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Edited by Karen Ross

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The Handbook of Gender, Sex, and Media

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The Handbook of Gender, Sex, and Media

Edited by

Karen Ross

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Editorial Offices

350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA

9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK

The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

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Contents

Notes on Contributors	viii
Acknowledgments	xix
Editor's Introduction	xx
Part I Mediated Women	I
1 The Geography of Women and Media Scholarship <i>Carolyn M. Byerly</i>	3
2 Chilean Women in Changing Times: Media Images and Social Understandings <i>Claudia Bucciferro</i>	20
3 The Girls of Parliament: A Historical Analysis of the Press Coverage of Female Politicians in Bulgaria <i>Elza Ibroscheva and Maria Stover</i>	35
4 Gossip Blogs and 'Baby Bumps': The New Visual Spectacle of Female Celebrity in Gossip Media <i>Erin Meyers</i>	53
5 Fanfiction and Webnovelas: The Digital Reading and Writing of Brazilian Adolescent Girls <i>Ilana Eleá</i>	71
6 Virtually Blonde: Blonde Jokes in the Global Age and Postfeminist Discourse <i>Limor Shifman and Dafna Lemish</i>	88
Part II Rugged Masculinity and Other Fables	105
7 Men, Masculinities, and the Cave Man <i>Jeffery P. Dennis</i>	107

8	Rhetorical Masculinity: Authoritative Utterance and the Male Protagonist <i>Stuart Price</i>	118
9	Conan the Blueprint: The Construction of Masculine Prototypes in Genre Films <i>Guido Ipsen</i>	135
10	Save the Cheerleader, Save the Males: Resurgent Protective Paternalism in Popular Film and Television after 9/11 <i>Sarah Godfrey and Hannah Hamad</i>	157
11	Fucking Vito: Masculinity and Sexuality in <i>The Sopranos</i> <i>Lynne Hibberd</i>	174
12	Studio5ive.com: Selling Cosmetics to Men and Reconstructing Masculine Identity <i>Claire Harrison</i>	189
	Part III Queering the Pitch	205
13	No Hard Feelings: Reflexivity and Queer Affect in the New Media Landscape <i>Katherine Sender</i>	207
14	<i>The L Word</i> : Producing Identities through Irony <i>Julie Scanlon</i>	226
15	Andro-phobia?: When Gender Queer is too Queer for <i>L Word</i> Audiences <i>Rebecca Kern</i>	241
16	Questioning Queer Audiences: Exploring Diversity in Lesbian and Gay Men's Media Uses and Readings <i>Alexander Dhoest and Nele Simons</i>	260
17	'In Touch' with the Female Body: Cinema, Sport, and Lesbian Representability <i>Katharina Lindner</i>	277
18	Why Doesn't your Compass Work?: <i>Pirates of the Caribbean</i> , Fantasy Blockbusters, and Contemporary Queer Theory <i>Martin Fradley</i>	294
19	Raised Voices: Homophobic Abuse as a Catalyst for Coming Out in US Teen Television Drama Series <i>Susan Berridge</i>	313
20	Transmen on the Web: Inscribing Multiple Discourses <i>Matthew Heinz</i>	326

21	Transgendered Saints and Harlots: Reproduction of Popular Brazilian Transgender Stereotypes through Performance on Stage, on Screen, and in Everyday Life <i>Johannes Sjöberg</i>	344
Part IV Women, Men, and Gender		363
22	Sex/Gender and the Media: From Sex Roles to Social Construction and Beyond <i>Cynthia Carter</i>	365
23	Colin Won't Drink out of a Pink Cup <i>Barbara Mitra and Jenny Lewin-Jones</i>	383
24	Postfeminism Meets Hegemonic Masculinities: Young People Read the 'Knowing Wink' in Advertising <i>Sue Abel</i>	401
25	Communication as Commodification: Video Technology and the Gendered Gaze <i>Corinna Chong, Heather Molyneaux, and H�el�ene Fournier</i>	419
26	Dutch Moroccan Girls Performing their Selves in Instant Messaging Spaces <i>Koen Leurs and Sandra Ponzanesi</i>	436
Part V All about Sex		455
27	Sex and the Media <i>Feona Attwood</i>	457
28	Deliciously Consumable: The Uses and Abuses of Irony in 'Sex-Trafficking' Campaign Films <i>Jane Arthurs</i>	470
29	The Sex Inspectors: Self-help, Makeover, and Mediated Sex <i>Laura Harvey and Rosalind Gill</i>	487
30	Enacting Bodies: Online Dating and New Media Practices <i>Begonya Enguix and Elisenda Ard�evol</i>	502
31	Gender and Sexuality in the Internet Era <i>Panayiota Tsatsou</i>	516
32	Gay for Pay: The Internet and the Economics of Homosexual Desire <i>John Mercer</i>	535
	Index	552

Notes on Contributors

Sue Abel is a senior lecturer at the University of Auckland, New Zealand, where she holds a conjoint position in Māori Studies and Film, Television, and Media Studies. She was drawn to issues of gender and the media because of the role that the media can play in perpetuating social injustices and inequalities. Her main area of research, however, is race and the media, and particularly indigenous peoples and media. She is a member of a research group that has been funded by New Zealand's Health Research Council to research the coverage of Māori in the news on the basis that continual negative representation of a minority group has negative effects on that group's health, and is about to embark on an international research project comparing indigenous media.

Elisenda Ardévol is a senior lecturer in the Humanities department at the Open University of Catalonia (UOC) (Barcelona, Spain). She collaborates in the interdisciplinary PhD program on Information and Knowledge Society at the UOC, in the master's in Creative Documentary at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (Spain), and in the master's in Visual Anthropology at the University of Barcelona (Spain). She also coordinates the Mediaccions Research Group in Digital Culture (UOC) and is currently researching social and cultural practices related to the Internet, new media, digital sociability, body, play, and visual culture in Catalonia, Spain and Latin America. Recent publications include 'Beyond virtual ethnography: The Internet in ethnographic research' in U. Kockel (Ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to the Anthropology of Europe* and 'Bodies in action: Performing gender and identity in online settings' in A. Pirani and B. M. Varga (Eds.), *Acting Bodies and Social Networks: A Bridge between Technology and Working Memory* (University Press of America).

Jane Arthurs is head of culture, media and drama at the University of the West of England, Bristol, UK. Her previous research on the representation of prostitution and trafficked women can be found in 'Documenting the sex industry' in her book

Television and Sexuality: Regulation and the Politics of Taste (2004); ‘Sex workers incorporated’ in J. Hollows and R. Moseley (Eds.), *Feminism in Popular Culture* (2006); and ‘Brands, markets and charitable ethics’ in the online journal *Participations* (December 2009). Her well-known article on ‘*Sex and the City* and consumer culture,’ first published in *Feminist Media Studies* (2003), develops related arguments about the rhetorical effects of irony in popular television drama. She is a core member of *Onscenity* (<http://onscenity.org>), an AHRC funded research network that brings together researchers on sexual portrayal in popular culture.

Feona Attwood is professor of sex, communication and culture at Sheffield Hallam University, UK. Her research is in the area of sex in contemporary culture, in particular in onscenity; sexualization; sexual cultures; new technologies, identity, and the body; and controversial media. She is the editor of *Mainstreaming Sex: The Sexualization of Western Culture* (2009) and *porn.com: Making Sense of Online Pornography* (2010) and a co-editor of journal special issues on ‘Controversial Images’ (with S. Lockyer, *Popular Communication*, 2009), ‘Researching and Teaching Sexually Explicit Media’ (with I. Q. Hunter, *Sexualities*, 2009), and ‘Investigating Young People’s Sexual Cultures’ (with C. Smith, *Sex Education*, 2011). Her recent published work has focused on pornography, regulation, sexual agency, new forms of leisure, and research methods. She is leading an international research network on onscenity, funded by the AHRC. Her current book projects are *Sex, Media and Technology* (with V. Campbell, I. Q. Hunter, and S. Lockyer) and *Controversial Images*.

Susan Berridge is a PhD candidate in the Film and Television Studies Department at the University of Glasgow. Her PhD uses structural analysis to interrogate the relationship between representations of teenage sexuality and sexual violence in US and British teen television drama series between 1990 and 2008. She is particularly interested in how generic, medium, and national specificities intersect with representations of sexual violence. Her research interests include feminist and teen television scholarship as well as wider feminist work on issues of sexuality and sexual violence.

Claudia Bucciferro is a Chilean scholar who currently lives in the United States. She has undergraduate degrees in communication and journalism, a master’s degree in linguistics from the University of Concepción, Chile, and a doctorate in communication from the University of Colorado at Boulder. She is the author of *FOR-GET: Identity, Media, and Democracy in Chile* (University Press of America, 2011). She has published academic papers in the *Journal of Global Mass Communication* and the *Journal of Global Communication*, and has presented her work at various international conferences. She teaches international and intercultural communication at the university level.

Carolyn M. Byerly is a professor in the Department of Journalism, Howard University, Washington, DC, where she teaches graduate courses in mass

communication theory, research methods, political communication, and other topics. Her research takes a feminist political economy approach to the study of issues of race, gender, sexuality, and culture in the media. She is the co-author (with K. Ross) of *Women and Media: A Critical Introduction* and co-editor (with K. Ross) of *Women and Media: International Perspectives*, as well as many articles and book chapters. Her 59-nation study, 'Global report on the status of women in news media,' was published in spring 2011. Her study 'Behind the scenes of women's broadcast ownership' was published in the *Howard Journal of Communication* in February 2011. She completed her doctorate at the University of Washington, Seattle.

Corinna Chong is a research analyst at the National Research Council Institute for Information Technology in Canada. Her research with the Broadband Communication Social Analysis team focuses on gender and technology, social identity formation and technology, media and pop culture studies, and cultural/ethnic issues in the use and views of ICT. She holds an MA in English literature and creative writing from the University of New Brunswick and is currently working on a novel.

Jeffery P. Dennis studied English and American literature at Indiana University and comparative literature at the University of Southern California before receiving his PhD in sociology from Stony Brook University. He is currently an assistant professor of sociology at SUNY Oneonta, with research interests in masculinity, sexuality, and media. His publications include *Queering Teen Culture: All-American Boys and Same-Sex Desire in Film and Television* (Routledge), *We Boys Together: Teenagers in Love Before Girl-Craziness* (Vanderbilt), and articles in *Media and Society*, *Men and Masculinities*, *The Journal of Homosexuality*, and *The Journal of LGBT Youth*.

Alexander Dhoest has an MA in film and television studies from the University of Warwick and a PhD in social sciences from the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven). He is assistant professor at the University of Antwerp, Department of Communication Studies (Belgium). His research focuses on the analysis of popular culture, in particular television, and its role in the formation of social identities (national, cultural, ethnic, and sexual). In this research, he incorporates perspectives on media production, representation, and reception, combining quantitative and qualitative methods. He has published widely on these issues in journals such as *Media, Culture & Society*, *European Journal of Communication*, and *European Journal of Cultural Studies*.

Iliana Eleá has an MSc and a PhD in education from the Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. She teaches specialist courses in media, information technologies, and new languages in education at the Coordenação Central de Extensão, Pontifícia Universidade Católica, Rio and is a member of GRUPEM – Research Group in Media and Education. She has a specialist degree in 'media-education' from the

Università Cattolica di Milano and is currently a researcher at the Pontifícia Universidade Católica, Rio.

Begonya Enguix has a PhD in social and cultural anthropology and is a lecturer in the Arts and Humanities Department, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Barcelona, Spain. She also holds a university diploma in communication (advertising). Her publications include, among others, *Poder y deseo: La homosexualidad masculina en Valencia* (1996), 'Gendered sites' (2008), 'Identities, sexualities and commemorations: Pride parades, public space and sexual dissidence' (2009), 'Bodies in action: Performing identity in dating sites' (with E. Ardévol, 2010), and 'XXY: Representing intersex' (2011). She belongs to the European Association of Social Anthropologists and is a member of the Research Group on Anthropology of the Body (Catalan Institute of Anthropology) and of the Quality Research Group on Social Anthropology (Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Tarragona, Spain), and is associated with the Research Group Mediaciones (Universitat Oberta de Catalunya). Her current research focuses on bodies, genders, sexualities, and identities, and their intersections with urban and media anthropology.

Hélène Fournier has been a research officer at the National Research Council, Institute for Information Technology, Canada since 2002 and holds a PhD in educational psychology from McGill University. She has been involved at all levels of technology integration from the early adoption of laptop computers in the classroom to advanced technology applications in the training sector. Her research has focused on the use of virtual worlds and mobile technologies in distance education, human factors, and human-computer interaction, and applying learner-centered design principles to educational and training systems.

Martin Fradley has worked at numerous higher education institutions in the UK and currently teaches between Staffordshire University and Edge Hill University. His published work has appeared in numerous collections, including Y. Tasker (Ed.), *Action and Adventure Cinema* (Routledge, 2004); G. Vincendeau and A. Phillips (Eds.), *Journeys of Desire: European Actors in Hollywood* (British Film Institute, 2006); D. Jeremyn and S. Abbott (Eds.), *Falling in Love Again: Contemporary Romantic Comedy* (I. B. Tauris, 2009); S. Hantke (ed.), *American Horror Film: The Genre at the Turn of the Millennium* (University of Mississippi Press, 2010); Y. Tasker (Ed.), *Fifty Contemporary Film Directors* (Routledge, 2010); and E. Bell and N. Mitchell (Eds.), *Directory of British Cinema* (Intellect, forthcoming). He is a regular contributor to *Film Quarterly* and has also written for *Screen*, *Film Criticism*, and the *Canadian Journal of Film Studies*. He is currently preparing a book on American fantasy cinema for Palgrave MacMillan and co-editing a volume about British filmmaker Shane Meadows.

Rosalind Gill is professor of social and cultural analysis at the Centre for Culture, Media and Creative Industries, King's College, London. She is the author of

numerous books and articles including *Gender and the Media* (Polity press, 2007) and *New Femininities: Postfeminism, Neoliberalism and Subjectivity* (with C. Scharff, Palgrave, 2010). She is currently working on a book about mediated intimacy.

Sarah Godfrey is an associate tutor in the School of Film and Television Studies at the University of East Anglia (UEA), Norwich and a part-time lecturer in film and media at City College, Norwich. She was awarded a PhD in film and television studies by the UEA in September 2010. Her principal research interests predominantly center around gender in British and American television and cinema, and British postfeminist media culture and the body. She teaches across a range of associated areas including gender and race in popular culture, cinema history, and contemporary media cultures.

Hannah Hamad is a lecturer in media studies in the School of English and Media Studies at Massey University in New Zealand. She was awarded a PhD in film and television studies by the University of East Anglia in July 2009. Her principal research interests are postfeminist media culture, stardom and celebrity culture, and contemporary Hollywood cinema, and she teaches in the areas of gender and race, popular culture, and stardom and celebrity in the media. She is the author of several articles on contemporary popular film and media culture.

Claire Harrison, for 30 years a professional writer and editor, recently completed a PhD in communications at Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, specializing in rhetoric, visual communication, and narrative theory. She has published on diverse topics such as hypertext, professional writing, visual social semiotics, and bureaucratic discourse. She is co-editor of *Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis: Studies in Social Change* (Continuum, 2004).

Laura Harvey is a doctoral student at the Open University, UK. Her work examines the relationship between sexual behaviors, attitudes, and media representations. Laura is particularly interested in the ways in which sexual knowledge is mediated. Her PhD thesis focuses on the negotiation and representation of condom use in the UK. Laura is developing the use of private diaries as a tool in feminist sexualities research.

Matthew Heinz is a professor in the School of Communication and Culture and associate dean of the Faculty of Social and Applied Sciences at Royal Roads University in Victoria, British Columbia, Canada. A native of Germany, he spent the first two decades of his life there and the next two decades in the Midwestern United States. He obtained his PhD in communication studies from the University of Nebraska-Lincoln (1998) and has held faculty appointments at Bowling Green (Ohio) State University and the University of North Dakota. His scholarship in culture and communication focuses on the intersections of language, gender identity, sexual orientation, and culture. Prior to his transition

in 2009, he was known as Bettina Heinz. His current research project consists of leading a community-directed transgender needs assessment for Vancouver Island. Matthew is a past chair of the Caucus on Gay and Lesbian Concerns of the (US) National Communication Association. His work has appeared in, among others, *International Journal of the Humanities*; *Language and Intercultural Communication*; *Journal of Homosexuality*; *Journal of Pragmatics*; *Journal of International Communication*; *Communication Studies*; *Multilingua*; and *Communication Education*.

Lynne Hibberd is a freelance lecturer in the north west of England, where she teaches film, television, and communication studies. Her main research interests are in identity, gender, nationality, and sexuality in mainstream American film and television. Previous publications include ‘Spaced out’ in D. Lavery and E. Bianculli (Eds.), *Finale: Considering the Ends of Television* (2011); ‘The funny thing about scottish independents...’ in *Media International Australia* (2010); and *Studying ‘The Third Man’* (2005). She is currently working on a book exploring women in the gangster genre.

Elza Ibroscheva was awarded a PhD by Southern Illinois University, Carbondale in 2005. She is an associate professor and director of graduate studies at the Department of Mass Communications at Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville. She has been the recipient of a number of research and study grants, including awards from ACLS; IREX; the University of Oslo, Norway; and Central European University. Her work has been published in *Howard Journal of Communication*, *International Journal of Communication*, *Sex Roles: Journal of Research*, *Journal of Intercultural Communication*, and *Russian Journal of Communication*. Her research interests include international and political communication, women and politics, and the effects of globalization on culture.

Guido Ipsen studied English and German philology, history, philosophy, and history of the arts at Kassel and information systems engineering (MA, Wolverhampton University, 1995). He became a research assistant in the semiotics division at Kassel and worked there as an assistant professor until 2003, when he became professor for scientific communication at the Technische Universität, Dortmund. Since 2010 he has been docent for media and communication at the University of Applied Sciences, Münster. Between 2004 and 2009 he was guest professor at the Finnish Network University for Semiotics, Helsinki. His works include his PhD thesis on *HybridHyperSigns* (2001, with distinction); his habilitation, *Cultural Communication* (under review, University Witten-Herdecke, 2011); and numerous articles on linguistic and semiotic theory, and cultural and media studies as well as editions on general and media semiotics in collaboration with several journals. He teaches transdisciplinary subjects around communication and media and is active in consulting in the areas of media analysis and opinion formation.

Rebecca Kern earned her doctorate in mass media and communication and a graduate certificate in women's studies from Temple University. She is currently assistant professor of communication at Manhattan College. Her research interests include community and identity discourse, gender studies, queer studies, and critical/cultural studies, with particular focus on the ways in which gender and sexuality intersect with television, journalism, and advertising formats, reflecting larger cultural values and changes. Much of her current research stems from her dissertation, a qualitative study of the audience reception and cultural meaning making of gender and sexuality identity/representation on Showtime's *The L Word*. She currently teaches communication, mass media, and advertising courses.

Dafna Lemish holds a PhD and is professor and chair of the Department of Radio-TV at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale and founding editor of the *Journal of Children and Media*. She is the author of numerous books and articles on children, media, and gender representations, including *Screening Gender on Children's Television: The Views of Producers Around the World* (Routledge, 2010); *Children and Television: A Global Perspective* (Blackwell, 2007); *Children and Media at Times of Conflict and War* (co-edited with M. Götz, Hampton Press, 2007); *Media and the Make-Believe Worlds of Children: When Harry Potter Meets Pokémon in Disneyland* (with M. Götz, A. Aidman, and H. Moon; Lawrence Erlbaum, 2005).

Koen Leurs is a PhD candidate in gender studies at the Research Institute of History and Culture, Utrecht University and a junior teacher in the Media and Cultural Studies department. He is a team member of 'Wired Up,' a research project focusing on digital media as innovative socialization practices for migrant youth. He conducted his earlier studies at Utrecht University and the National University of Singapore, and has participated in NOISE (Network of Interdisciplinary Women's Studies in Europe) and Oxford Internet Institute summer schools. Among his publications are 'Mediated crossroads: Youthful digital diasporas,' in *M/C Journal* (forthcoming 2011); 'Gendering the construction of instant messaging spaces,' in S. Burcon and M. Ames (Eds.), *Women and the Gendering of Talk, Gossip and Communication Practices Across Media* (McFarland Press, forthcoming 2010); and 'Performing gender and ethnicity in techno-social networks,' in R. Gajalla (Ed.), *Where Have All the Cyberfeminists Gone?* (Peter Lang, forthcoming 2011).

Jenny Lewin-Jones is a senior lecturer in the Language Centre, University of Worcester. One of her research interests lies in the field of contemporary English language usage, including the use of language in commercials aimed at children. She has also published papers on language teaching methodology, widening participation in language learning, and using new technologies in teaching.

Katharina Lindner is a lecturer in media studies at the University of East London. She completed her PhD at the University of Glasgow and has previously taught in

media and film studies at the University of Stirling and the University of St. Andrews. Her research interests include questions around gender, sexuality, and representation; cinema and embodiment; phenomenological approaches to media culture; and media and sport. Her previous research project was specifically concerned with filmic depictions of athletic bodies and performance and she has published work in this area (including articles on the female boxing film as well as on dance and/in representation). Her current work explores ways of accounting for the embodied and sensuous dimensions of our engagement with various media forms. Her research interests in issues around the body and embodiment are not only theoretically motivated – they have also developed as a result of her own (embodied) experiences in the sports context: she has played professional football in Germany, the US, and the UK, and has competed internationally for the German national team and in the UEFA Women’s Champions League.

John Mercer lectures in media and cultural studies at the Birmingham School of Media and is a member of the Birmingham Centre for Media and Cultural Research. His research interests concern issues of gender and sexuality in popular culture, in particular the construction of gay iconographic taxonomies. He is also interested in the relationships between aesthetic and stylistic tropes and emotional affects across media texts but especially in the form often described as melodrama. He has previously published work on gay pornography that has appeared in *Paragraph* (J. Still, Ed.), *The Journal of Homosexuality*, *Pornocopia: Eclectic Views on Gay Pornography* (T. Morrison, Ed.), *Framing Celebrity* (S. Redmond and S. Holmes, Eds.), and *Hard to Swallow: Reading Pornography On-Screen* (D. Kerr and C. Hines, Eds.). He is an editorial board member of *The Journal of Gender Studies* and is the author (with M. Shingler) of *Melodrama: Genre, Style, Sensibility*.

Erin Meyers is an assistant professor in the Department of Communication and Journalism at Oakland University. She holds a master’s in women’s studies with a focus on gender representation in popular media from the Ohio State University and a PhD in communication from the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Her recently completed dissertation, ‘Gossip talk and online community: Celebrity gossip blogs and their audiences,’ examines how celebrity gossip blogs have impacted the construction, circulation, and consumption of the celebrity image in contemporary culture, and interrogates the transgressive possibilities and ideological limitations of celebrity in the new media landscape. She has published articles on celebrity culture in *The Journal of Popular Culture* and *Celebrity Studies*. Her current research continues to explore the intersections of celebrity culture and new media, and includes projects on the production and reception of celebrity images on and through social networking platforms and reality television. Her own foray into blogging about celebrity and media can be found at <http://erinmeyers.wordpress.com>.

Barbara Mitra is a senior lecturer in media and cultural studies at the University of Worcester. Her research interests lie in the area of children and gender, television

commercials, television journalism, and ethnography. She has also published on the use of technology in learning and teaching, and is currently researching the relationship between new media and gender.

Heather Molyneux is an analyst at the National Research Council (NRC) Institute for Information Technology in Canada. As a member of the B-Com team and the People-Centred Technologies research group at the NRC, she examines the use of information and communication technologies in enabling communication within groups. Her research interests include analyzing visual representation, and her current work focuses on the use of ICT to support communication and learning in the healthcare field.

Sandra Ponzanesi is associate professor in gender and postcolonial critique at Department of Media and Culture Studies/Graduate Gender Programme, Utrecht University. She has been visiting professor at the University of California, Los Angeles and visiting scholar at the University of California, Riverside. She is project leader of the Utrecht University High Potential Programme 'Wired up: Digital media as socialization practice from migrant youth' in collaboration with the social sciences and Vanderbilt University, and coordinator of 'Postcolonial Europe' for the European Union-funded project 'Athena3.' Her publications include *Paradoxes of Post-colonial Culture: Contemporary Women Writing of the Indian and Afro-Italian Diaspora* (State University of New York Press, 2004) and *Migrant Cartographies: New Cultural and Literary Spaces in Post-colonial Europe* (Lexington Books, 2005) with D. Merolla. She has recently guest-edited a special issue entitled 'Postcolonial Europe: Transcultural and Multidisciplinary Perspectives' with B. Blaagaard for *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture* (2010).

Stuart Price is reader in media discourse and principal lecturer in media, film and journalism at De Montfort University. He is the author of *Worst-Case Scenario? Governance, Mediation and the Security Regime* (Zed Books, 2011), *Brute Reality: Power, Discourse and the Mediation of War* (Pluto Press, 2010), *Discourse Power Address: The Politics of Public Communication* (Ashgate, 2007), and a number of books on media and communication, including *Communication Studies* (Longman, 1996). He is currently engaged in writing *Textual Analysis: Text and Context in a Mediated Culture* (Sage, forthcoming 2012).

Maria Stover was awarded a PhD by Southern Illinois University, Carbondale in 2005. She is associate professor of journalism and new media at Washburn University. She has been previously involved in USAID projects on the empowerment of women. Her research interests encompass the study of various aspects of Eastern European media. Her work has appeared in *Howard Journal of Communications* and *International Journal of Communication*. She is the co-author of 'First green is always gold: An examination of the first private national channel in Bulgaria,' in I. A. Blankson and P. D. Murphy (Ed.), *Negotiating*

Democracy: Media Transformations in Emerging Democracies (State University of New York Press, 2008).

Julie Scanlon is senior lecturer in English literature at Northumbria University. Her areas of specialism include contemporary fiction, particularly narrative and literary theory; contemporary literary realism; and theories of gender and sexuality in relation to literary and visual culture. Recent publications discuss the authors Annie Proulx, A. L. Kennedy, and Jenefer Shute and the literature, film, and theory of Monique Wittig. She is co-editor, with A. Waste, of a collection of essays on nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature, *Crossing Boundaries: Thinking Through Literature* (Continuum, 2001). She has published in *JNT: Journal of Narrative Theory* and in *Genders* and is currently writing a monograph on a selection of novels by contemporary women writers and the relationship between the body and narrative: *Contemporary Fiction's Novel Bodies: Gender, Corporeality, Narrative*.

Katherine Sender holds a PhD and is an associate professor at the Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania. She is the author of the book *Business, Not Politics: The Making of the Gay Market* (Columbia University Press, 2004), which investigates the history, formation, and contours of the gay consumer market in the US. Her new book, *Makeover Television and its Audiences: The Limits of Reflexivity* (New York University Press, forthcoming) considers how audiences' responses to US makeover television help us to understand the contemporary value of reflexivity. She has produced, directed, and edited a number of documentaries, including two videos about the history and politics of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender images on US television: *Off the Straight and Narrow* (1998) and *Further off the Straight and Narrow* (2006).

Limor Shifman holds a PhD and is a lecturer at the Department of Communication and Journalism, Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She specializes in new media, popular culture, and the social construction of humor. Among the phenomena she has studied are online humor and gender, political humor on the Internet, the global spread and translation of online 'joke memes,' and the evolution of new forms of web-based humor.

Nele Simons received her MA in communication studies from the University of Antwerp. She is a research assistant and doctoral candidate at the University of Antwerp, Department of Communication Studies. Her research interests include representation, subcultural media and identity, convergence culture, and television viewing practices. In her PhD research she explores how viewers are engaging with television fiction nowadays, paying particular attention to the consumption of fiction series add-ons and their role in viewers' television viewing practices.

Johannes Sjöberg was appointed lecturer in screen studies in drama at the University of Manchester in 2008. He specializes in screen practice as research and

the boundaries between artistic and academic forms of representation. His approach is based on collaborative and improvisational art forms and extended ethnographic fieldwork to mediate complex cultural understanding, developed through film and theatre education; freelance work as an actor and director in Sweden, Guatemala, and Brazil; his work as a documentary filmmaker in the UK; and as a guest lecturer at various universities. He graduated in social anthropology at the University of Stockholm in 1997, completed an MA in visual anthropology in 2001, and completed a PhD in drama at the University of Manchester in 2009. His recent research focuses on the use of projective improvisation in ethnographic filmmaking, applied on identity and performance on stage, screen, and in everyday life among transgendered Brazilians.

Panayiota Tsatsou is a lecturer in media and communication at Swansea University. Her doctoral research at the London School of Economics and Political Science explored the role of everyday culture and decision-making in shaping digital divides and was supported by the Hellenic Republic State Scholarships Foundation. Previously, her work was supported by the NATO Science Fellowship Program and other fellowship programs. She is involved in European research projects on information and communication technologies, with an emphasis on regulation and policy creation, as well as the role of ordinary people as users and actors in the information society. Her research aims to develop innovative and evidence-based solutions to issues arising in the information society through the submission of papers and reports to national and European Union policy and regulation authorities. Along these lines, she publishes in the areas of digital divides, policy and regulation for the information society, children and new media, and new media and gender.

Acknowledgments

Sometimes working on a book becomes increasingly less pleasurable and sometimes it's pure joy, and I'm happy to say that, on this occasion, it's definitely been the latter. From the instant my good friend and publisher, Elizabeth Swayze, asked me whether I was interested in putting together a new book on gender and media, the process has been unbelievably fast and furious, with my contributors (mostly!) meeting all their deadlines, producing work of considerable strength and imagination. So, a very big thank you to Elizabeth for suggesting this great project and also to all the contributors, who have made this collection what it is. I do believe we have done something really good here. Early in the book's development, I asked some colleagues to write the overviews for each of the five substantive sections of the book and, again, I could not have wished for a better set of co-workers. They determined to do an almost impossible task and did so with style and excellent scholarship, so thank you all. Along the path of my own academic (and life) journey, I have had the good fortune to work with colleagues who have become good friends and who have provided me with clear thinking, intelligence, conversation, and food – all wonderful gifts. I have also enjoyed working with and learning from a generation of students whose questions and answers have pushed my own thinking forward in productive and sometimes surprising ways. Lastly, thanks to my family and especially my sister Elizabeth and my daughters Josie and Lizzie, all of whom provide regular injections of fun, love, and inspiration.

Karen Ross
Editor

Editor's Introduction

Until relatively recently, to talk about gender was to talk almost exclusively about the negative construction of 'woman' and sex-based discrimination, but over the past two decades, we have become more sophisticated (and indeed accurate!) in how we understand the complexity of and variations in our social and sexual relations, and the public and private contexts in which we perform our sexed and gendered selves. Although we might argue that biological sex has never been quite as fixed as the binary classification of female/male suggests, changing social attitudes and developments in surgical procedures have meant that now we really can be whatever and whoever we want to be, at least if we have the financial wherewithal to match our desires. Although the majority of us will still identify as primarily female or male, we have also witnessed the emergence (and sometimes grudging acceptance) of more fluid sexual identities such as transpeople and less biologically determined ways of being human.

While many commentators continue to be rather indiscriminate in their use of the terms 'sex' and 'gender,' as if they are the same thing – but this is not the place to rehearse those differences in any great detail¹ – developments in gender theories that embrace diversity and question the old orthodoxies of sexual identity have queered (in every sense of the term) the pitch of the old gendered order so that even 'normative' media such as newspapers will sometimes print 'straight' articles on 'the metrosexual' without missing a beat. In her overview essay in this collection, Cynthia Carter provides a more detailed discussion both on the differences between the terms 'sex' and 'gender' and on some of the more contemporary analyses, which argue that even talking about identity as either biology or social construction is to continue to essentialize something that is inherently fluid and ambiguous.

If we accept, however, that change *has* occurred and continues to do so in relation to social expectations of women and men, then a significant part of that sometimes quiet, sometimes noisy sexual revolution has been taking place across the canvas of popular culture, in the form of 'coming out' storylines, now almost de rigeur in many soaps; a few less-stereotypical portrayals of lesbians and gay men

gracing our screens; and more-diverse representations of women in leading roles and men as stay-at-home fathers. The essays in this collection are concerned with exploring aspects of this changing social and sexual landscape, from *The L Word* to *Conan the Barbarian* and from a consideration of the camp backstory in *Pirates of the Caribbean* to the use of MSN among migrant teenagers. On the other hand, some essays focus on the ways in which the media seem to stubbornly recycle gender stereotypes, from television advertisements aimed at children to the portrayal of women parliamentarians in Bulgaria, from self-help shows that privilege male agency to the explosion of jokes about the dumb blonde. What this collection demonstrates, therefore, is both the resilience of sex-based stereotypes and also the ways in which our own agency can subvert normative renditions of femininity and masculinity, women and men – which has in turn encouraged at least some parts of the media to move closer to where many of us in the ‘real’ world already stand. The essays explore the nuances of contemporary sex and gender scripts as they are played out in popular media, looking at both normative (traditional) renditions of gender and sexuality as well as texts that challenge and therefore move beyond the heteronormative and sexist.

While there are certainly a few books on the shelves that already look at aspects of the gender–media dyad, that focus on sexuality and the media, or that consider the ways in which pornography leaks into popular culture, this collection brings those themes together in a fresh and inventive way, through the undertaking and writing of novel research by both new and more established scholars. In their different ways, a range of complementary voices explore the tropes, definitions, and understandings of gender, sex, and sexuality as played out in popular and new media, both in terms of (passive) representation and (active) agency. Contributions have been selected to reflect different local and national conditions and experiences, contrasting perspectives in terms of analytical orientation, and geographically dynamic subjects, which together produce a rich and diverse collection. So many contemporary texts on gender and media speak of global phenomena but actually discuss a highly restricted and restrictive cultural landscape that is limited not just to ‘the West’ but often merely the US and the UK. I wanted this collection to move beyond the narrow lens of the Western paradigm, to embrace other regions and places, and although this effort has been modestly successful, absences still, sadly, remain. What has been much more successful is the intention to recruit work from a mix of new and more mature voices, a deliberate strategy designed to produce scholarship at the cutting edge of theory building, demonstrating methodological ingenuity and exploring contemporary (and new) media patterns and practices. All the essays in the collection are thus theoretically rigorous and informed by original, primary research, the findings of which have their first outing within these covers. In this way, the collection offers something genuinely new and, I hope, useful.

There were several ways in which the collection could have been organized, but I have chosen a structure that is focused on sexual identity and sexuality and that comprises five sections – although a number of essays could happily sit in more

than one place. Each section begins with a specially commissioned introduction by a leading scholar that provides a historically grounded overview of the particular topic, followed by the subject-specific essays themselves.

Part I focuses on the ways in which women are represented in and use media and is introduced by *THE GEOGRAPHY OF WOMEN AND MEDIA*, Carolyn M. Byerly's excellent overview of these persistently tricky relations. The following five essays concentrate variously on politicians, celebrity, humor, and the Internet. The first two essays have politics at their core. In *CHILEAN WOMEN IN CHANGING TIMES*, Claudia Bucciferro takes the election of Michelle Bachelet as President of Chile in 2006 as the jumping-off point for analyzing the ways in which women and women's issues are portrayed in the Chilean Press and the influence of Bachelet in shifting perceptions of women in contemporary Chilean society. Bucciferro argues that, although Bachelet's election was a pivotal moment for pushing forward an equality agenda, her controversial premiership has led to sometimes contradictory trends in perceptions of women's proper place in the world. Staying with the political theme, in *THE GIRLS OF PARLIAMENT*, Elza Ibrosheva and Maria Stover explore the ways in which the Bulgarian press represent women parliamentarians, using a historical lens to compare coverage in the communist and postcommunist periods. They suggest that, although there are discernible differences across time, mostly in terms of the form of stereotypical portrayal, the underlying prism of patriarchy continues to define politicians in male terms and the media thus continue to judge women parliamentarians by the extent to which they do or do not conform to sex-based assumptions about appropriate behavior.

Gossip and celebrity is the subject of Erin Meyers' essay, *GOSSIP BLOGS AND 'BABY BUMPS,'* in which she explores the phenomenon of celebrity blogs such as *PerezHilton*, *Pink is the New Blog*, *Jezebel*, and *PopSugar* and their preoccupation with speculating on celebrity pregnancy. Meyers argues that the 'baby bump watch' combines the visual spectacle of women's bodies with the policing of social ideologies about femininity, sexuality, and motherhood that foreground the visible celebrity body as the bearer of the real self and the primary locus of celebrity value.

The last two essays in this section consider new media but with very different objects of study. Ilana Eleá's *FANFICTION AND WEBNOVELAS* is an ethnographic study of young women's consumption and production of fanfiction and webnovelas in Brazil, focusing on a small group of these 'digital natives' and the ways in which they 'talk' about and enjoy the texts they read and write. She also discusses the results from a questionnaire geared towards further understanding both the new language of web discourse and the relationships between young people's online and offline worlds. The last essay in this section, *VIRTUALLY BLONDE* by Limor Shifman and Dafna Lemish, takes a fresh look at an old genre, the 'dumb blonde' joke. Shifman and Lemish undertook a comparative analysis of jokes published in three languages (English, Hebrew, and Danish) and accessed via a number of websites. They argue that the primary ingredients of the dumb blonde joke – stupidity and promiscuity – are alive and well on the Internet because they provoke an easy laugh and provide a very simple way to denigrate *all* women.

Part 2 focuses on men and masculinity and is introduced by MEN, MASCULINITIES, AND THE CAVE MAN, Jeffery Dennis' skilful overview of the small but growing scholarship on this under-researched aspect of gender and media relations. There are five essays in this section: three look at cinematic portraits, one focuses on a particular television text, and the final essay concentrates on advertising aimed at male consumers. Stuart Price opens the section with RHETORICAL MASCULINITY, an analysis of the male protagonist in films such as *American History X*, *Che Part Two*, *Fight Club*, *Gettysburg*, *Gladiator*, *The Patriot*, and *Troy*, tracking the development of the male fight figure over time. By focusing on the rhetorical speeches made by leading male characters, Price argues that a deeper understanding can be found of the ways in which masculinity and leadership are mutually inscribed, continuously reinforcing patriarchy as the 'natural' social order. In the next essay, CONAN THE BLUEPRINT, Guido Ipsen also looks at male film leads, but focuses on fantasy figures such as *Conan the Barbarian* in the genre known as 'sword and sorcery' (S&S). Ipsen suggests that the figure of Conan constitutes a blueprint for subsequent versions of powerful masculinity in this genre, which privileges *über*-musculature, supreme physical strength and dexterity, and relatively primitive verbal and intellectual skills, where masculinity does indeed walk backwards into the cave. The last essay on masculinity and film, SAVE THE CHEERLEADER, SAVE THE MALES, is provided by Sarah Godfrey and Hannah Hamad, who focus on a rather different male heroic figure, that of the protective father. They argue that, in the post-9/11 cultural landscape, Hollywood produced a slew of films that promoted the political rhetoric of protective paternalism, using the disingenuously ideological neutral filter of fatherhood as a rationale for violent vigilantism in films such as *Body of Lies*, *Edge of Darkness*, *Law Abiding Citizen*, *Live Free Or Die Hard*, and *Taken*, and as well as popular television dramas *24* and *Heroes*.

The fourth essay in this section, FUCKING VITO by Lynne Hibberd, looks at a rather different and surprising face of masculinity, that of the gay gangster. Choosing the approach of a case study of the character of Vito in the acclaimed television series *The Sopranos*, Hibberd explores the collision of sexuality and masculinity as Vito is outed during later series of the show, leading to the negotiation, challenge, compromise, and ultimately reinforcement of traditional notions of the gangster trope and, with it, established notions of masculinity. The last essay in this section, STUDIO5IVE.COM, looks at how a particular organization – Studio5ive – addresses men as potential consumers of cosmetics. Claire Harrison deconstructs Studio5ive's website to consider the ways in which a feminine product such as mascara is advertised to men in ways that manage to simultaneously reinforce masculinity and reject homosexuality, so that men are encouraged to buy cosmetics without feeling guilty about the possibility of undermining their inherent rugged maleness.

Part 3 contains the largest number of essays and is specifically focused on sexual identity and, in particular, on lesbian, gay, and transgendered identities. In the introductory essay, NO HARD FEELINGS, Katherine Sender astutely historicizes the small but growing literature on what we might loosely call the 'LGBT' agenda.

The essays in this section demonstrate most clearly the ways in which gender and media studies is changing, as the gradual appearance of more lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transpeople in popular media, in more diverse characterizations, formats, and genres, is now giving researchers a volume of 'material' to analyze. The section kicks off with two essays on *The L Word*, and in the first of these (also titled THE L WORD) Julie Scanlon argues that the show employs the fashionable postmodern tools of its times – irony, citation, parody – in order to foster self-aware lesbian identities, recognize differences between them, and perpetuate the show's own role in the positing of these identities. Focusing predominantly on the pilot episode and Season 5 (the penultimate season), Scanlon analyzes how the show self-consciously and playfully ironizes its own earlier presentations of sexual identities and uses fans' knowledge about the show as a way of consolidating audience identity and consumption. In ANDRO-PHOBIA? Rebecca Kern also looks at *The L Word*, but focuses on the audience for the show, arguing that, although her sample audience members (both gay and straight) liked the show in general, they were mostly hostile to the transgendered characters of Moira/Max and Ivan. Kern suggests that notions of sexual identity as fluid are less acceptable in the real world than they are in the abstract, that gender norms cross boundaries of sexuality in very normative ways, and that even in queer communities gender still attaches to sex, and even, at times, sexuality.

The next two essays are also concerned with audiences, but in different ways. In QUESTIONING QUEER AUDIENCES, Alexander Dhoest and Nele Simons suggest that little is actually known about how gay men and lesbians feel about the ways in which their sexuality is portrayed by the media, and have remedied this lack in their own online study. They suggest that age is an important variable in relation to audience interest in accessing explicitly lesbian and gay media. Further, while mainstream media representations of gay men and lesbians is important for this audience group, particularly at the time of coming out, Dhoest and Simons argue that audiences also desire 'normality,' which goes against some claims of queer theory concerning resistant and subversive readings. Katharina Lindner is also interested in the audience and the 'normative' text, suggesting in 'IN TOUCH' WITH THE FEMALE BODY that there are ways in which images of women athletes in films such as *Bend it Like Beckham*, *Blue Crush*, and *Girlfight* can encourage precisely the subversive readings suggested by Dhoest and Simons as instances of queer viewing pleasure and points of engagement and identification.

Martin Fradley's essay on the *Pirates of the Caribbean* franchise, WHY DOESN'T YOUR COMPASS WORK?, continues the theme of appropriation, but the author argues that even a cursory analysis of the texts and especially the principal characters reveals an explicit and *conscious* strategy to destabilize the heteronormativity of the Hollywood blockbuster. By attending to both content and marketing materials, Fradley suggests that the films actually foreground queer at the textual and subtextual level, raising important questions about both the ideological conservatism of mainstream US cinema and the political efficacy of queer theory more broadly. In the next essay, RAISED VOICES, Susan Berridge is also interested in the overt

presentation of 'othered' sexuality, focusing on 'coming out' storylines in US teen dramas. She suggests that these 'coming out' narratives are nearly always preceded by homophobic, often abusive, storylines that act as catalysts for one of the characters to find the courage to out themselves. This disclosure operates as a narrative end point, which suggests that 'coming out,' and not homophobia, was the problem for the individual character to overcome.

The final two essays in this section focus on aspects of transgender in very different ways, but both focus on the experiences of individuals. In *TRANSMEN ON THE WEB*, Matthew Heinz explores the visibility of transmen (female to male) on the Web through analysis of a number of websites and blogs dedicated to this particular group. Heinz suggests that two primary discourses are revealed, one a global transmale youth discourse and the other a traditional transman discourse. He further argues that transmen have multiple points of identify and identification and that part of the function of both discursive forms is the avoidance of invisibility. Johannes Sjöberg, the author of *TRANSGENDERED SAINTS AND HARLOTS*, the final essay in this section, is a filmmaker and ethnographer who spent time living among a group of transgendered individuals in São Paulo in order to better understand their lived experiences and the dissonances between that reality and media representations. Sjöberg argues that there is a level of complicity between transgendered performance artists and actors and the broader media, both of which trade in stereotypes in order to encourage the consumption (in all senses of the word) of transgendered bodies.

Part 4 comprises a series of essays that make direct comparisons between women and men, girls and boys, in their relationships with and to different media forms and formats. Cindy Carter has written an engaging and comprehensive overview essay, *SEX/GENDER AND THE MEDIA*, that looks at the broad strands of gender and media research, covering a lot of ground and providing a clear context for the essays that follow. The first pair focus on audiences and both reveal very clear differences and indeed differing preferences between the two sexes in the respective audiences considered – young people and children. In *COLIN WON'T DRINK OUT OF A PINK CUP*, Barbara Mitra and Jenny Lewin-Jones look at the ways in which British children understand gendered identity in television commercials, suggesting that children have an awareness of 'sex-appropriate' behavior and that alongside acceptance of their own sex is a rejection of the opposite sex. They found that children were vociferous in their dislikes; for example, the color pink is so strongly associated with girls that boys tried to disassociate themselves completely from anything pink, and parents, particularly fathers, acknowledged their own complicity in reinforcing such stereotypes. On the other side of the world, Sue Abel worked with groups of young adults to explore their reading of 'post-ironic' advertisements that knowingly play with sex-based stereotypes. As documented in *POSTFEMINISM MEETS HEGEMONIC MASCULINITIES*, she found that women were much more likely to resist these advertisements, recognizing the thinly disguised (retro-)sexism within, whereas young men were more likely to find humor in such advertisements, being either unable or unwilling to see beneath the surface and celebrating the machismo expressed in renditions of the 'Kiwi bloke' stereotype.

The second pair of essays in this section focus on new technologies but come at the subject from almost opposite sides. In *COMMUNICATION AS COMMODIFICATION*, Corinna Chong, Heather Molyneaux, and H  l  ne Fournier look at the ways in which women and men use video technologies, arguing against those commentators who regard the Internet as a place of gender neutrality and empowerment. In their work, Chong, Molyneaux, and Fournier found that women were much less comfortable about being 'seen' via technologies such as videoconferencing and Skype, took much more trouble about their appearance if they knew they would be on screen, and were more worried about how they would appear (both literally and intellectually) to others, than men. However, no such inhibitions affect the young people in Koen Leurs and Sandra Ponzanesi's study of migrant youth and their use of instant messaging (IM) in *DUTCH MOROCCAN GIRLS PERFORMING THEIR SELVES IN INSTANT MESSAGING SPACES*. Working with a small group of Dutch Moroccan young people as well as using their own survey data, Leurs and Ponzanesi show how young people play, flirt, bond, and fight in IM as well as articulate hybrid belongings by combining gender, ethnicity, and youth/cultural affiliations. Sex-based stereotypes are recycled in IM but gendered performances are multi-layered and hybrid as multiple affiliations are articulated and negotiated.

Part 5 is, as its title suggests, all about sex and focuses on the different ways in which sex as biology and the act/art of sex itself work together to produce a variety of scripts to which women and men are supposed to conform and a variety of behaviors that women and men are expected to perform. Feona Attwood sets the scene in her insightful overview essay, *SEX AND THE MEDIA*, which maps the research trajectories of scholars who have been and still are interested in exploring the sex-media relationship. Jane Arthurs offers the first of five essays in this section, *DELICIOUSLY CONSUMABLE*, exploring the use of irony in campaign videos against sex trafficking. She suggests that humor rather than tragedy has the more powerful potential for political and social transformation, not simply because of compassion fatigue but also because the more sophisticated media consumer is skeptical of the media's 'moral panic' about trafficking, so that the media themselves have become the targets of ironic ridicule. In the next chapter, *THE SEX INSPECTORS*, in their work on what they call the 'sex and relationships makeover show,' Laura Harvey and Rosalind Gill look at the way in which a particular British television show, *The Sex Inspectors*, reworked notions of appropriate sexual behavior for women and men, arguing that women's value now comes not from their virginity but from the extent to which they can deliver 'sexiness.' While men are encouraged to develop technical bedroom skills such as sexual techniques and efficiency, women are encouraged to become sexual entrepreneurs, performing acts such as pole dancing, which were hitherto the preserve of sex industry workers.

The last three essays in this section all deal with aspects of sex online, focusing on sites designed to entertain a variety of sexual preferences. In *ENACTING BODIES*, Begonya Enguix and Elisenda Ard  vol undertake a comparison of two dating sites – the global site match.com and the US-based bearwww.com, where 'bear' refers to the large, muscular, and hairy male body type – which appeal to straight

and gay consumers, respectively. The authors explore the ways in which individuals choose to represent themselves online and the self-described options available to them via the drop-down menus embedded in the sites. Interestingly, they suggest that, while match.com is more or less a dating site at the level of the individual, bearwww.com functions more as a mechanism to foster group identity and belonging. In the next essay's study of sex-related websites, entitled *GENDER AND SEXUALITY IN THE INTERNET ERA*, Panayiota Tsatsou analyzes sites dedicated to sex tourism, homo/bisexuality, online pornography and rape, dating, and women's sexuality. She argues that most sites that are aimed at heterosexual audiences continue to recycle and recirculate traditional notions of sex and sexuality, whereas those sites that intend to attract individuals who do not identify principally as heterosexual are much more likely to show diversity in both practice and representation and demonstrate what could be considered as 'gender blurriness.' Such sites therefore perform an important function in rupturing the mostly normative orientation of the Internet. In *GAY FOR PAY*, John Mercer provides the final essay in this section, and focuses on sites oriented around what has become known as 'gay for pay' and that show allegedly straight men engaging in gay sex for an assumed audience of gay men. While this phenomenon is not new, Mercer argues that the public and visible nature of the performance *is* novel, further suggesting that the object of exploitation could be both performer and audience. Ultimately, as with so many of the essays in this collection, Mercer questions the financial imperative that is almost always present in the mediation of gender, sex, and sexuality.

Note

- 1 For my purposes here and elsewhere, I argue that sex is about biology and gender is about the social construction of femininity and masculinity that suggests that women and men should conform to normative notions of appropriate behavior for their perceived sex.

