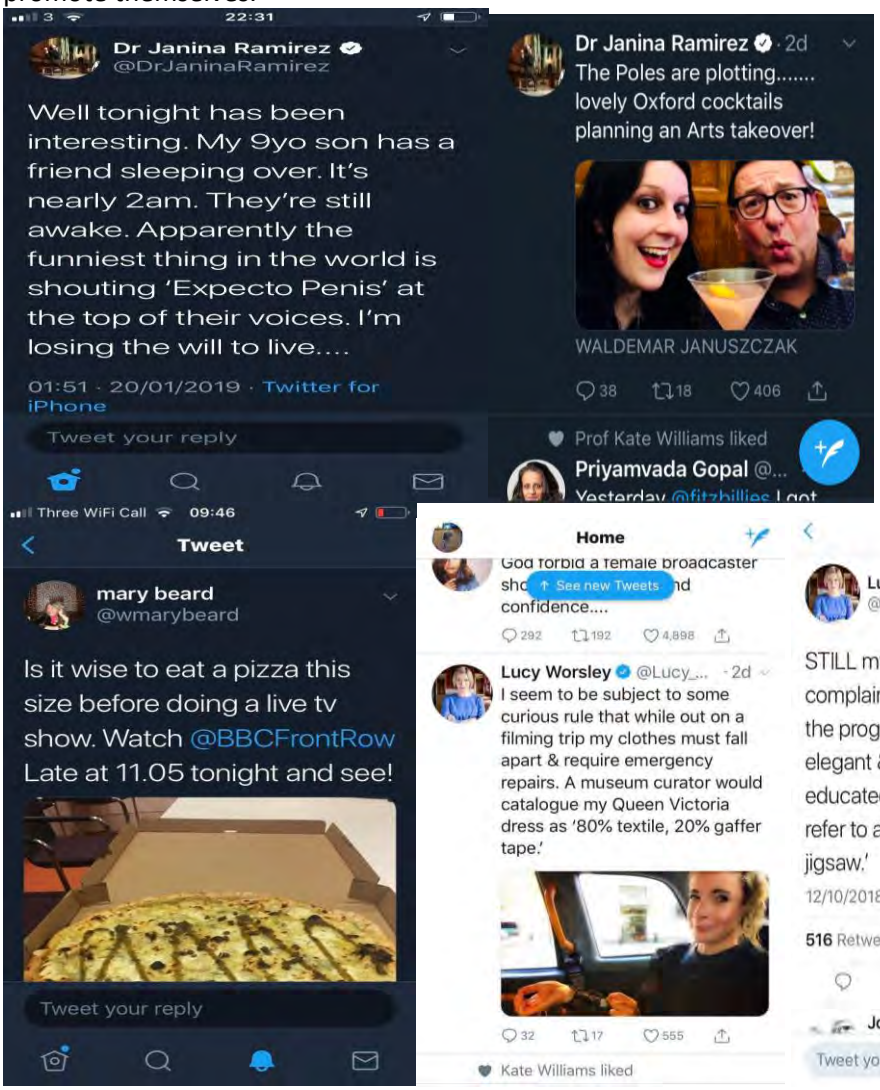
iii)Kate Williams asks for advice after receiving a threatening letter. Janina Ramirez, Alice Roberts and Suzannah Lipscomb tweet about abuse they have received and Suzannah Lipscomb gives her support to Janina Ramirez



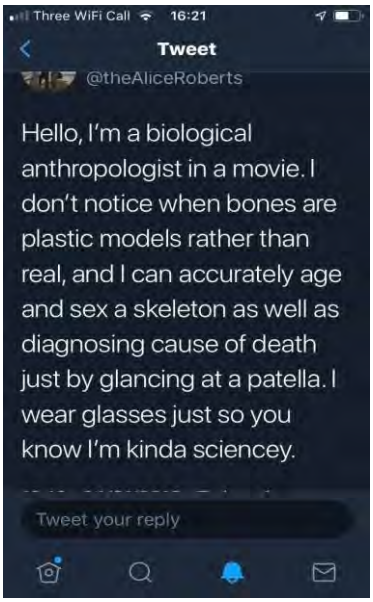
iv)Commentary about Mary Beard's removal from BBC Civilisations when it was broadcast in the USA from David Olusoga and messages of support for criticism about her choice of foot wear.



v)Janina Ramirez promotes some days in her life and Lucy Worsley, Alice Roberts and Kate Williams promote themselves.

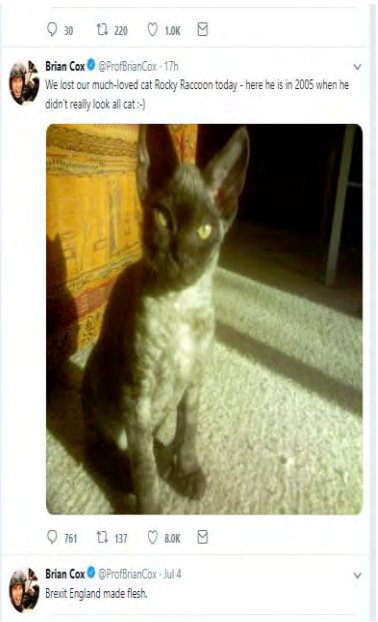






vi)Brian Cox thanks his fans on twitter, writes about the death of his pet cat, Schama gives his political opinion and Scott updates his professional success.









vii)Twitter users give Mary Beard abuse.

