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**GENDER STEREOTYPING IN ONLINE NEWSPAPERS**

**DZIMUMA STEREOTIPIZĀCIJA TIEŠSAISTES AVĪZĒS**

BACHELOR THESIS

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RĪGA 2015

## ANOTĀCIJA

Pētnieciskā darba mērķis ir atrast un analizēt stereotipus britu tiešsaistes avīžu *The Guardian* un *Daily Mail* rakstos par biznesu, lai uzzinātu no kādiem valodas elementiem sastāv stereotipu atspoguļojums un kā mediju diskursā tiek atspoguļotas dzimuma un profesionālās identitātes. Darba teorētiskā daļa apskata pašreizējā pētījuma metodi un iepriekšējo pētnieku darbus par šo tēmu. Izmantotā kvalitatīvā pētījuma metode ir Normana Fērklova (1992) trīsdimensionālais kritiskās diskursa analīzes modelis. Tika izpētīti 20 *The Guardian* un *Daily Mail* tiešsaistes avīžu raksti par biznesu un tika atlasīti un analizēti vairāki dzimuma stereotipu atspoguļojumi. Vēlāk no pētījuma rezultātiem varēja izvirzīt secinājumus. Var secināt, ka stereotipu izmantošana nav plaši izplatīta izvēlētajās tiešsaistes avīzēs un to atspoguļojums lielākoties balstās uz lietvārda frāzēm un metaforām, kā arī dažas darbības vārdu frāzes un īpašības vārdu frāzes ir izmantotas stereotipu veidošanā. Dzimuma un profesionālās identitātes bija atspoguļotas pamatojoties uz sabiedrībā iesakņotām dzimumu lomām.

**Atslēgvārdi: dzimuma lomas, attēlojums, stereotipu veidošana, mediju diskurss, tiešsaistes avīzes, varas struktūra.**

## ABSTRACT

The present research seeks to find and analyse gender stereotypes in British online newspapers' *The Guardian* and *Daily Mail* articles about business in order to find out what linguistic features construct a gender stereotype and how are the gender and professional identities represented in media discourse. The theoretical part of the paper examines the method of the present research and other researcher's works on this topic. The qualitative research method of the present research is Norman Fairclough's (1992) three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis. 20 articles about business were studied and a number of gender stereotypical imagery were singled out and analysed. Afterwards, conclusions could be drawn according to the findings. It can be concluded that gender stereotyping is not widespread in the chosen online newspapers and the gender stereotypical imagery is based mostly on noun phrases and metaphors, also, several verb and adjective phrases were found used in the construction of stereotypes. The gender and professional identities were portrayed on the basis of socially embedded gender roles.

**Keywords: gender roles, representation, stereotyping, media discourse, online newspapers, power structure.**

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## INTRODUCTION

The acquisition of information through the medium of online news sites attracts an increasingly larger audience. Consequently the distance between the numerous opinions and attitudes of individuals in society have come into an increasingly closer circle. It is a challenge to deal with varying viewpoints and convictions of each individual or group that seemingly contradict one's own set of beliefs and opinions. With the new possibilities of communication and accessibility comes the pressure of respecting and considering each person as a unique unit of a group and profession. The current events in the world demand the public to consider each individual and personality instead of narrowing the view by attributing a few socially embedded stereotypes to an individual with a certain gender and professional identity.

The developing information and communication technologies have changed the way people in technologically advanced societies learn about the latest news. Journalism has developed into online journalism and the emergence of the new communication medium, i.e. the internet, has stemmed the creation of a new genre – cybergenre (Shepherd and Watters, 1998). Instead of replacing the language of the paper version, the online version of newspapers developed a new genre with new design, language features and multimedia features (Ihlstrom and Akesson, 2004). The online newspaper media use the new technologies to incorporate multimedia and interactivity into the online newspaper genre and by doing that attracts a wider audience to the new online news platform. The online medium has a variety of characteristics that appeal to the modern-day audience. News published in the online newspaper reach its readers faster than the news provided by the paper version.

*The Guardian* and *Daily Mail* are one of the most popular British online newspapers and they cover a wide diversity of topics including culture, politics, science, environment and business as well as having different readerships from different social groups and classes. All of the discussed topics are important in the daily lives of the individuals, nevertheless, the business articles, i.e. coverage on economics, companies and money, provide the information on an integral and inseparable part of the society. The articles on business have a specific type of language including professional vocabulary and have the power to represent the professions, occupations and people working in this field. As one of the features of media discourse, representation has the capacity to create a portrayal of social reality through the cognitive categorization process of schema (Fowler, 1991), including gender schema, which

is the basic construct of stereotyping. It shows how gender roles are internalized by individuals and become integrated within the framework of social reality (Bem, 1981). Thus, through gender schema, which is deployed in media discourse, individuals are influenced with regards to their gender and professional roles in the society. Furthermore, the represented gender and professional roles become internalized and affect a person's decision-making and judgement (Eagly, Wood and Diekman, 2000). The consequences of such categorization and gender schema lead to stereotyping.

The discursive representation of gender and professional roles are revealed in the news media articles on business, which include information on businesspeople and unavoidably also their gender. Each person's occupation and professional status has been acquired based on their skill and talent; nevertheless, as gender identity intersects with the described person's professional identity, gender representation becomes intrinsically linked with professional representation. These representations are created within the social reality and affected by the power structure of the particular society. The powerful social classes play an important role in representing reality. This is achieved through language and discourse, as newspapers create their own version of the language of the public. The power structure within the society is represented in news media discourse; consequently, also in the articles on business.

The **goal of the research** is to find and analyse gender stereotypes in British online newspapers' *The Guardian* and *Daily Mail* articles about business in order to find out what linguistic features construct a gender stereotype and how are the gender and professional identities represented.

To achieve **enabling objectives** are the following:

1. To read and analyse secondary sources on stereotyping and online newspapers;
2. To collect 20 articles on business from two British online newspapers, *The Guardian* and *Daily Mail*, that include gender stereotypes showing the connection of professional and gender identities;
3. To analyse the gender stereotypes in articles about business from two British online newspapers, *The Guardian* and *Daily Mail*;
4. To make concluding statements on gender stereotyping in online newspapers, the linguistic elements which construct a stereotypical imagery, and the representation of gender and professional identities.

The **research questions** are whether there are instances of gender stereotypes in British online newspapers, what linguistic elements construct a gender stereotypical imagery and what role gender stereotypes play in the represented gender and professional identities.

The present research consists of two parts – theoretical and empirical. The theoretical part is created as an overview of the several theories and information about media discourse, online newspapers, cybergenre, gender stereotypes and the language of stereotyping. The empirical part analyses the linguistic features of gender stereotypes in two British online newspapers. The **research methods** were the following: the library research, internet research, and Fairclough's (1992) three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis, which has three levels that represent three analytical traditions: text, discursive practice and social practice.

**The empirical analysis** is created on the basis of 20 business articles from the online newspapers *The Guardian* and *Daily Mail*, which are found to include gender stereotypes that are relevant to the research questions of the present research.

The **first chapter** presents the secondary sources concerned with works on gender identity, gender roles, categorization, stereotyping, schema, gendered language and linguistic features.

The **second chapter** concerns the secondary sources about online media, media discourse, cybergenre, representation, consensus and the role of power in media.

The **third chapter** is devoted to the methodology of the research, covers critical discourse analysis and Fairclough's (1992) three-dimensional model of analysis.

The **fourth chapter** presents the results and analysis of the discursive representation of the gender and professional identities by analysing gender stereotypes in media discourse texts on business.

# 1. GENDER STEREOTYPING

Chapter I provides a comprehensive look on stereotyping, gender stereotypes, gendered language, gendered discourse, linguistic features of stereotypes and gender roles. In a general sense, stereotyping is a prism through which numerous concepts such as race, profession and gender is viewed; therefore, before identifying the particular aspects of the way this prism is constructed and functions, it is important to lay the groundwork on what is gender, its link to language, discourse, schemata, social roles and categorization, which are also constitutive concepts of stereotyping, also the historical background on gender research in sociolinguistics.

## 1.1. Research on gender, language and discourse

Empirical research on gender and language rose to prominence during the Women's Movement beginning in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Afterwards, the second wave of Women's Movement spurred a significantly larger number of research starting from 1970s.

The end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century saw the publication of numerous guidelines, handbooks and institutional codes of practice on the way language, both written and spoken, should be rendered more gender neutral in Britain; the title 'Ms' was adopted as an alternative to indicate a single or married woman and 'he or she' replaced the generic 'he' (Sunderland, 2006: 11). These changes in language were based upon the idea of language being able to affect the creation of a gender-biased social reality, which was influenced by the research of the time. The post-structuralism movement, which developed in the middle of 20<sup>th</sup> c enclosed concepts about the function of language. The movement is characterised by its 'loss of certainty about all absolutes, whether spiritual, moral, political or ideological' and it expresses 'scepticism towards all universal causes' and questions 'what "true" or "real" knowledge is' (Judith Baxter, 2003: 6). Post-structuralists, including the famous social theorist Michel Foucault (1972), claimed that instead of merely describing it, language creates social reality.

Robin Lakoff's *Language and Woman's Place* (1975) is one of the first works in the field of gender discourse that aims to identify 'the role of language in creating and maintaining social inequality between women and men' (Kendall, Tannen, 2001: 549). In her book, Lakoff expresses the importance of a linguistic study in order to uncover the social and gender inequalities due to the fact that 'an examination of language points up precisely an area in which inequity exists' as the language mirrors the existing social difference between men and women (Lakoff, 1975: 51). While Lakoff focused on the speech of women and men

by distinguishing the different characteristics of both uses of language, other scholars of the time including Dale Spender (1980) focused on the male dominating effect on language and perception. Through these different approaches the study of language and gender has developed and provides an empirical view upon the ideas of feminism at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> c.

Robin Lakoff (1975) alongside other researchers (Sunderland, 2006: Judith Baxter, 2003) that deconstructed the view upon the link between language, gender and social reality have laid the foundation for the contemporary researchers of language and gender bias. Judith Baxter (2003) recognises language as a constitutive element of creating a social reality and identity by referring to Weedon according to whom 'language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organisation and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested' as well as being 'the place where our sense of selves, our subjectivity is constructed' (Weedon, 1997:21). This cognitive aspect of processing, identifying and having access to language and information is the groundwork of Sandra Bem's highly influential work on gender schema theory (1981). It views how gender stereotypes become integrated into the material of social reality, affect the gender perception and support the existence of gender roles. The gender role is distributed and acquired through the schema, which filters and categorized the information, consequently affecting a person's gender identity.

## **1.2. Identity and gender roles**

An individual is a complex construct of numerous identities, i.e. gender, race, age, profession, each of which constitute a person's sense of self. The perception of identity has changed radically through the course of time and the modern day view on it has been largely influenced by the post-structuralism movement of philosophy, linguistics and sociolinguistics. Identity and its concept in the context of the modern social reality is discussed by Saint-Jacques (2006), who states that identity 'is never a fixed reality, a pre-given identification; it is a dynamic and evolving reality' (Saint-Jacques, 2006: 51). The same attributes can be applied to gender identity. The position of sociolinguistics is viewing gender identity as something that is 'accomplished in the course of social interaction' (Sunderland, 2006: 197). The key word in this definition provided by Sunderland (2006) is social interaction, which is constructed on the binary *act / react* in the context of society around us. Therefore, this concept of gender identity correlates with the position of post-structuralism movement and its focus on discourse creating social reality (Fairclough, 1992).

If social identity is the sense of self, then social role is the society's concept of identity based on the person's group membership. According to Eagly, Wood and Diekmann (2000: 123) the theory of social roles was created in 1980s with an aim to define the causes of sex differences and similarities in social behaviour. Through psychological research scholars found that people hold certain beliefs about the behaviour of men and women, also, that some behaviours are different and similar according to gender and various situations (Eagly, et al., 2000: 124). Thus, the research on gender roles created awareness about the associations people have about men and women, which influenced gender stereotype research that raised the question on how accurate are the associated behavioural patterns (Eagly, et al., 2000: 124). Gender roles are defined as 'the shared expectations that apply to individuals on the basis of their socially identified sex,' and they emerge from 'the activities carried out by individuals of each sex in their sex-typical occupational and family roles' (Eagly, et al., 2000: 127). Consequently, 'the characteristics required by these activities become stereotypic of women and men' (Eagly, et al., 2000: 127). According to the theory of social roles, a person's gender and occupation become intrinsically linked and are able to affect their decision-making, i.e. when confronted with decision-making people choose the option that fits their gender or professional role (Eagly, et al., 2000). A person's professional role is connected with gender role; therefore, in the situation when and if these roles create a conflict, a person becomes the object of categorization and eventually stereotyping. In the end, the conflict may lead to a negative perception of the individual due to his conflicting gender and professional roles that are created within the society. In turn, a social role and stereotyping is able to create pressure affecting one's gender and professional identity (Eagly, et al., 2000).

As identity is a changing category, constantly adapting to a new social reality, it is constantly dependant on and affected by the environment, i.e. the social reality. If the environment changes, it inevitably affects identity or how an individual's identity is perceived in a social context. These gender roles proliferate in the society through different platforms including media discourse. Thus, the recognition of gender roles in their relation to identity are important in understanding how those roles affect the individual.

The process of creating gender roles includes categorization and leads to stereotyping within the society. According to the social identity theory and the self-categorization theory, stereotyping and stereotypical imagery becomes a part of a person's 'social identity', which is defined as 'an internalisation of, often stereotypical, collective identifications' (Jenkins, 2004: 90-91). Based on the theories on identity and gender roles (Eagly, et al., 2000; Sunderland, 2006; Saint-Jacques, 2006) it is important to give an outline of the categorization process,

which leads to a similar process of applying certain characteristics and behaviour patterns to social categories – stereotyping.

### **1.3. Categorization and stereotyping**

Categorization is the process of grouping people into categories, which in sociolinguistics includes the categorization of people, their social activities and their relationships into social categories. It is important to note that categorization while being a social process which includes otherization, creation of in-groups and out-groups as well as stereotypical perception of individuals, is in itself neither harmful nor destructive. As stated by Milne (1994) ‘some categorization is necessary and normal’ as the person can make ‘accurate generalizations about others, and stereotypes function as mental “energy-saving devices” to make those generalizations efficiently’ (Milne, 1994: 37-47). According to this, categorization is a cognitive process that is at the basis of human perception: individuals perceive the social reality in terms of categories (Pütz, Robinson and Reif, 2014: 9).

This process is analysed by several researchers including Lustig and Koester (2010: 148), who describe social categorization as the practise of processing information about the other. Hinton (2000) agrees that categorization ‘is a key to perception of other people, either because the processes of cognition require us to process information efficiently and/or to avoid overloading our cognitive systems, or because the way we perceive social categories helps to maintain a positive social identity’ (Hinton, 2000: 131). As a result a person is divided into numerous categories, i.e. entrepreneur, male, which is an automatic action processed in our brains. However, due to the amount of information received, it becomes difficult to fit all of the received information into the appropriate boxes, which leads to the simplification of information.

Categorization includes the human tendency to ‘simplify the processing and organizing of information from the environment by identifying certain characteristics as belonging to certain categories of persons and events’ (2010: 149). The simplification then stems the inaccurate portrayal of the described object or person. The conceptual processing of information into categories often affects the person’s social perception and as a result ‘the characteristics of particular events, persons, or objects, once experiences, are often assumed to be typical of similar events, persons, or objects’ (Lustig and Koester, 2010: 149). This change of perception by misappropriating characteristics during the process of categorization is the basis of stereotyping.

#### **1.4. The cognitive aspect of stereotyping**

Stereotyping from the cognitive standpoint ‘simplifies otherwise excessive information flows in and about complex situations’ (Jenkins, 2014: 127). The news information that each person is constantly confronted with is automatically filtered through the known categories and creates a sense of the situation based on the individual’s experience. According to the group identification theories by Pickering (2001) and Tajfel (1981), Jenkins (2014) describes stereotyping as ‘a routine feature of human attempts to enhance predictability [...] in everyday situations of complexity and/or uncertainty’ (Jenkins, 2014: 189). Therefore, the mental process of stereotyping based on categorization facilitates the perception and understanding of the received information.

This process can be categorized according to the necessary function that stereotyping performs. McGarty, Yzerbyt and Spears give three main guiding principles to stereotyping: stereotypes are aids to explanation, they are energy saving devices and stereotypes are shared group beliefs (McGarty et al., 2002: 2-5):

- As aids to explanation, stereotypes facilitate the understanding in an environment ‘that contains too much information’ in which ‘the most adaptive response by the perceiver is to attempt to reduce this information overload by filtering out or ignoring much of it’ (McGarty et al., 2002: 2-5),

- As energy saving devices stereotypes help us to search for connections that would facilitate understanding,

- As shared group beliefs, ‘stereotypes attract little attention when they are not shared by many people’ (McGarty et al., 2002: 5).

The functional importance that stereotypes play part in the maintaining of shared group beliefs has been also mentioned by Tiefel (1981), who acknowledges the role stereotypes play in preserving group values, maintaining group ideologies and positive in-group difference (Jenkins, 2014: 90).

An interesting concept mentioned by McGarty et al. (2002) is that shared stereotypes may have no direct stimulus experience, i.e. a person may have a certain stereotype about a certain nationality without even meeting a member of this nationality (2002: 6). Therefore, a person’s gender perception may be based solely on the belief system of another or acquired through discourse. A more detailed aspect of the cognitive perception of stereotypes is defined by the schema theory.

## **1.5. Stereotyping as schema**

According to Fowler (1991: 43) ‘a schema is a chunk of unconscious knowledge, shared within a group of people and drawn upon in the process of making sense of the world.’ Just like discourse and language, schemata (plural of *schema*) is the basic concept of stereotyping as schemata are ‘projected upon the impression of sense to make experience coherent, meaningful’ (1991: 43). Therefore, stereotypes in the cognitive theory of schema are ‘categories which we project on to the world in order to make sense of it’ (Fowler, 1991: 17).

This view on stereotyping is based on a unit that is defined in Bem’s Gender schema Theory (1981) as a schema. Bem’s work in cognitive psychology renders a better understanding of how people organize social information and by doing so create mental constructs, i.e. schemata. The schema theory describes how people while analysing incoming information split it into mental categories that have been acquired through discourse and social interaction. As defined by Tate (2014) ‘Schemata aid in information processing by filtering incoming information, directing future behaviour, and making sense of past behaviour’ (Tate, 2014). This set of socially acquired mental categories then lead to the creation of stereotyping.

## **1.6. Stereotyping**

According to Fred E. Jandt (2013: 85) ‘the word *stereotyping* was first published by journalist Walter Lippmann in 1922 to describe judgements made about others on the basis of their ethnic group membership.’ Over the course of time, this term has been semantically extended and referred to as ‘judgements made on the basis of any group membership’ (Jandt, 2013: 86).

Stereotypes may stem from a direct experience with a person from a particular group or they can also stem from second-hand information or opinion. As described by Lustig and Koester (2010: 154), the ‘stereotypes that are based on second-hand opinions – that is, stereotypes that are derived from the opinions of others or from the media – tend to be more extreme, less variable from one person to another, more uniformly applied to others and more resistant to change than the stereotypes based on direct personal experiences and interactions.’ Thus, stereotypes can be cognitively created through experience and also acquired through media, which renders them more accessible and influential. In order to recognize these stereotypes in media and discourse, it is necessary to outline the integral components constructing a stereotype.

According to Perry Hinton (2000) a stereotype has three components:

• **A group of people are identified by a specific characteristic.** This includes characteristics that are meaningful ‘to the people doing the attribution’: nationality, a religious belief, ethnicity, gender, age, occupation or hair colour (Hinton, 2000: 8).

• **Additional characteristics are added to the identified group.** For example, women are assumed to react to situations more emotionally. ‘The important feature of a stereotype is the attribution of these additional characteristics to all members of the group’ (Hinton, 2000: 8).

• **Stereotypical characteristics are attributed to the person who has the identifying meaningful characteristic** (Hinton, 2000: 8). This allows us to infer that the new acquaintance has the same additional characteristics as the rest of the group.

These last characteristics then become associated with the particular group of people or as one of the elements from a gender binary female / male. When someone views the gender and the characteristics associated with it, the behaviour is the main reference point. Although not all females or males behave in such a manner, ‘they are understood as *normative* forms of behaviour, the sum total of the practices and characteristics’ that are conventionally associated with the particular gender (Sunderland, 2006: 197).

Just because something is conventionally associated and referred to a group of people does not make it automatically true. The concept of stereotypes as the combination of all three elements described by Hinton (2007) cannot be completely accurate due to the fact that each member of a group cannot be appropriated with equal set of characteristics. This view is affirmed by Lustig and Koester (2010: 154) who distinguish three ways in which stereotypes can be inaccurate:

• *Outgroup homogeny effect*, which ‘results in a tendency to regard all members of a particular group as much more similar to one another than they actually are,’

• When the group average ‘is simply wrong or inappropriately exaggerated,’

• When the positive or negative attributes are exaggerated while the opposite (positive or negative) attributes are ignored or devalued (2010: 155).

These ways can be applied to a stereotype content model to analyse the accuracy of the content. Professors Amy Cuddy and Susan Fiske have created a Stereotype Content Model (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, Xu, 2002) that includes explanations of why people make stereotypical judgments of others and what these stereotypes consist of. They state that a stereotype consists of two concepts – warmth and competence. According to Fiske et al. (2002) stereotypes include these two dimensions and that certain groups about people can be judged

as having both high warmth and low competence. These dimensions are explained as resulting from intergroup relations, for example, competition and status.

The conceptual framework of the stereotype content model is based upon two concepts, i.e. warmth and competence, and the various combinations of them result in various intergroup emotions and prejudices that are aimed toward particular social groups: 'Pity targets the warm but not competent subordinates; envy targets the competent but not warm competitors; contempt is reserved for out-groups deemed neither warm nor competent' (Fiske, et al., 2002: 879). Thus, in-group membership becomes an important aspect of stereotyping and creating judgement.

The general and socially conventionalized gender stereotype model differentiates certain female traits such as warmth and nurturance, and several male traits that include competence and confidence. These are the guiding principles that have influenced the Stereotype Content Model (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, Xu, 2002). While the content of the stereotype leads to inaccuracy in creating an objective opinion and judgement of the stereotyped person, the Stereotype Content Model reveals the dual nature of inaccurate stereotypes, i.e. stereotypes can be positive or negative. The stereotypical view of women being nurturing and gentle that stem from the feminine role that sees women as caretakers, is not a negative association in itself. According to Linda Brannon (2004), among the positive socially embedded female associations are gentleness, carefulness, empathy, responsibility and patience whereas the negative associations include weakness, dependence, incompetence and nervousness. As a contrast, positive male stereotypes mentioned by Brannon (2004) revolve around the qualities of strength, confidence, leadership and competitiveness, while the negative qualities are associated with aggressiveness and carelessness. These adjectives representing the stereotypic associations of women and men portray the archetypal members of both sexes and are often applied to highlight this association in discourse or these associations are integrated into the consensus created by the society and discourse. Therefore, these stereotypic imageries are communicated and acquired through language.

### **1.7. Linguistic features and stereotyping**

Stereotypes are based in language and this link is researched by numerous scholars. The idea of stereotypes being part of the language is supported by Jerzy Bartmiński (2009), who states that stereotypes 'reside in a language'. Also Hinton maintains a similar point of view by stating that 'stereotypes occur as part of a discourse' (Hinton, 2000: 25). However, due to the intrinsic differences of each language it is necessary to identify the types of languages

according to their relation to gender. Grammarians distinguish several factors according to which language can be classified in terms of its relation to gender.

When grouping languages according to the degree to which each language has a grammatical gender, three language groups are distinguished by grammarians: *gender neutral* languages, *grammatical gender* languages and *natural gender* languages (Prewitt-Freilino, Caswell and Laakso, 2011: 269). Gender neutral languages as the name suggests do not have gender distinctions; languages belonging to this group are Finnish, Turkish and Chinese. Grammatical gender languages, also referred to as gendered languages, are characterized by nouns that have feminine, masculine or neuter gender; for example, Latvian, German and Russian. Whereas natural gender languages distinguish gender through pronouns; this group includes English and Scandinavian languages (Prewitt-Freilino et al., 2011: 269). This categorization exists in the lexical level of linguistic description, and it consists of lexical features, also referred to as word class, that includes pronouns, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs, conjunctions, prepositions, articles and interjections. However, while the grammatical gender of English is characterized by pronouns (he, she), the description of natural gender languages excludes nouns that are directly connected to gender (girl, boy).

Another factor includes the lexical gender that is divided into three subgroups: gender specific (i.e. *mother, father*), gender neutral (i.e. *child, person*), and gender asymmetry which refers to a semantically unequal set of words (i.e. when the gender of *steward* is changed, the word *stewardess* acquires another meaning alongside the meaning of a female steward) (Prewitt-Freilino et al., 2011: 270). This grouping also includes a subgroup of false generics that refers to words that are female or male, but are conventionally used to denote both genders, for example, the generic *he* in English. This classification exists on the lexical and also stylistic and syntactic level of linguistic features because Prewitt-Freilino et al. (2011) include gender-related language expressions such as idiomatic language under the subgroup of gender asymmetry. Language expressions include phrases, which are equal to or often larger than a lexical unit; therefore, the syntactic level of linguistic description is added to the analysis of gendered language. Whereas the idiomatic language refers to the stylistic level of linguistic features, which includes idiomatic expressions and figures of speech among other features. Consequently, gender in language exists in the stylistic, syntactic and lexical levels of language.

With the help of similar research, it is possible to determine the level of gender equality existing in the particular language and its discourses, namely media discourse. The choice for

discourse analysis to focus on gender and the extent to which a discourse is gendered is based in the social context of discourse, i.e. discourse analysis reveals the existing social reality.

It is through discourse that people understand the world around them and the extent to which language and discourse is gendered affects how society visualizes and consequently reacts to gender. The use of gendered language impacts behaviour, the way people make decisions and create judgements (Prewitt-Freilino et al., 2011). Gendered language affects the judgement creation at an individual level while gendered language structures, i.e. discourses, have the potential to affect whole social structures and social reality (Prewitt-Freilino et al., 2011: 272). Accordingly, the presence of gender stereotypes in media similarly affects these cognitive processes and judgement creation because gender stereotypes reside in language and affect the gender equality of language use in a particular discourse.

Therefore it is necessary to give an overview of these linguistic features. Linguistic analysis of gender stereotypes in the present research is viewed from several levels, the lexical level, the syntactic level and the stylistic level. As stereotypes consist of one or multiple words, it is important to present an overview of lexical features, syntactic features and stylistic features as all of them are concerned with the unit of words and the written discourse.

To sum up this chapter, gender stereotypes as well as other types of stereotypes are created on the basis of categorization and schema. Stereotypes can be negative and positive, they can facilitate the understanding of the received information as well as being inaccurate representations of a group of people. Categorization, i.e. mentally placing people into categories, and stereotyping may have negative consequences due to not considering the unique characteristics of each individual. Through the process of stereotyping, every person that is part of a particular gender or ethnicity is attributed with the same stereotypical associations. Gender stereotypes due to alluding to the most noticeable and basic categories of a human are deeply embedded into the social reality. Stereotypes are based in language and through discourse they become part of the social reality and consensus.

## 2. ONLINE NEWSPAPERS

Chapter II provides a comprehensive look on media discourse, newspaper genre, online newspapers, cybergenre, media, representation, online media and the influence of social power on news. The language of the online newspapers is affected by the social power and the structure of powerful social classes. In order to reveal this connection and show how it is constructed it is important to give an overview of media discourse, power structure, representation, schema and consensus.

### 2.1. Media discourse and newspapers

Media discourse is a concept that includes a vast type of texts and genres that are mutually connected. Media discourse is a structure that encloses numerous platforms from where people acquire information and news such as TV news broadcasts, online and print newspapers and magazines. The newest advances in technologies have created a new online newspaper medium the discourse of which is based in media discourse paradigm.

Numerous researchers that have studied the concept of discourse (Foucault, 1972; Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Fairclough, 1992) maintain that discourse provides meaning and by doing that it controls our activities. Discourses do not describe things, they do things (Potter & Wetherell, 1987: 6). The set of ideas underlying this concept were formed by the famous post-structuralist Michael Foucault, by stating that discourse is constructed of ‘practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak’ (Foucault, 1972: 49). This is supported by Parker, who states that a discourse is “a system of statements which constructs an object” (1992: 5). This function of discourse and its effect on the creation of images provided by the writer contributes to the social reality of a person. Also, a constant use of similar lexis and points of views in the same discourse can, as described by Potter and Wetherell (1987), and Fairclough (1992), provide a particular meaning of numerous concepts and through this process control the activities of a person.

According to Colleen Cotter (2001: 416), ‘the discourse of the news media encapsulates two key components: the news story, or spoken or written text; and the process involved in producing the texts’ and she continues by saying that the text of media discourse ‘encodes values and ideologies that impact on and reflect the larger world.’ However, this process of encoding and reflection cannot be solely attributed to media discourse as it is a central concept of discourse studies.

Any discourse, especially representational discourse, is viewed from a particular angle, which stems from the inherent quality of language, which is 'not a clear window but a refracting, structuring medium' (Fowler, 1991: 10). The same descriptive features can be attributed to news reporting. News stories are regarded as different from other texts due to their elements and function which are at times contradictory. The news report is often regarded as a faithful and factual representation of reality while Coleen Cotter (2001) describes it as a nonlinear factual representation of reality. This opinion is supported by Fowler (1991), who describes it as a sociological representation of reality.

There have been attempts how to control the language in newspapers. According to Ralph Fasold, Hary Yamada, David Robinson and Steven Barish's research on language planning in newspaper editorials (1990) numerous newspaper editorial policies have attempted to create a less gender-biased newspaper language. These policies include the publication of manuals, handbooks that have been influenced by researches on gender discourse, notably the findings of Ribin Lakoff's (1975) study woman's language, the language used by women and to describe women (1990: 522). Nevertheless, news reporting is often viewed as either the process of representing reality or a medium that is inherently biased. In order to counter these claims it is important to analyse the medium in the social and economic context.

## **2.2. News medium**

As stated by Danuta Reah (2002), 'the newspapers in the West exist within a free market system' therefore in order to appeal to readers and produce profit the newspaper alongside news consist of comments, advertising and entertainment (2002: 9). Compared to the paper version of the newspaper the online version can encompass a wider spectrum of articles. The articles appearing in print are more subjected to a more serious selection process by journalists because each newspaper has only a certain amount of pages available.

The social context is often analysed by including the idea of how reliable and true can news be if the creation of news reports is influenced by the powerful social classes. This aspect is analysed by numerous researchers including the world-renown linguist Roger Fowler (1991), who states that the media can never be genuinely neutral, and Andrea Mayr (2008), who supports a similar opinion. According to Mayr the process of journalists selecting articles as being newsworthy is based on their professional knowledge and experience of what constitutes a newsworthy report; he also states that the sociological analysis of news shows that 'newsworthiness is less to do with an instinct and more to do with internalizing a set of

arbitrary values that have become established over time through institutional practices' (Mayr, 2008: 73). Whereas, Fowler states that 'because the institutions of news reporting and representation are socially, economically and politically situated, all news is always reported from some particular angle' (Fowler, 1991: 10).

In order to elaborate this point of view, Fowler (1991) presents a hierarchical system of news values devised by Jonathan Galtung and Mari Ruge:

- 1) **Frequency** refers to the fact that an event is likely to be reported if its duration is near the publication frequency of the newspaper,
- 2) **Threshold** refers to the size of an event that makes it more newsworthy, i.e. a flood that covers large areas and damages numerous houses instead of one,
- 3) **Unambiguity** refers to clearly understandable news stories,
- 4) **Meaningfulness** refers to the proximity and relevance of the news event in reference to the country and culture of the particular news medium,
- 5) **Consonance** denotes the categories of news events that people want or expect to happen,
- 6) **Unexpectedness** denotes the quality of surprise or uniqueness of the news event,
- 7) **Continuity** refers to the news stories that have been already deemed newsworthy, thus they will continue to be focused on,
- 8) **Composition** is based upon the availability of similar news stories that can be included alongside each other,
- 9) **Reference to elite nations** denotes the mentioning of a powerful or influential nation,
- 10) **Reference to elite people** includes the mention of elite people,
- 11) **Reference to persons** denotes the personalization of news events,
- 12) **Reference to something negative** promotes an emotional reaction of empathy or disapproval.

Each of these values are hierarchically presented and are the basic principles to the selection of articles presenting newsworthy news events.

### **2.3. Newspapers and online medium**

The emergence of online newspapers can be traced back to the second half of the 20th century when Bruce Parrello created the first online newspaper in 1974 at the University of Illinois, two decades later the online newspaper genre flourished (Gunter, 2003). By the mid-1990s the online editions of newspapers started to increase; alongside many other newspapers

around the world, also the British newspapers *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times* published their online newspaper editions in 1994 and 1996 respectively.

The popularity of the online newspapers have grown and now it is in many countries the primary source of news, which has forced many print newspapers to be published online or even stop the printing of hardcopies thus creating online only editions. The specific differences between print and online newspapers include the visual layout, the access of information through hyperlinks and the fast update of news presented, which is unmatched in efficiency and the acquisition of information to print media. The differences between the print editions and online editions are affected by new communication medium and, as stated by Shepherd and Watters (1998), these changes have created a new genre – cyberggenre.

## 2.4. Cyberggenre

It is generally acknowledged that an online newspaper is a web edition of the original print version or a medium that is separate from any print version. However, according to Ihlstrom and Akesson, over time online newspapers have ‘evolved from merely replacing their printed counterpart, changing into variants of the printed edition to become a novel cyberggenre’ (2004: 2). These cyberggenres are emerging in the news media as a reaction to the technological advances of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and this separate genre of the communication medium has changed the perception, visual layout and content.

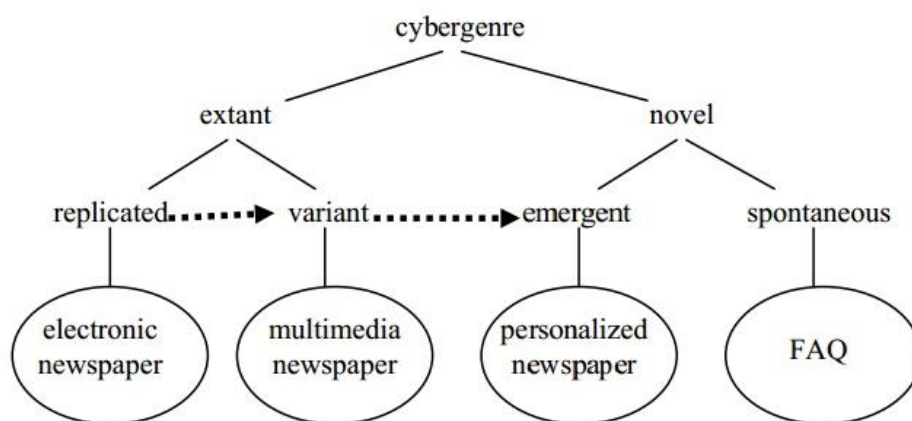


Figure 1. The taxonomy of the cyberggenre. Shepherd, M. A., Watters, C. R., & Kennedy, A. (2004). *Cyberggenre: Automatic Identification of Home Pages on the Web*. *J. Web Eng.*, 3(3-4), 236-251.

In order to define the cyberggenre, Shepherd and Watters (1998) divide it into two main classes of subgenres. As figure 1 shows, the cyberggenre is divided into *extant* and *novel*

subgenres. The novel subgenre of cybergenre consists of those platforms that have originated and developed in this communication medium and have no real equivalent in other media; this subgenre can be divided into emergent and spontaneous types (Shepherd and Watters, 1998: 2). However, the extant subgenre is described as based on genre existing in other types of non-computer media, i.e. paper, and brought to a computer environment (Shepherd and Watters, 1998: 2). A typical representative of this subgenre is the online newspaper, therefore, in the following examples the online newspaper will be the source of reference. The extant subgenre can be further divided into two types: one is the replicated type of newspaper and the second is the variant type of newspaper. The variant type, which includes the multimedia newspaper, which is more common and widespread nowadays when most of the online newspapers can be considered as representative of the variant type.

An example of the emergent type assimilation with the variant type of cybergenre is the inclusion of blogs into online newspapers, such as *The Guardian*. These blogs are part of the online newspaper, but do not appear in the print editions, due to the fact that the blog is a medium that emerged from the novel subgenre. Therefore, blogs are a part of the news medium alongside other articles published in the online and print versions. Due to the new communication medium, i.e. the internet, the newspaper medium is changing and appeals to a wider audience, which is an important factor of creating consensus and an intrinsic element of social representation.

## **2.5. Representation and consensus**

Representations are intrinsically linked with language and the media. Therefore, the wider audience a medium of news acquires, the more prominent and influential the representation of an object or idea becomes. According to Hinton, mass media are involved in 'the development and maintenance of social representations' (Hinton, 2000: 161). This statement is supported by Fowler (1991: 25) who applies the concept to the medium of newspapers and claims that 'representation, in the Press as in all other kinds of media and discourse, is a constructive practice.' Fowler provides a reasoning for this concept by maintaining that events and beliefs are impossible to communicate neutrally because 'they have to be transmitted through some medium with its own structural features, and these structural features are already impregnated with social values which make up a potential perspective on events' (Fowler, 1991: 25). Therefore, the events and ideas are filtered through a discursive social medium in order to get communicated to a wider audience, but at the same time this information acquires a certain social representation.

The language of media discourse thus creates its own representation of reality as described by Stewart Hall, who states that ‘the language employed will thus be the newspaper’s own version of the language of the public to whom it is principally addressed’ (Fowler 1991: 40). As a result of this, the social representation can be internalised through the process of social interaction as described by Sunderland (2006). The concept of newspaper medium being a constructive practice is based upon the idea of schema, which is a mental structure that categorizes acquired information and is based on the discursive representation of social reality the aim of which is the creation of consensus (Fowler, 1991). Consensus has a political and economic origin and stems from the wish of the government and business to ‘relate to a population’ which in turn accepts the general concept of ‘the rightness of the status quo’ and holds ‘certain specific beliefs’ (1991: 49).

The grouping of people is the basis of creating consensus, which includes the way people both regard themselves and view others as part of a group. According to Fowler (1991: 49) ‘consensus assumes that for a given grouping of people, it is a matter of fact that the interests of the whole population are undivided, held in common; and that the whole population acknowledges this ‘fact’ by subscribing to a certain set of beliefs [...]’ The consensus is created by the discursive representation of the society, which in turn is affected by the structure of the society. This process is described by Fowler, who states that consensus is built from ‘basic-level terms extend through a language’s vocabulary [...]’ and ‘they are the cornerstones in the coding of a community’s experience’ (1991: 56).

As a result, people are able to categorize the received information based on the already known and established facts, i.e. consensus. Thus, while consensus lays the groundwork to facilitate understanding of new information through categorization and stereotypes, the power structure affects this perception.

## **2.6. Media and power**

Power and media are two concepts that are closely connected and the objects of research for many researchers. The social power is built upon a power base of ‘privileged access to scarce social resources, such as force, money, status, fame, knowledge, information, “culture” or indeed various forms of public discourse and communication’(van Dijk, 2001: 355). The concept of social power is defined in terms of control and the actors that have power, gain control through this privileged access. Such power is gained by journalists who have knowledge and information, nevertheless, as stated by van Dijk (2001) this power and control is not absolute as the target audience can choose to resist or comply, i.e. the newspaper

audience can view it as natural and accept the received information as absolute truth or resist it completely. Therefore, media is both a form of discourse and a power form, which is usually described as a passive form of control. Furthermore, there can be distinguished two levels of control: the control of newspapers to choose the appropriate or newsworthy topics and the control of the media discourse itself (van Dijk, 2001). The latter level of control has been widely researched to show how 'recipients tend to accept beliefs, knowledge, and opinions' from a trustworthy source of information and news unless it contradicts their beliefs or experiences (van Dijk, 2001: 357). Furthermore, people may not be available to contradict the presented information due to their lack of relevant information. Thus, understanding the role power plays in media discourse is of vital importance. Fowler (1991) describes the importance of the situation by concluding that 'people are not in general trained to see through the veils of media representation, and massive educational advances would be necessary in order to produce significant number of critical readers who could discount the bias' (1991: 11).

To sum up, the chapter provides the overview of the constructing principles of online newspapers and news media discourse by analysing the works of Potter and Wetherell (1987), and Fairclough (1992) who state the importance of discourse in creating a social reality. The social reality is perceived through discourse, and discourses have the potential to affect whole social structures and social reality. According to Fowler (1991) the media can never be genuinely neutral because the media discourse alongside other types of discourse is viewed from a particular angle. News reports, which are the constructing elements of news media discourse are influenced by the consensus on what is newsworthy within the society, and the consensus is affected by the powerful social classes.

The following chapter concerns the methodology of the present research.

### 3. METHODOLOGY

The current chapter describes the methodology of the present research. First, the research material is defined including the criteria of choosing the particular British online newspapers and their relevance to the topic of the present research. Further, the research method is defined including the theoretical background of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and Fairclough's (1992) three-dimensional model.

#### 3.1. Research material

The empirical part of the present research includes the analysis of gender stereotypes in articles covering business in two popular British online newspapers *The Guardian* and *Daily Mail*. Two aspects are considered when selecting both newspapers – the social class of the readership and the popularity of the newspaper. The Guardian positions itself as a centre left newspaper and *Daily Mail* positions itself as a conservative newspaper, consequently the news events are reported from different standpoints.

One of the focuses of the present research is the widespread availability of media discourse and how the gender stereotypes that are included affect the perception of gender in the society. Therefore, an important criteria of choosing the research material is the availability, popularity and readership of a given online newspaper in the society, namely the United Kingdom. In order to select two popular newspapers with different readerships, data was gathered from the National Readership Survey, which since its establishment in 1956 'provides the most authoritative and valued audience research' covering over 250 of Britain's major newsbrands and magazines (Online 1). The methodology of the National Readership includes a survey of 36 000 people annually to get the print data and an estimation of the mobile traffic, a review of web traffic by analysing a panel of 75 000 computer users and the data from mobile phone networks (Online 2).

According to the data published by The National Readership Survey (NRS), the two newspapers *The Guardian* and *Daily Mail* are among the most popular print and online newspapers in the country, with *Daily Mail* taking the leading position. In the estimates about the monthly national newspaper readership in 2014 produced by The National Readership Survey (*Table 1.*), it is revealed that the online versions of *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* are popular sources of news.

Title	Net readership	Print	Computer	Mobile/tablet
Daily Mail	23,449,000	10,636,000	11,318,000	9,908,000
Daily Mirror	17,484,000	6,847,000	6,060,000	7,941,000
Daily Telegraph	16,357,000	3,923,000	9,358,000	7,016,000
The Guardian	16,314,000	3,653,000	10,488,000	6,824,000

*Table.1 Monthly national newspapers readership in 2014, the top five newspapers according to the net readership. (Online 2)*

The online newspapers *The Guardian* and *Daily Mail* have been chosen because they are the most popular online newspapers within their social class category. The NRS has created a social grade that measures the readership of each newspaper according to the social class, which is divided into two groups – ABC1 and C2DE. The category of ABC1 represents the upper and middle classes, while C2DE represents the working class (Online 2). By comparing the data provided by the NRS which shows the readership estimates of the time period between January and December 2014 (Online 2), 90.2 % of *The Guardian* readership is from the ABC1 group with the remaining 9.8 % being the C2DE group, and for *Daily Mail* the percentage is lower, i.e. 64.1 % are from ABC1 and 35.9 % are from the C2DE group.

According to the data provided by the NRS, among the four above mentioned newspapers, *The Guardian* has the highest percentage of readers from the ABC1 demographic while the *Daily Mail* has a larger readership from the C2DE demographics and thus both newspapers represent a different social class. Both newspapers have different audiences according to their social class and are positioned either as a conservative (*Daily Mail*) or centre-left newspaper (*The Guardian*).

### **3.2. Research method**

The method of research chosen for the empirical part of the present research is the qualitative research method. It was chosen as the most suitable because the research is not aimed to define the frequency of the descriptions containing stereotypical judgements about gender but to analyse their application, meaning and effect. The qualitative research method provides a framework in which to more deeply analyse gender stereotypes and the linguistic features it contains in order to show of what features a gender biased language consists of. In order to locate references to stereotypical judgement and descriptive statements, numerous

instances of stereotypical imagery were collected by the author of the present research. To make a more detailed analysis a second method was applied – Fairclough’s (1992) three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis.

### **3.2.1. Critical discourse analysis**

The present research applies the method and theory Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Teun A. van Dijk, an acclaimed scholar and one of the founders of Critical discourse studies, defines CDA as:

*a type of discourse analytical research that principally studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and equality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysis take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality (2001: 352).*

The origins of the CDA method can be traced back to 1970s when critical linguistics emerged and influenced the field of discourse studies to create a ‘different “mode” or “perspective” of theorizing, analysis, and application’ (van Dijk, 2001: 352). An important aspect that has to be taken into consideration is the role that the particular discourse plays in the society, i.e. discourse and the social context are inseparable.

The CDA has been extensively researched and applied to numerous discourses, notable scholars include Ruth Wodak (1997), Norman Fairclough (1992) and Roger Fowler (1979, 1991), and due to the diverse characteristics and functions of various discourses CDA does not have a unitary theoretical framework; however, in order to realize its aims, researchers of CDA must meet the following requirements:

- 1) The research must be “better” than other research in order to be accepted’ (van Dijk, 2001: 353),
- 2) The primary focus of the research are social problems and political issues,
- 3) ‘Empirically adequate critical analysis of social problems is usually multidisciplinary’ (van Dijk, 2001: 353),
- 4) Instead of describing, the research is required to explain discourse structures in terms of properties of social interaction and social structure,
- 5) CDA specifically ‘focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society’ (van Dijk, 2001: 353).

As stated above, different discourses require different frameworks of analysis and as the present research aims to analyse gender stereotyping in online newspapers, the method must be more specifically distinguished in order to correspond with the particular discourse.

Numerous researchers have analysed media discourse by applying CDA, the most influential of which are Fairclough (1992) and Fowler (1991). The research and works by Fowler (1991) follow the tradition of critical analysis of media in Britain, especially the contribution of the researchers from Glasgow University Media Group and the University of Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural studies who have introduced the concept of news always being reported from a particular angle ‘because the institutions of news reporting and representations are socially, economically and politically situated’ (Fowler, 1991: 10).

### 3.2.2. Fairclough’s three-dimensional model

Fairclough as one of the most influential researchers of CDA created the three-dimensional conception of discourse that has three levels that represent three analytical traditions:

- 1) *Text*: ‘a close textual and linguistic analysis within language’ (Fairclough, 1992: 72-3);
- 2) *Discursive practice* (production, distribution, consumption): ‘the macrosociological tradition of analysing social practices in relation to social structures’ (Fairclough, 1992: 72-3);
- 3) *Social practice*: ‘the interpretivist or microsociological tradition of seeing social practice as something which people actively produce and make sense of on the basis of shared common sense procedures’ (Fairclough, 1992: 72-3).

The three-dimensional model looks at texts in relation to their ideological framework and the underlying power structure of the society that affects the discursive representation of reality. The texts were chosen according to the stereotypes they include. From the point of view of the three analytical traditions, the text unveils its structural connection to power, society, ideology, and the existing bias within the society. The gender stereotypes selected in the 20 articles from both online newspapers are aimed to show the connection of professional and gender identities as well as how social class affects the perception of professional and gender identities. The articles that are researched are the ones containing descriptions or mentions of people and their jobs, i.e. professions of people.

Each gender stereotype that is selected from the news reports is analysed from the three traditions outlined by the three-dimensional model. On the level of the *Text*, gender stereotypes are analysed according to their linguistic features, i.e. are they adjective, noun, verb phrases or metaphors. On the level of the *Discursive practice*, the article containing the gender stereotypes is defined newsworthy according to the system of news values (Fowler,

1991) and the gender stereotypes is analysed according to the consensus of the in-group beliefs within the news media. On the level of *Social practice*, the gender stereotypes are analysed according to their membership to the particular function of the stereotype in context. As well as how the gender roles, gender identities, professional identities, categorization and power structure create gender stereotypes.

To sum up, the empirical part of the research analyses the linguistic features of gender stereotypes in two British online newspapers. The newspaper *The Guardian* and *Daily Mail* were chosen according to their popularity and because each of the newspapers have a readership that differs in social class. Fairclough's (1992) three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis has been chosen for the methodology of the research. The three-dimensional model is chosen due to its relevance with the discussed topic that is linked with the representation of social reality and the power structure within the society.

The following chapter includes the empirical analysis of the research.

## **4. ANALYSIS OF STEREOTYPING IN ONLINE NEWSPAPERS**

In order to answer the proposed research question which involve analysing gender stereotypes in British online newspapers' *The Guardian* and *Daily Mail* articles about business and finding out what linguistic features construct a gender stereotype, the author of the present research applies Fairclough's (1992) three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis. The empirical analysis of each newspaper is divided into four parts – gender binary, femininity, masculinity, and gender and leadership. These four parts show different types of gender stereotypes and how they are connected to the professional identity of business people.

### **4.1. The analysis of articles in *The Guardian***

The British national daily newspaper *The Guardian* takes the fourth place according to the British net readership in 2014. The online version of the newspaper is more popular than the print version, which could be explained by the availability of free content that includes a wide variety of articles on numerous topics. The topic of business including markets, investments, small businesses and large corporations is discussed in the articles available in the section *Business*. This section of the newspaper encloses standard articles similar to those of the print counterpart, and also the entries of blogs that cover the same topics, are under of *The Guardian* brand and are composed by professionals in the business sphere. The articles that are available discussing this topic vary in length and less so in style as the newspaper has a common standpoint. The newspaper positions itself as a centre left newspaper, therefore, the news events are reported from a common standpoint, which applies to the use of language and the portrayal of gender in the newspaper. The 10 newspaper articles selected for the analysis are approximately 13000 words long. The gender stereotypes found in the articles on business are divided into three subchapters: the gender binary, femininity, and gender and leadership.

#### **4.1.1. The gender binary**

The articles on business chosen from the online newspaper *The Guardian* include cases were the gender binary, female / male, are presented as opposites and associated with different values, features and qualities, thus creating a divide between the two genders. The mention of this gender binary in the context of business and professional identities indicates that the qualities and actions of an individual or a group of individuals are connected with

their gender instead of their capabilities and competence. In other words, the qualities of a person or a group of people are explained through the socially embedded gender roles.

The feminine and masculine features that correspond with the female and male roles are a part of a society's language environment. Individuals are confronted with the representation of stereotypical gender dialectic in everyday life, notably through the media. Consequently, the same gender dialectic is applied to the representation of the business world and the valued characteristics in this field become woven together with conventionalized gender specific values as shown in the following example ('Ellis, T. Sustainability leadership requires a combination of masculine and feminine values,' 5 July 2011):

*The blending of economic and social value creation requires a combination of so-called 'masculine' and 'feminine' values with, among other things, competition, linear and rational thinking on the one side, and cooperation, holistic and intuitive thinking on the other* (Online 5).

While the adjective *so-called* lessens a direct association of the afterwards mentioned qualities with female or male gender and the division of values in masculine and feminine values is rendered less direct by the placement of quotation marks, this gender dialectic that becomes associated with certain characteristics is maintained as a valid reference point. This example clearly shows the presence of consensus with the help of which the news media facilitates the communication of ideas and information on the basis of accepted gender differences. These gender stereotypes are drawn up with precise lines by using nouns (*competition, cooperation*) and noun phrases (*linear and rational thinking, holistic and intuitive thinking*). The noun phrases and nouns function as labels for each gender and although they are not presented directly by adding quotation marks and the adjective *so-called*, these associations present the newspaper's own schematic representation of reality which is based on the consensus of gender binary and gender roles (Fowler, 1991).

These gender specific features are most often described by metaphorical noun phrases *feminine side* and *masculine side*, which label some human qualities and characteristics as typical of women or men. In an article about economics ('Elvis of economics takes a bow,' 20 March 2005) the metaphorical noun phrase *feminine side* is used to describe the showing of *inner feelings* (Online 8). This corresponds with the gender stereotype of women being emotional and often associated with weakness. The noun phrase in itself is not an example of negative gender stereotypes as portrayed by the following headline ('Wall Street strives to get in touch with its feminine side,' 30 January 2011): 'Wall Street strives to get in touch with its feminine side' (Online 9). In this example the noun phrase is opposed with another noun phrase that is a negative male stereotype – *macho posturing* and *macho image* (Online 9). In

this case the masculine side is associated with negative features, which when contrasted by the mention of a feminine side shows the feminine side as a positive change within Wall Street. A more radical view on the characteristics of the masculine side is described when connecting it with a more aggressive working style:

*Zimmerman says that boards probably appoint women to lead companies through hard times in part because today's generation of workers – which includes more women – responds better to **emotional excitement** than it does to the traditionally **masculine dictator-leadership style** of previous generations* (Online 6).

In this example ('Women CEOs: Why companies in crisis hire minorities - and then fire them,' 5 August 2014) the gender stereotypes are expressed through noun phrases and the article is newsworthy due to the US being one of the elite nations. Furthermore, the mention of contrasting gender representations connecting masculinity and *dictator-leadership style*, and femininity with emotional excitement create gender stereotypes that are based on the embedded gender roles.

The gender dialectic is also represented in reference to different values in another article ('Why the world's most valuable brands embrace women on boards,' 18 December 2013), which states that 'Successful companies consider both masculine and feminine values' (Online 7). According to this observation, values as well as characteristic features are divided based on gender, and similarly to the metaphor depicting the navigation of femininity in a masculine business world, the article claims that 'All too often women have to *adapt their behaviours* and *squeeze their natural values* into a *masculine-led working culture*' (Online 7). Here the values are presented as natural, innate qualities that are inevitably due to clash with the masculine-led working culture, which is assumed to include a different value system. The stereotypic portrayal of different values that can be attributed to both genders is shown through verb phrases (*adapt their behaviours*, *squeeze their natural values*) which show the attempt to fit (*adapt*, *squeeze*) female values in the business world that is portrayed to consist of male values.

While the female stereotypes are mostly positive, when compared to male stereotypes they are presented as opposites, which further maintain the stigma of business world being separated in two parts where actions and decisions are characterised and labelled according to their compliance with the stereotypical gender roles. This leads to each gender being allocated specific roles in business. In the previously mentioned articles the gender binary is mostly presented having different or opposite values and qualities, while other articles found in the online newspaper include the description of one gender without contrasting it with the other. In the chosen articles the gender that is represented in such manner is the female gender.

#### 4.1.2. Femininity

The articles in The Guardian displaying female gender roles are connected to physical appearance as an important indicator of gender. The physical appearance is an important component of a gender stereotype and the examples of the stereotypes that emphasises this element in the context of an individual's gender identity and professional identity, show what ideas are part of the consensus promoted by the particular newspaper.

The following examples from an article about the role of physical appearance in the business world ('Entrepreneur Barbie: stop telling girls that business values appearance,' 7 July 2014) show the perception of 'true entrepreneurial women' according to the female contributor who is a professional in the field of business. 'But tell me, how many true entrepreneurial women are supermodel thin, have luscious locks, pearly white teeth and pert boobs as well as a brain and a successful career?' (Online 3). With this the author directly links the description of a person's appearance with the individual's level of professional success and wisdom. The stereotypical imagery of female beauty is portrayed through noun phrases (*luscious locks, pearly white teeth, pert boobs*) and an adjective phrase (*supermodel thin*), whereas the description of mental capacity is expressed through noun phrases (*have a brain, successful career*). By linking these characteristics with the conjunction *as well as*, the author expresses her sceptical view on the possible combination of these characteristics when describing 'a true entrepreneurial woman'. This example shows the clash between the perceived professional identity of women and the physical appearance, which is part of the gender identity. Thus, stereotypical imagery of female appearance does not mix with the imagery of a businesswoman, which includes being flawless and possibly less associated with typical feminine physical appearance.

The role of feminine appearance and femininity is frequently mentioned in connection with a woman's position within the business world. In another article ('Helena Morrissey: "If I was doing it for a popularity contest, I probably wouldn't say anything,"' 27 March 2015) this position is expressed through a metaphor: 'navigating femininity in a male-dominated world' (Online 4). In this instance femininity is seen as a vehicle that tries to find a way to its destination and implies the ability to steer or manage this in an environment that is dominated and defined by male influence. This structural conceptual metaphor aptly connects the environment, which the vehicle tries to navigate through, with the male domination. This implies that business world is not only dominated by males but that the set of rules on the road to the destination are set by men. This imagery again contrasts femininity with the

business world and reveals that the clash is caused by male dominance in the field. But most importantly the concept of femininity when juxtaposed with the opposite gender, i.e. masculine, creates a contrast and intensifies the assumption and the embedded social gender roles that state the difference between the two genders in a working environment. Thus, the stereotypic imagery of men being the dominators and women the ones who have to navigate the waters of the business world, further create the division between the genders in the business context. This division is portrayed through the idea of existing opposite feminine and masculine features.

Metaphors are an important feature when representing the female gender in the chosen articles. These linguistic features are based on cognitive mapping of two ideas, as a result creating powerful associations. For example, a headline ('Dare nine men defy the siren call of Christine Lagarde?' 3 June 2012) that creates a gender stereotypic imagery: 'Dare nine men defy the siren call of Christine Lagarde?' (Online 11). This is a negative metaphorical representation which is based on a gender stereotypic association with physical appearance of women, which is described to affect their work and business. The derogatory association with a siren is based on her gender identity and high power role. The writer further extends this imagery by stating that men are faced to 'resist the charms of Christine Lagarde, beguiling head of the International Monetary Fund' (Online 11). Both noun phrases presented in this description focus on her physical appearance, which is a constitutive element of gender stereotyping. The metaphor of siren is further expanded and creates a more demeaning imagery which also is based on the stereotyped object's national identity. 'Surely the Bank's nonet of middle-aged men wouldn't consider frustrating the French temptress?' (Online 11). This example presents another noun phrase, which further solidifies the gender based stereotypic portrayal of women being temptresses who achieve success based on their physical appearance and gender identity.

Another stereotypical portrayal of women found in the chosen articles from *The Guardian* connect the position of women in workplaces with their family life and family role. According to the gender roles women are the caregivers and solely responsible for the upbringing of children. A similar representation is part of the discursive schema of news media that portray the role of family in professional life. In an article ('Anne-Marie Slaughter: Gender parity is a human issue, not just a women's issue,' 7 March 2014), men are suggested 'to take action - and take on more caregiving - to help women advance in their careers' (Online 10). The verb phrase (*take on more caregiving to help women advance in their careers*) suggests the presence of a stereotypic imagery in which males are not the primary

caregivers in the family. This verb phrase shows that women need help in order to move on in their careers by allocating some tasks to men who are less capable and willing to stay at home or make an equal participation in the family life, which is an embedded male role as the provider for the family, not the caregiver. The verb phrase generalizes the role of men in the family and portray them as less caring, which is a basic inaccuracy in gender stereotypes described by Lustig and Koester (2010). Women being caring and nurturing is a positive stereotype. By specially selecting women to be attributed with the positive stereotype of being nurturing and gentle, these qualities are shown as less applicable or not at all with the male role in the family.

Furthermore, the ability to juggle the family life and work responsibilities which is often characterized as a burden, is described in another article (‘Helena Morrissey: “If I was doing it for a popularity contest, I probably wouldn’t say anything,”’ 27 March 2015) as a characteristic of a ‘superwoman’ (Online 4). This metaphorical label put on the accomplishment of balancing family life and work as something supernatural and unusual. With the use of this colourful comparison, the object of stereotyping is made to appear as a rarity, which in turn creates the association of it being impossible to achieve without some special abilities. This again is a result of intersecting professional identity and gender role, which leads to viewing these women as a rarity. The gender representation, which is based on these stereotypes is a positive one and may create a positive imagery and changing opinion of women in high status roles (Eagly, Wood and Diekmann, 2000).

The gender as portrayed in the previous subchapters plays an important part when creating representations in the news media texts. Gender is portrayed as an important element in defining leadership in the business world.

#### **4.1.3. Gender and leadership**

The job positions in the business world are arranged in a hierarchical system. According to the embedded social perceptions of these positions, the highest ranking jobs are occupied by men, while women take a more subordinate position within this system. The gender stereotypes found in the chosen articles aim towards portraying women as outsiders or less suited for leadership within the business world. The description of women in leadership position are found to involve the mention of such adjectives as *abrasive* (Online 22). This portrayal of women in leadership (‘Carol Bartz,’ 8 March 2011) negatively characterizes women and this negative stereotyping is due to the clash between the socially perceived

female roles as occupying lower position jobs and their professional identities. The connection between leadership and gender is seen in the news values of the newspaper.

When the story of a high standing and high profile job gets occupied by a woman the story is picked up and mentioned the first time, i.e. a new CEO or member of the board, then the female stereotypes become more relevant. It is newsworthy that a female has reached a high status job. Whereas when it is a low position job mentioned, it is less important. This stems from the archetypic portrayal of women and the persistent gender role that views women as less capable of acquiring high position jobs. Therefore, the higher status the more newsworthy it is that the position has been taken by a woman. The news articles portraying a different power structure are more newsworthy due to the news being unusual.

This is usually the case when depicting women in high position jobs, and the news media discourse highlights this by describing them as “non-traditional” CEOs’ (Online 6). This negative gender stereotypic imagery (Women CEOs: Why companies in crisis hire minorities - and then fire them,’ 5 August 2014) represented by an adjective (*non-traditional*) is based on the gender role of women occupying lower professional rank within professional world and show the clash between the gender role and the professional identity of a person, which in turn becomes categorized as being unusual or an outsider. This perception of women occupying a non-traditional role create the assumption that these cases are the exception to the rule and not to be associated with the high position, the imagery of which can change the reader’s perception and judgement (Prewitt-Freilino, Caswell and Laakso, 2011).

While the gender stereotypes showing distinction of women and men in leadership position can be traced in the articles, the examples are rare in *The Guardian* and not very illustrative.

#### **4.2. The analysis of articles in *Daily Mail***

The British daily middle-market tabloid newspaper *Daily Mail* is the leader among other newspapers in Britain according to the net readership in 2014. The online version of the newspaper is more popular than the print version due to the availability of a larger amount of articles presented, the availability of photos which are an important addition to the articles and the availability of up to last minute news, which are all characteristic of cybergenre. The newspaper focuses on a number of topics and the topic of business which cover similar fields as *The Guardian* - markets, investments, small businesses, large corporations – which in *Daily Mail* are available in the section *Money*. This section of the newspaper encloses standard articles similar to those of the print counterpart. The articles that are available

discussing this topic vary in length and less so in style as the newspaper has a common standpoint. The newspaper positions itself as a conservative newspaper, therefore, the news events are reported from a common standpoint, which applies to the use of language and the portrayal of gender in the newspaper. The author of the present research has chosen the same number of articles (10 articles on business) from the online newspaper *Daily Mail*; however, these texts are approximately 8 000 words long, which is 5000 words less when compared with the collection of articles from *The Guardian*. This is due to the shorter length of the news articles in *Daily Mail*.

The characteristic features representing femininity and masculinity are presented in *Daily Mail* as widely and diversely as in *The Guardian*. Nevertheless, the angle from which both news mediums view gender representations are slightly different.

#### **4.2.1. The gender binary**

The gender stereotypes found in the chosen *Daily Mail* article similarly contrast the female and male gender by comparing the stereotypical qualities and characteristics, which are embedded in the society.

In the context of investment the metaphorical noun phrase *feminine side* is associated with earning money, where an article titled ‘A woman’s touch reaps dividends’ advises readers to ‘get in touch with’ their ‘feminine side’ (Online 13). The suggestion is supported by the claim that metaphorically connects driving with safe and careful investment practices: ‘Insurers have long known that women are safer drivers than men’ (Online 13). The writer in this article (‘Investment Extra: How a woman's touch reaps dividends,’ 27 June 2011) contrasts stereotypical female role associated qualities as carefulness with male qualities which are implied to be opposite. By applying a gender dialectical framework onto the qualities suggested as necessary in the investment business, the author creates gender stereotypes that generalize the individuals representing the particular field of business. The writer states that women are ‘generally more cautious, less prone to panic than their male counterparts, and learn very quickly from their mistakes’ (Online 13). Similar features to those singled out in this example appear in another article where human traits are categorized according to the gender dialectic. For instance, in another article females (‘Why women are better investors,’ 15 February 2000) are described as less daring therefore ‘far more cautious’ than men and that ‘women suffer from lower levels of self-confidence and ambition’ (Online 16). While the first gender stereotype is a positive stereotype showing women as cautious and careful when making business decisions, the second example shows that the lack of self-

confidence and ambition is a disease or an illness that hurts their efforts in the business world. The verb *suffer* is very powerful, creates associations with being ill and forms a negative gender stereotype. In this metaphor the author maps the imagery of an illness to the lack of qualities that are associated with a particular gender – female. Consequently, an imagery is created with females being portrayed as naturally unable or unfit for a particular job or profession.

Profession is portrayed as an important part of a person's identity in the following example ('O'Neill's Quest to make ICI fragrant,' 13 June 2001). A male chief executive is described as getting 'in touch with his feminine side' due to the fact that his company is going into the business of luxury perfumes (Online 14). And the opposite of femininity is the negative stereotype connecting masculinity with macho. 'Once one of the most macho of companies, ICI has now turned its hand to making the aromas that go into luxury perfumes' (Online 14). Thus, as the contrast is the characteristic of being macho, i.e. masculine in an aggressive way, it implies that femininity is the opposite of aggressive and assertive. The same article describes perfume business, home décor and household fragrances as "'female" areas', which is a gender stereotypic association based on numerous gender role clichés, i.e. women organize and manage the situation at home and is solely in charge of keeping the house beautiful (*home décor*) and neat (Online 14).

Gender stereotypical imagery is constructed of noun phrases and metaphors that show the influence of socially constructed gender roles in the discursive representation of the gender binary in media. As the gender binary is composed of the female and male genders, in order to analyse it in detail each gender representation has to be analysed separately.

#### **4.2.2. Femininity**

The concept of femininity is applied in numerous situations, one of which includes the association of femininity with heightened emotionality, which is often perceived as a weak and relatively negative characteristic. The idea of some characteristics or human features being attributed to a specific gender is the groundwork of the noun phrase *feminine side*. The discursive schema describing the business world includes such generalizations as the sentence 'MARKS & Spencer boss Roger Holmes was getting in touch with his feminine side at yesterday's launch of the new womenswear collection'. This sentence is placed under the headline of the article ('M&S boss gets emotional,' 13 November 2002), which states that 'boss gets emotional' (Online 12). The representation of women becomes associated with emotionality and affect the professional identity of the stereotyped person. The field of

business plays an important role in this stereotypical imagery where the profession is associated with the female gender and the nature of the event (launch of the new womenswear collection) seemingly affects the emotional state of the described individual. According to the system of news values devised by Jonathan Galtung and Mari Ruge (Fowler, 1991) two important values define the newsworthiness of the article including the above mentioned verb phrase (getting in touch with his feminine side), which are *unexpectedness* which due to the fact that people gaining high job position are regarded as more composed and *reference to elite people* according to which expressing emotions is more newsworthy if it is connected to elite people such as bosses and CEOs of large, well-known corporations.

According to the theoretical framework presented in the present research, stereotypes can also be useful aids of understanding more complex information or ideas enclosing large information data (McGarty et al., 2002). This process is vitally important with the regard to any newspaper, including the online newspaper *Daily Mail*, the articles of which are aimed to be entertaining and relatively shorter, which demands the application of such stereotypic categorization in order to reach these aims. In an article about different approaches to business ('Women: Take male approach to earn more,' 13 July 2009) which includes advice on the most successful methods to achieve this, the findings of a study on this topic are presented in by using a framework of categorization that is directly based on stereotypic gender representations.

*Women who take a masculine approach to work earn £40,000 more than female colleagues who are 'nice', a study revealed today. [...] It found that 'alpha male' women earn 4% more than those who are 'passive'. [...] Meanwhile, 'neurotic' women - those who are tense, anxious or moody - are penalised and suffer a three per cent drop in earnings. [...] But research showed that 'conscientious' women - who display self-control and persistence - earn five per cent more than sloppy colleagues (Online 23).*

The stereotypes of women being nice, considerate, passive, irrational, emotional next to the male stereotypes that include the characteristics of being active, and having innate leadership qualities are all represented in this example. The stereotypical imagery is expressed through the use of adjectives (*neurotic, passive, conscientious*) and noun phrases ('*alpha male*' woman). And the publication and creation of an article that represents such ideas reveal what constitutes as newsworthy for the *Daily Mail*. According to Fowler (1991) this article can be defined as newsworthy due to the news value of *consonance* according to which people expect to discover ways to gain more money or to succeed in business by reading the particular newspaper section. Through these stereotypical imageries the socially accepted gender dialectic is triggered and thus helps the reader to understand the information more

easily and further solidifies the reader's views on women and men having different characteristics when placed in the context of business, work and power relations.

The femininity is portrayed by typical gender stereotypes, which are directly connected to the gender roles and aim at facilitating understanding and mostly attracting readers by covering an unusual news story. A similar stereotypical view on gender is presented when describing masculinity.

#### **4.2.3. Masculinity**

The portrayal of masculinity is briefly viewed in the previous subchapter about femininity in which it is associated with aggressiveness. A similar opinion about masculinity is expressed in an article that describes approaches people can use to succeed in business and earn more money ('Women: Take male approach to earn more,' 13 July 2009), where it is stated that 'Women who take a masculine approach to work earn £40,000 more than female colleagues who are "nice"' (Online 15). In this example the stereotypical imagery is carried by the noun phrase *masculine approach to work*. The consensus on the division of female and male jobs, approaches and characteristics are applied in the news medium and create the schematic image of gender as a strict set of particular categories. Here the phrase *masculine approach* carries the meaning of being persistent, active and determined in reaching the set goals in at work without worrying about hurting someone's feeling or being 'nice'. This description correlates with the classical gender role of men being less emotional and caring in comparison to the opposite gender.

In another article ('Women who are "too pretty" to get the job,' 9 August 2010) some jobs are deemed as 'masculine', which later in the text is connected to such jobs as 'security director, hardware salesman and tow-truck driver' (Online 17). The stereotypic imagery in this instance is direct due to the noun phrase (*masculine job*) being equated to other noun phrases listing the various jobs. This stereotypic portrayal of the fields of interest that are automatically associated with a particular gender creates a powerful influence on the opinions and decisions of the individuals who perceive this information through discourse (Eagly, et al., 2000). These generalist statements are part of the news medium's schematic representation of social reality.

The gender stereotypes showing masculinity outlines the common theme of applying gender roles to create a division in human characteristics, activities and even jobs. The newspapers apply the gender binary as part of the schema representing social reality,

nevertheless, it affects the perception of these qualities and job positions as they continue to be labelled with a particular gender.

#### **4.2.4. Gender and leadership**

The business world is often associated with a clearly defined power structure that affects its representation in news media discourse. The creation of a social reality is affected by the institutionalization processes of the business world which is achieved through discursive schema at the basis of media news discourse. Therefore, the social and gender representations are a result of this process, which has been described by Hinton (2000) and Fowler (1991), and the connection between discourse and power structure has been researched in detail by van Dijk (2001). The following gender stereotypes found in the *Daily Mail* are based on this structure of power and representation.

An article on the field of business in Britain displays the top leaders in the business world as men, which reveals the embedded and automatic association of leaders in business as male. While in other articles and in media in general the description of the people working in this field are described as businesspeople, the following example ('Alex Brummer: Home truths in the boardroom as Sir Ian Gibson dishes the dirt,' 12 February 2015) dismisses this way of address and generalizes the people working at the top level as male. 'There is a generally unwritten rule among *Britain's top businessmen* that you don't go around pouring scorn on your peers' (Online 18). This example shows that the noun phrase highlighted in italics creates a stereotypic imagery depicting men representing the top level of business. The representation of the field is a part of the media schema based on the consensus of traditional gender roles, which see men taking the top position of jobs. In this description (*Britain's top businessmen*) women are automatically excluded from the portrayal of the business scenery. As described by Prewitt-Freilino et al., (2011), the English language is gendered by using gender representing pronouns as well as nouns that describe a particular gender. In this case *businessmen* create an association with men as opposed to the more general word describing both genders – people (businesspeople). Thus, men are depicted as the mainstream.

A similar view on this position is represented in another article ('City Focus: Women to turn table on boards,' 24 February 2011) that describes businesswomen to be 'from outside the corporate mainstream' and men as part of the mainstream; however, this system is portrayed from a different perspective (Online 19). The concept of men occupying the dominating position in the business world is portrayed in a negative light by claiming that 'the male herd mentality' is said to have 'contributed to the crisis' (Online 19). The most

descriptive word portraying this negative attitude is the use of the word *testosterone* in the article which is metaphorically linked to the male gender. In the article this representation of men becomes highly stereotypic by linking it with risk-taking and the negative consequences that lead to the financial crisis. The imagery is direct due to the linguistic features creating these stereotypes, i.e. noun phrases. Nevertheless, this attitude of viewing men in leadership positions as negative does not prevail in the chosen articles.

In a few articles (‘Swann could deliver for Royal Mail,’ 4 April 2010; ‘On the rack at WH Smith’ 3 November 2004) the description of women in leadership position are found to involve the mention of such adjectives as *bossy* (Online 20, 21). This portrayal of women in leadership negatively characterizes women and the negative stereotyping is due to the clash between the socially perceived female roles as occupying lower position jobs and their professional identities.

#### 4.3. Gender stereotypes in *The Guardian* and *Daily Mail*

The gender stereotypes found in the chosen articles from the two online newspapers are in some aspects similar while in others differ in the form they are represented. The gender stereotypes in *Daily Mail* are more direct and more connected to the conventionalized gender roles. However, the gender stereotypes in *The Guardian* are less direct, i.e. represented using quotation marks. The differences are illustrated below.

	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>Daily Mail</i>
Female stereotypes as noun phrases	<i>'Feminine' values with [...] cooperation, holistic and intuitive thinking</i> (Online 5); <i>emotional excitement</i> (Online 7); <i>feminine values</i> (Online 7); <i>women have to [...] squeeze their natural values</i> (Online 7); <i>true entrepreneurial women</i> (Online 3); <i>her abrasive style</i> (Online 22); <i>"non-traditional" CEOs</i> (Online 6).	<i>Women are [...] more cautious, less prone to panic than their male counterparts, and learn very quickly from their mistakes</i> (Online 13), <i>women are [...] far more cautious</i> (Online 16); <i>"female" areas</i> (Online 14); <i>the boss gets emotional</i> (Online 18); <i>'alpha male' women, 'neurotic' women, 'conscientious' women</i> (Online 15); <i>from outside the corporate mainstream</i> (Online 19).
Female stereotypes as adjectives		<i>Bossy</i> (Online 20, 21).
Female stereotypes as verb phrases	<i>Navigating femininity in a male-dominated world</i> (Online 4); <i>resist the charms of Christine Lagarde</i> (Online 11); <i>take on more caregiving to help</i>	

	<i>women advance in their careers</i> (Online 10).	
Female stereotypes as metaphors	<i>Show their feminine side, i.e. let out their inner feelings and their human feelings</i> (Online 8); <i>the siren call of Christine Lagarde</i> (Online 11); <i>the French temptress</i> (Online 11); <i>superwoman</i> (Online 3);	<i>Feminine side</i> (Online 13); <i>women are safer drivers than men</i> (Online 13); <i>women suffer from lower levels of self-confidence and ambition</i> (Online 16); <i>in touch with his feminine side</i> (Online 14); <i>getting in touch with his feminine side</i> (Online 12).
Male stereotypes as noun phrases	<i>'Masculine' values with [...] competition, linear and rational thinking</i> (Online 5); <i>the traditionally masculine dictator-leadership style</i> (Online 6); <i>masculine values</i> (Online 7); <i>macho posturing, macho image</i> (Online 9).	<i>Masculine approach</i> (online 15), <i>'masculine' job i.e. security director, hardware salesman and tow-truck driver</i> (Online 17); <i>Britain's top businessmen</i> (Online 18).
Male stereotypes as adjectival phrases		<i>One of the most macho of companies</i> (Online 14).
Male stereotypes as metaphors		<i>The male herd mentality</i> (Online 19).

As shown in the table above the most used linguistic features from the chosen 20 articles from both online newspapers are noun phrases and metaphors, with verb phrases and adjectives or adjective phrases being less common among the found gender stereotypes. The collection of 10 selected articles on business from the online newspaper *The Guardian* is 13000 words long, includes 18 stereotyped references and 3 linguistic features (noun phrases, verb phrases, metaphors) portraying gender stereotypes. Whereas, the collection of 10 selected articles on business from the online newspaper *Daily Mail* is 8000 words long, includes the same number of stereotyped references (18) and the gender stereotypes are portrayed by 3 linguistic features (noun phrases, adjectival phrases, metaphors). It can be stated that class distinction does not play an important role in gender stereotypes, gender and professional representations, because, even though the gender stereotypes are described slightly differently, both newspapers include stereotypes that are based on gender roles and include the gender binary to characterize actions and values.

The gender stereotypes show that the general consensus on the position of men and women in business is created based on the traditional gender role representation of men taking

the top positions in business and women being more caring and emotional. The research also shows the tendency to use gender stereotypes to facilitate the understanding of large amount of information. The chosen articles also show a slight difference in the description of the gender binary, i.e. the conservative British tabloid *Daily Mail* tends to use more cliché gender stereotypes (*women are safer drivers than men, 'neurotic' women, the male herd mentality*). Also, the articles from *Daily Mail* directly associate a particular gender with a certain set of stereotypic qualities by calling it a *masculine approach*, whereas *The Guardian* is less direct, which is shown by the application of quotation marks (*'Masculine' values*). Consequently, while there are certain differences in gender stereotypes from both newspapers, they are not very prominent and show that both newspapers appeal to different social classes with similar discursive schema representing gender roles and professional identities.

To sum up this chapter, the empirical part of the research answers the questions proposed in the introduction. Articles about business in two popular British online newspapers *The Guardian* and *Daily Mail* consist of a number of gender stereotypical imageries that are based on existing power relations in the society and embedded gender roles. Noun phrases and metaphors were the most used linguistic features that constructed the found gender stereotypes. Other linguistic features included verb phrases, adjectives, nouns and adverbs. The intersecting gender and professional identities represented by the gender stereotypic imageries showed the present consensus on the role of women and men in business and leadership positions. Moreover, the gender representations in both newspapers show that they are connected to the conventionalized gender role characteristics.

## CONCLUSIONS

The present research has provided an analysis of the linguistic elements that construct a gender stereotypical imagery and the role of gender stereotypes in the representation of gender and professional identities. The paper gives an outline of online newspapers, news media discourse, cybergenre, representation, gender stereotypes and gender roles as well as providing information about gender identities, gendered language and linguistic features. The author chose the topic of gender stereotypes and their role in the representation of gender and professional identities because of the growing tendency to categorize and stereotype people according to their gender, race and other group memberships. This process negatively affects numerous fields including business which consequently causes intolerance and the tendency to misrepresent the unique qualities and identities of each individual. The misrepresentation becomes more widespread due to the increasing role of information technologies and their impact on mass media and the global community.

The research questions are whether there are instances of gender stereotypes in British online newspapers, what linguistic elements construct a gender stereotypical imagery and what role do gender stereotypes play in the represented gender and professional identities. The research questions are answered in the findings of the present research, which provides a linguistic analysis of gender-stereotypical imagery found in the chosen 20 articles from *The Guardian* and *Daily Mail*. The findings of the present research show that gender stereotyping is not widespread in the chosen online newspapers; however instances of gender stereotyping can be found. Due to the fact that the articles being researched are about business, the aim was to find those gender stereotypes that are connected to the issues of gender roles, gender identities and professional identities in a work and business environment. There were a number of such gender stereotypes found and analysed using the three-dimensional model created by Norman Fairclough (1992). The analysis shows that gender roles are a part of the consensus that appears in the online newspapers through gender stereotypes. These gender stereotypes are a part of the discursive schema applied in the newspaper articles to facilitate the understanding of the discussed news report or as part of maintaining an in-group identity.

A number of linguistic elements were found to construct a gender stereotypical imagery in the selected articles. In *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* gender stereotypical imagery is based predominantly on noun phrases and metaphors, also, several verb and adjective phrases were found used in the construction of a stereotypical imagery. The results of the empirical research reveal the tendency to apply gender stereotypes about the female gender which could

be explained by the clashing gender roles and professional identities within the context of the business world. The gender stereotypes found in the selected articles on business show that there exist slight differences in the way the traditional gender binary is represented, i.e. in the context of the present research *Daily Mail* tends to use more cliché gender stereotypes (*women are safer drivers than men, 'neurotic' women, the male herd mentality*) than *The Guardian*. While the target audiences are slightly different in both newspapers, i.e. the demographic of *The Guardian* has the highest percentage of readers from the ABC1 demographic while the *Daily Mail* has a larger readership from the C2DE demographics, class distinction does not play an important role in gender and professional representations. Both newspapers appeal to a different readership that are represented by a different social class, nevertheless, the found gender stereotypes are based on the same gender binary and gender role representations.

Gender stereotypes are a part of the media representation of the field of business and the people working there. Categorization and the ensuing gender stereotyping create an imagery that correlates with the socially embedded gender roles. Furthermore, the gender roles referred to by the analysed gender stereotypes are affected by the existing power structure within the society. Discourse and news values of newspapers are influenced by the power structure and the present research reveals a part of how the consensus on gender roles is maintained through gender stereotypes. The access to stereotypical gender roles through discourse can affect an individual's perception of reality and the decisions concerning one's professional identity.

The chosen qualitative research method is Fairclough's (1992) three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis. This method has been chosen for the methodology of the research due to its relevance with the discussed topic that is linked with the representation of social reality and the power structure within the society. This model of analysis, devised by the famous CDA scholar Norman Fairclough, views texts in relation to their ideological framework and the underlying power structure of the society that affects the discursive representation of reality. As a result, the connection to power, society, ideology, and the existing bias within the society is revealed in the text.

The research has brought interesting results that should be further developed to analyse the instances in which gender stereotypical imagery is used. Based on the findings of the present research, further topics of research could include the comparative analysis of online and print newspaper articles in order to discover whether the frequency and linguistic features change. Furthermore, the newspaper articles and the articles from the blogs that are a part of

online newspapers can be analysed whether they portray gender and professional identities differently.

## THESES

1. Individuals perceive the social reality in terms of categories, and stereotyping is a part of this process as stereotypes are categories that are cognitively created in order to make sense of the social reality. Stereotypes reside in the language and function as energy saving devices, aids of explanation and shared group beliefs.
2. A person's professional role is connected with gender role and in the situation when and if these roles create a conflict, a person becomes the object of categorization and eventually stereotyping.
3. The social reality is perceived through discourse, and the extent to which language and discourse is gendered affects how society visualizes and consequently reacts to gender. Gendered language structures, i.e. discourses, have the potential to affect whole social structures and social reality.
4. The media can never be genuinely neutral because the media discourse alongside other types of discourse is viewed from a particular angle. The news report, which constructs the news media discourse, is a nonlinear, sociological representation of reality.
5. The creation of news reports are influenced by the consensus on what is newsworthy within the society, and the consensus is affected by the powerful social classes.
6. This chosen qualitative research method – Fairclough's (1992) three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis – correlates with the topic of the research and reveals the gender-stereotypical representation of social reality and the power structure within the society.
7. Gender stereotyping is not widespread in the chosen online newspapers and the gender stereotypical imagery is based mostly on noun phrases and metaphors, also, several verb and adjectival phrases were found used in the construction of gender stereotypes.
8. The gender and professional identities represented by the gender stereotypic imageries show the present consensus on the role of women and men in business and leadership positions, which is based upon gender roles and gender binary.

9. The gender representations in *The Guardian* and *Daily Mail* show that they are connected to the conventionalized gender role characteristics.

10. Gender stereotypes found in the chosen 20 newspapers from *The Guardian* and *Daily Mail* do not show a significant difference in the gender representation; therefore, the social classes do not impact the gender representation in both online newspapers.

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## Dokumentārā lapa

Bakalaura darbs „Gender Stereotyping in Online Newspapers” (Dzimuma stereotipizācija tiešsaistes avīzēs) izstrādāts LU Humanitāro zinātņu fakultātē.

Ar savu parakstu apliecinu, ka pētījums veikts patstāvīgi, izmantoti tikai tajā norādītie informācijas avoti un iesniegtā darba elektroniskā kopija atbilst izdrukai.

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Darbu pieņēma:

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2015. gada..... jūnijā, prot. Nr. ...., vērtējums .....

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