## UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE SANTA CATARINA PÓS-GRADUAÇÃO EM INGLÊS E LITERATURA CORRESPONDENTE

# GOOD GIRLS GO TO HEAVEN; BAD GIRLS... LEARN TO BE GOOD: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF QUIZZES IN TEENAGE GIRLS' MAGAZINES

por

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Florianópolis, 16 de agosto de 1995.

I dedicate this dissertation to all teenage girls.

I mean all:

with no distinction between good and bad ones.

#### ABSTRACT

GOOD GIRLS GO TO HEAVEN; BAD GIRLS... LEARN TO BE GOOD:

#### CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS STUDY OF QUIZZES

IN TEENAGE GIRLS' MAGAZINES

#### ANA CRISTINA OSTERMANN

#### UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE SANTA CATARINA

1995

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In this dissertation I investigate 15 "quizzes" in teenage girls' magazines: the American 'Teen, Seventeen and Sassy, and the Brazilian Capricho, by using the methodology of Critical Language Study (Fairclough, 1989). The maim of this work is to argue that the genre quiz, apparently a ludic feature in these magazines, is not as harmless as it appears to be. In addition to encouraging girls towards self-scrutiny, quizzes work as "disciplinary instruments" (Foucault, 1977). Like the church, the school, and the family, they essentially aim at the "correct" socialization of teenage girls. By making use of the Problem-Solution Pattern (Hoey, 1979; 1983), I analyze the macro-structure of quizzes and I argue that there are connections between the discourse element Problem and the real-world problem. The producers of these texts judge, evaluate, classify girls as either "good" or bad," and prescribe and proscribe types of behavior mostly from a sexist perspective. By analyzing the conversational characteristics of quizzes: exchange structure, spoken discourse markers, teenage vocabulary, and synthetic personalization, I demonstrate that these texts are drawn on the "conversational model of discourse" (Fairclough, 1989). The use of this model is a strategy which aims at the mitigation of the authoritative position of the editors. The high informality of quizzes, therefore, disguises their most important aim: disciplining girls to be "good".

(106 pages) (27,509 words)

#### **RESUMO**

BOAS MENINAS VÃO PRO CÉU, AS MÁS ... APRENDEM A SER BOAS:

ANÁLISE CRÍTICA DO DISCURSO DOS TESTES DE COMPORTAMENTO

EM REVISTAS PARA MENINAS ADOLESCENTES

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1995

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Nesta dissertação investigo 15 quizzes ou testes de comportamento em revistas para meninas adolescentes: as revistas americanas 'Teen, Seventeen e Sassy, e a brasileira Capricho, usando a metodologia de Análise Crítica do Discurso (Fairclough, 1989). O objetivo deste trabalho é demonstrar que o quiz, um texto aparentemente lúdico, não é tão inocente como parece ser. Além de encorajar o "auto-escrutínio" nas adolescentes, os quizzes funcionam como "instrumentos disciplinadores" (Foucault, 1977). Assim como a igreja, a escola, e a família, eles visam fundamentalmente à "correta" socialização das adolescentes. Com base no modelo Problema-Solução (Hoey, 1979; 1983), eu analiso a macro-estrutura dos quizzes, e aponto as possíveis relações entre o elemento discursivo Problema e o problema do mundo real. Os produtores destes textos julgam, avaliam e classificam as meninas como boas ou más, e prescrevem e proscrevem certos tipos de comportamentos dentro de uma perspectiva geralmente sexista. Através da análise das características conversacionais dos quizzes: a estrutura de interação (exchange structure), os marcadores do discurso da linguagem falada, o vocabulário "adolescente," e a personalização sintética, eu mostro que estes textos são construídos com base no "modelo conversacional de discurso" (Fairclough, 1989). O uso deste modelo é uma estratégia que visa amenizar a posição autoritária das produtoras destes textos. Portanto, o alto grau de informalidade nos quizzes disfarça seu papel principal: o de disciplinar as adolescentes para serem "boas" meninas.

(106 páginas) (27.509 palavras)

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Agosto de 1995.

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#### CHAPTER 1

#### Introduction

"Good girls go to heaven; bad girls go everywhere."

(Mae West)

In this dissertation I investigate the genre *quiz* in teenage girls' magazines. A quiz is a fun, interactive, informal, and personalized set of questions and answers in which a girl is evaluated in different aspects. These aspects range from behavior, knowledge, personality, and the "perfect match," to fashion or even the "ideal" perfume.

Quizzes in these publications consist of three distinct basic parts: test, scoring table, and classification. In the test, the reader is asked to tick, from a selection of possible responses, what she would do in a certain number of given situations. Her answers are then tallied up numerically in the scoring table, and the total score will result in a specific classification, type of personality, type of behavior, or profile.

The genre quiz is present in every issue of teenage girls' magazines, and is one of the features most enjoyed by teenage girls. In the American magazine 'Teen, for instance, quizzes are one of the most popular items. According to the questionnaires that 'Teen sends readers every year to assess the most popular features of the magazine, "quizzes (especially ones about guys) consistently rank high" (letter of September 12, 1994).

In Brazil, quizzes are so appreciated by readers that in 1994, the magazine Capricho published a special issue only of quizzes. There are 24 quizzes altogether, with

their topics varying from behavior to boyfriends, body care, and fashion. In that issue, even the advertisement of a perfume is in the format of a quiz: "Qual o seu perfume preferido? T), H), A), T, Y)" (Capricho, Special Issue, 1994, p. 3).

The editor of *Capricho* justifies the relevance given to quizzes by the magazines:

Por que uma edição de testes? Ora, você sabe, porque é uma delícia, a gente adora fazer, para se conhecer melhor, rir, brincar. Para você, não precisa explicar. Teste é uma delícia e a gente quer saber sempre mais. Então, agora não tem do que reclamar, é só pegar o lápis e mandar ver. (*Capricho*, Special Issue, p. 5)

Aware of the important topics that the magazine 'Teen sometimes deals with, Camron, the editor, claims that:

Although our quizzes sometimes address serious issues, we are always careful to present the material in a way that will encourage our readers to think and make the decisions for themselves. We simply provide them with the information on which they can base their decision. (letter of September, 1994)

In my study, I investigate quizzes in order to question the statements above. I argue that quizzes are not as innocuous and innocent as they seem to be. Through an analysis of the discourse of quizzes, I claim that in these tests readers are neither simply getting to know themselves better, as *Capricho* claims (*Capricho*, Special Issue, 1994, p. 5), nor are they being encouraged "to think and make the decisions for themselves," as Camron declares. Moreover, writers of quizzes are not merely providing information for readers to base their decisions on.

Quizzes, as I will contend here, are an instrument of control and of discipline (Foucault, 1977) of teenage girls. They point out problems that girls might have never thought of as problems before, classifying the individual reader and her behavior as either

"appropriate" or "inappropriate," and establishing a clear distinction between what it means to be a "good girl" as opposed to being a "bad girl." For the inappropriate types of behavior, quizzes provide solutions "whose purpose is to modify the conduct of the receivers of the text" (Longacre, 1992, p. 110). These solutions, according to my findings, are of a sexist kind.

According to Kress (1985), the sexist discourse "determines the manner in which the biological category of sex is taken into social life as gender" (p. 7). It defines what and how men and women may be, how they are supposed to see the other gender and themselves, and how they are supposed to interact with the other gender and among themselves. The discourse of sexism extends to the relations within the family, and to the different roles in it. In other words, it determines how a father is supposed to be, what a mother is expected to do, and how sons and daughters are supposed to behave (id.).

In the conservative discourse, females are judged according to their moral conduct, and they are classified into two broad categories: the "good" and the "bad" ones. This type of discourse reinforces traditional positions or roles for women — such as being less assertive than men, not talking loud in public, not taking the initiative in sexual encounters, just to mention a few. These are roles that, for a long time, have been imposed on them as "natural." Due to these fixed and rigorous positions imposed on women as if they were natural, the boundaries between correct an incorrect, appropriate and inappropriate, right and wrong behavior are defined and reproduced.

Through my analysis of quizzes I will demonstrate that quizzes try to impose some types of behavior on girls. I will also demonstrate how they are related to two important

concepts taken from social theory: the concepts of *examination* and *discipline* (Foucault, 1977). My main argument is that quizzes work as powerful disciplinary instruments of girls.

Just as other social institutions such as the family, the school and the church, quizzes work as instruments of *socialization* of the adolescent girl. They evaluate the girl's behavior, and *discipline* her to adopt attitudes and types of behavior that are considered "appropriate." However, as I will demonstrate through my analysis, they play an authoritative disciplinary role in a very specific way. Through the investigation of the conversational features that quizzes are permeated with, I will show how these texts are imperative while being at the same time fun, joyful, highly interactive and informal.

What I will demonstrate is that quizzes are made up of the "hybridization" (Fairclough, 1992b, p. 222) of three discourse models: the discourse of advertising — which creates a "synthetic personalization" (Fairclough, 1989; 1992a; 1992b) —, the discourse of interview — which gives voice to the self —, and the discourse of counseling — which works towards advice and discipline. The most important characteristic that is common to the three discourses is the fact that all of them are drawn on the conversational model of discourse (Fairclough, 1992b, p. 204).

#### 1.1 - Data

The data used in my analysis are 15 quizzes taken from teenage girls' magazines: the American 'Teen, Seventeen, and Sassy, and the Brazilian Capricho. The specific

quizzes I selected to analyze in chapters five and six are listed in the beginning of each of those chapters, and the texts in full are in the appendix.

Although quizzes cover the most diverse topics, it is important to mention that my analysis concentrates only on those related to personality and behavior.

#### 1.2 - Methodology of Analysis

I base my investigation of the genre quiz on the theory of Critical Language Study (Fairclough, 1989; 1992a; 1992b; 1993; Fowler et al., 1979; Gee, 1990; Van Dijk, 1993). The reason for using this theory of language study is that it permits me to go beyond the mere linguistic description. It makes it possible to establish the connections between the linguistic conventions in quizzes and other discourses in society.

Critical Language Study theory enables me to demonstrate how some linguistic structures are being used, and how they may be hiding powerful discourses, among which sexism is one. It offer me the necessary tools to provide evidence for the argument that quizzes are not as harmless and simply ludic as they seem to be.

By using other theories of linguistic description (Coulthard, 1985; Chafe, 1982), I will demonstrate that the authoritative position of editors is mitigated through the conversational features of the genre. Based on the Hoey's (1979; 1983) Problem-Solution pattern, I will show that, in quizzes, girls are "problematized," evaluated and classified.

#### 1.3 - Research questions

Five questions will guide my investigation:

- (a) How do quizzes play the role of disciplining girls?
- (b) How is the girls' behavior evaluated and classified?
- (c) How are the *good girl* and the *bad girl* constructed?
- (d) How is the regulative and authoritative position of the editors concealed so that quizzes hold a harmless appearance, and readers enjoy them so much?
- (e) In which ways are quizzes in teenage girls' magazines related to other instruments of discipline and of socialization in society?

#### 1.4 - Organization of this dissertation

This dissertation is organized in the following way. In chapter two, I introduce the genre quiz and comment on its use in teenage girls' magazines and in other institutions, such as the school, the church, TV and radio. I also discuss the concept of socialization that I adopt in this work, and the role of socialization in teenage girls' magazines. At the end of the chapter, I explain Critical Language Study, the theoretical support for my analysis of the *genre* quiz.

In chapter three, I concentrate on the conversational characteristics of quizzes. I analyze their exchange structure (Coulthard, 1985) and the vocabulary: "teenage talk," the use of synthetic personalization (Fairclough, 1989) and of the discourse markers of the spoken mode. By making use of these linguistic features, editors "converse" with their readers, as if the latter were individual *yous*.

In chapter four, I investigate the text-structure of the *classification* part of quizzes.

I argue that the structure of quizzes follow the Problem-Solution Pattern (Hoey, 1979;

1983). In addition to the analysis of the surface of the discourse — the text structure of the genre quiz —, I also investigate the vocabulary, the use of negation, contradictions, presuppositions, accredited sources, and other linguistic conventions. This analysis will help me to demonstrate that in quizzes girls are judged, positively and negatively evaluated, and eventually classified as either "good" or "bad" girls. In this chapter, I will also investigate the power editors exercise by prescribing "appropriate" modes of behavior, and proscribing "inappropriate" ones.

Finally, in chapter five, I will discuss the connections between the genre quiz in teenage girls' magazines and the social theory of the "disciplinary society" (Foucault, 1977). I will explain how the quiz constitutes an instrument of discipline.

All the names of the chapters, except for the Introduction and the Conclusion, were taken from the magazines under analysis here. Since, for aesthetic reasons, it would be inappropriate to provide their references at the places where they are cited, I anticipate them here:

Chapter 2: "Get Quizzical!!" ('Teen, April, 1994, p. 86)

Chapter 3: "So, uh, what do you, like, wanna do? (Sassy, 1994, June, p. 18)

Chapter 4: "If you are not part of the solution, you are part of the problem." (Sassy, 1994, March, p. 36)

Chapter 5: "This is how they punish bad girls. (Sassy, March, 1994, p. 68)

#### **CHAPTER 2**

#### Get quizzical!!

In this chapter I introduce the genre quiz and talk about its use by different institutions. This overview of the different contexts in which the genre is used shows its importance in significant social establishments such as the media, the school, and the church. In this discussion, I also trace the similarity between quizzes in teenage girls' magazines and those of an apparently different type. The definition of genre I use here is the one provided by Fairclough (1992b):

A relatively stable set of conventions that is associated with, and partly enacts, a socially ratified type of activity, such as informal chat, a poem, a scientific article. A genre implies not only a particular text type, but also particular processes of producing, distributing and consuming texts" (p. 126).

In this chapter, I also explain the term *socialization*, which is one of the most important concepts in this dissertation. The media plays a very important role in socializing individuals. As a vehicle of the written media, teenage girls' magazines take their part in that process. I therefore review the *role of socializing* of teenage girls' magazines — advocated by the critics of these publications — and explain how the genre quiz is intrinsically related to it. To finalize the chapter, I explain the theory of Critical Language Study that upholds my own investigation of quizzes. This theory permits me to move into a kind of analysis that critics of women's magazines in general have missed to do: the critical analysis of the linguistic conventions of texts. I intend to demonstrate that these conventions hide unseen ideologies.

#### 2.1 - The examination quiz

The practice of *quizzing*, common in teenage girls' magazines, is not restricted to them. In fact, the quiz, written or oral, has a long-term tradition as a way of assessing people's knowledge, behavior, point-of-view, personality, among others. In the United States, for instance, in the late 18th century and beginning of the 19th, the *circuit riders*— itinerant preachers who were the links between the Methodist churches and society—were known for their work of visiting communities at least once a month in order to "quiz" the members on their Christian faith. (Noll, 1992)

Commonly associated with the school evaluation system, *quiz* is a noun and a verb all too familiar to students. In schools, the quiz is an informal examination used to verify the students' comprehension of a field of knowledge. It constitutes one of the ways the students' progress is monitored.

One of the first recorded instances of the word quiz in relation to the education system occurs in the writings of the American educator, psychologist, and philosopher William James. In a letter of December 26, 1867, he suggests that "giving quizzes in anatomy and psychology" could promote learning (*The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 1992).

Another frequent use of quizzes is the job interview, which usually consists of an oral examination of the mental ability, knowledge and personality of the job applicant. Quizzes are also known from television and radio. As it is demonstrated in the recent movie *Quiz show* (1994), the quiz shows on TV seem to have had an impressive popularity when they started, around three decades ago. In Brazil, they remain one of the

greatest attractions mainly on weekend programs, such as Faustão (Globo) and Silvio Santos (SBT).

#### 2.2 - Quizzes in teenage girls' magazines

Present in every issue of teenage girls' magazines, quizzes encourage girls to work towards "self-scrutiny" (McCracken, 1993, p. 239). In this process of self-scrutiny, apart from being evaluated on one specific aspect of their life, girls are also given advice and rules on how to improve in specific areas. The instructions provided at the end of each quiz work as tools to help adolescent girls deal with their lives and their relationships. García claims that quizzes constitute "el empleo de una disciplina científica [psychology] en una praxis banal y manipuladora" (1988, p. 65).

In the quiz process of self-scrutiny, editors evaluate and classify girls. By evaluating and judging the girl's behavior, they also define what is and what is not appropriate. At the end, the solution for the supposed problems is in control of the editors, who are the ones who hold the authority. They exercise authority as *power* — they tell the reader when and how to change her behavior —, and as *knowledge* — they supposedly have more information and educational background than their readers, which allow them to prescribe new ways of behaving, if the present ones are not adequate.

According to Camron, the editor of 'Teen magazine, quizzes are sometimes written by an educational or psychological expert. Most of the time, however, they are simply devised by a writer who possesses expertise on the subject she/he is writing about (letter of September 12, 1994). A question to be raised here is how the magazines evaluate

this "expertise" in a quiz such as "What do guys think of you?" (Seventeen, 1994, April, pp. 106 and 110). How can a person be judged in terms of her/his knowledge about this subject-matter?

Critics of women's magazines (Winship, 1987; Ballaster *et al.*, 1991; Ferguson, 1983) suggest that in women's magazines, the images of women are always constructed, conveyed and judged through *a male's eye*: "men are a constant reference point" (Ballaster et al., 1991, p. 174).

#### 2.3 - Similarities in different uses of quizzes

Some characteristics are common to all uses of quizzes, being it a quiz show, in a job interview, or in a teenage girls' magazine. First, they all have a set of questions and answers. Second, for each of the questions, there is an expected answer: the "correct one," if it is a knowledge test; the one that conforms to the norm, if it is a behavior test. Third, due to the fact that the answers in quizzes are judged in terms of "right" and "wrong," quizzes involve evaluation. Lastly, the evaluation of the answers encompasses either reproof or gratification. Being applied by teachers, TV or radio entertainers, circuit riders, job interviewers, or editors of teenage girl's magazines, the evaluation in quizzes might be a punishment or a gratification to the person being quizzed.

In school, for instance, while achieving a good score means some kind of reward to the student, obtaining a bad one works as a penalty. In the same way, in a job interview, if the questions provided by the applicant are the ones that correspond to the type of

personality and capacity expected by the potential employer, the respondent will probably be "gratified" by getting the intended job.

Similarly, in teenage quizzes, the girl who provides the "expected," or the most "appropriate" answers is positively evaluated. The one that does not, on the other hand, is reprimanded and told to change her behavior.

#### 2.4 - Socialization

To socialize a person is to adapt or convert him/her to the needs of the society. Socialization is the way in which the members of one generation in a given society acquire knowledge, behavior, and ideals from the older generations. Socialization shapes individual's personality and outlook. The process of socialization starts in infancy, and involves learning acquired mainly from the family, peer group, along with the school and the media. It comprises the learning of the informal and formal roles of the individual in society. It happens through imitation, rewards, discipline, and conscious indoctrination as well as unconscious approval or disapproval. (Mueller, 1987)

The main "socializing agents" are the social institutions. The family, the church, the school, and the government, also known as *social structures*, are brought into existence to administer social norms. By social norms, I mean standards of behavior which individuals are expected to conform to. Although primarily related to childhood, socialization takes place throughout life. It is a continuous process whereby an individual learns and assimilates the values and behavior patterns "appropriate" to his or her culture and social position, and adjust him/herself to society and its demands. The censure or

approval to which a person is subjected helps to determinate her/his later behavior.

(Mueller, 1987)

In adolescence, individuals usually view their parents as having little capacity to guide them in their adjustment to the world. The conflict which results from the different perspectives which parents and their adolescents have of the world, of relationships, and of lifestyles, is precisely what is known as "generation gap." It is mainly in the beginning of puberty that the social institutions family and school begin to have their importance decreased. In adolescence then, the major role in the socialization of individuals is taken over by peer associations and the *media*. (Becker, 1994)

It is in this context that teenage girls' magazines appear. Being part of the media, they have as one of their most important roles the socialization of their readers. In addition to being one of the media vehicles, they relate very closely to peer associations. This is due to the fact that they use interactive strategies and appear to be talking to girls as if they were their friends — a *teenage* friend.

#### 2.5 - The role of socialization in teenage girls' magazines

Seventeen taught me how to manicure my nails, how to shave my legs, how to make up my eyes to twice their size, not to mention how to make a tuna casserole, how to let boys win at tests and sports, how to flirt without making a jerk of myself and how to be fun for other people to be around. (Hurst, 1984, apud. Smith, 1988, p. 46)

The scholars who have investigated women's magazines (Ballaster et al., 1991; Ferguson, 1983; Fischer, 1993; Frazer, 1987; García, 1988; McCracken, 1993; McRobbie, 1981 and 1991; and McRobbie & Nava, 1984) claim that these publications constitute

powerful ideological instruments. Ballaster et al. (1991) argue that as analysts of women's magazines, they find themselves between the pleasures of the form these publications offer and the "subliminal" and "unseen ideological" workings they construct (p. 161).

Ferguson (1983, p. 10) claims that one of the main roles of women's magazines — and within this group, the teenage girls' magazines — is to *socialize* women into appropriate kinds of behavior, by advising them how they are supposed to feel and to act, and by teaching them how to treat their bodies and how to dress themselves.

Publishers, editors of women's magazines, and the companies that advertise in their pages decide what is important, desirable, worthy, appropriate to be discussed: they have the power over the agenda of topics. This involves the power of choosing what will be published, emphasized, and disregarded. Ferguson (1983) labels the editors of women's magazines' as "gatekeepers" (p. 10) of the female world for their control over topics and language within the pages of their periodicals. As McRobbie (1991) suggests, "the regulative, controlling mechanisms operate precisely along the terrain of the provision of knowledge and the way it is dispensed" (p. 164). She argues that the discourse of teenage magazines in particular supports other discourses, such as the one of the school, of the family, and of the church, mainly in what concerns the "correct" socialization, or the discipline of girls (p. 165).

García (1988) claims that the texts which teenage girls' magazines offer, i.e., horoscopes, diets, quizzes, etc., constitute "una socialización de valores sociales, expectativas, modelos y aspiraciones para el futuro." (p. 150). The researcher notes that

the magazine talks as a counselor to girls, speaking "their own language," as the girls' parents many times cannot do. (id.)

In her investigation of the Brazilian teenage magazine *Capricho*, Fischer (1993) sustains that what we mostly find in those pages is a "ritual around the body," which involves a "patologização" of the girls. There is a subjection of the girls' bodies — the concept of "docile bodies" (Foucault, 1977) — to the examination, care and advice provided by members of the "expert system," the physicians.

McCracken (1993) refers to American teenage girls' magazines, specifically *Seventeen*, as having a long-time tradition in "correctly" socializing girls (p. 143). Teenage girls' magazines in general appear to be extremely concerned with what McCracken (1993) calls "the moralistic socialization of readers" (p. 148). Articles on parent-daughter and boy-girl relationships, drugs, sexual activity, drinking, and girls' manners in general, function both in socializing girls into a range of behavior considered appropriate, and in smoothly projecting an image of "wholesomeness" (McCracken, 1993, p. 149). Some titles of articles speak for themselves:

"Marijuana Update." ('Teen, 1994, August, pp. 50-2)

"Beber pode não ser só diversão." (*Capricho*, 1994, August, pp. 46-53)

"Transar ou não. Eis a questão." (Capricho, 1994, April, pp. 50-7)

"Um guia do que dizer (e o que não dizer) para o menino que você gosta." (Capricho, 1994, March, p. 16)

"The new Drug Generation Whatever happened to Just say no?" (Seventeen, 1994, April, pp. 148-151)

"Get a job you lazy slacker." (Sassy, 1994, June, p. 62)

Ferguson (1983) has a similar view. She suggests that women's magazines are "pervasive in the extent to which they act as agents of socialization, and the remarkable degree to which they deal in and promulgate values and attitudes" (p. 2). They tell women what to do and think about themselves, their relationships, their boyfriends, friends, and their lives as a whole. According to the same researcher, teenage girls, mothers, and professional women, are all offered help from the magazines. "'How to' is the phrase which signals that this socialization process is underway: 'how to' make up or find a job, 'how to' be good in bed..." (ibid., p. 8). Ferguson suggests that "continuing education" is a notion which has been practiced for a long time by editors of women's magazines: "femininity as a career is a lifelong commitment" (id.).

McCracken (1993) argues that in girls' magazines there are "contradictory iconic signs" that, while encouraging girls to beautify themselves for an implied male, also urge them to preserve childish and playful gestures (p. 126). In other words, whereas most of the advertising prompts girls to dress and make up as adult women and to be "sexually alluring," other sections of the magazine induce them to remain childish. Furthermore, while some parts of the magazine try to break away from some traditional roles of girls, emphasizing independence, aggressiveness and initiative in sexual encounters, the quizzes, advice columns, and several other features in the magazine promote "properly" socialized behavior, encourage self-criticism, and many times place guilt on readers for "inappropriate" conduct. (id.)

It is common to find answers imbedded in a very conservative discourse, mainly for what concerns girls who do not practice sex with steady boyfriends only. Instead of emphasizing the risks of sexually transmitted diseases, the magazine emphasizes behavior.

Girls are censoriously labeled as "promiscuous" and claimed to present an "unhealthy" behavior:

[Question] She [my friend Risa] had sex with my boyfriend's brother Bill. Bill's best friend. My boyfriend's best friend... need I go on? What should I say to her?

[Answer] You're right to be worried — Risa's behavior seems self-destructive. . . . Risa's sudden promiscuity [italics added] may be a sign that she has some painful stuff going on in her life. (Seventeen, 1995, January, p. 48)

What these "socializing" pieces try to do, according to McCracken (1993), is to regain social control over the transgressive messages that readers can enjoy in other parts of the magazine, mainly in the ads that stimulate girls to become sex objects (p. 140).

It is because of the "wholesome" image teenage girls' magazine strive to sustain that the contradictions mentioned above appear. For the survival of teenage girls' magazines, in addition to dealing with the demands of the advertisers, publishers also have to negotiate with the expectations of the parents, who, for the most part, are the ones who pay for the subscription. According to McCracken (1993), this "parallel strategy" of making use of transgressive elements to sell products while striving for ideological closure to contain these elements in other parts of the magazine has demonstrated to be a "lucrative technique" for teenage magazines (p. 142). These publications function as "commodities selling other commodities" (id.). In other words, with their contradictory discourses girl's magazines please both the companies that advertise in them and the girls' parents. As a result, these magazines can always obtain more advertising and subscriptions: the two sources that guarantee their survival.

#### 2.5.1 - Dear boy: male authority shaping young girls' socialization

Teenage girls' magazines customarily have at least one section which is written by a male adolescent. This section usually consists of questions and answers. Girls write letters to be answered by a boy. The answers in these sections tend to be wholly conservative and to reinforce traditional female roles in society.

Capricho, in its page written by teenage boys, confirms this argument. Double standards for female and male roles are dictated without any criticism:

[Girl's question] Garotas também podem dar cantadas ou o menino vai achar ruim?

[Boy's answer] Ser cantado por uma menina é demais, deveria ser supercomum e acontecer de igual para igual, sempre. . . . Só não é legal quando a garota praticamente se entrega para o menino. Aí , a coisa começa a ficar meio estranha, e não tem jeito, a menina fica com fama de galinha mesmo! (*Capricho*, 1994, March, p. 104)

[Girl's question] O que os meninos acham das meninas que deixam passar a mão logo no primeiro dia em que eles ficam juntos?

[Boy's answer] Mesmo eu não sendo desse tipo, reconheço que tem muito menino que fica com as garotas só para passar a mão, e se elas deixam... As meninas sabem demonstrar quando estão a fim de algo mais e aí, o cara que não é bobo, aproveita. . . . Acho muito dificil um menino querer namorar com uma garota que deixou passar a mão logo de cara, porque ele perde a confiança nela. (*Capricho*, 1994, July)

[Girl's question] Os meninos acham que existe um tipo de garota que serve "só pra ficar"?

[Boy's answer] Claro. Elas são escandalosas e extrovertidas demais, do tipo daquelas que riem alto só para serem o centro das atenções. Saem sempre, e com um monte de amigas. Ficam olhando para todos os garotos, mandam bilhetinhos e acabam sempre dando um jeito de ficarem sozinhas

com eles. Quem é que vai querer namorar com esse tipo de menina que não inspira confiança? (Capricho, 1994, February, p. 112)

In the answers supposedly provided by boys, there is a strong concern with the "correct" socialization or the disciplining of girls. As McCracken (1993) argues, in these pages, it is the "male authority that shapes young girls' socialization" (p. 299). She shows an example of a magazine column that began with "Girls who know how to recognize their errors fascinate me," and contends that such texts work in "linking self-deprecation to male affection" (p. 239).

But the "male authority" McCracken (1993) refers to, is not only straightforwardly expressed in the answers provided by guys, or in the columns written by them. The "male point-of-view" in fact permeates every section of girl's magazines, from the beauty section to the quizzes, written by either women or men. It is the "male gaze" which determines what is appropriate or not, not only in terms of behavior, but also in terms of clothing, dressing, and even eating.

As Winship (1987) suggests, what we actually find in teenage girls' magazines are pictures of girls, and prescriptions of types of "appropriate" behavior and concepts of femininity that a masculine culture has defined (p. 11). Or, as McCracken puts it (1993), inside women's magazines, "the position of the camera often coincides with a male perspective of the women portrayed" (p. 112).

Women's magazines . . . provide the syllabus and step-by-step instructions which help to socialise their readers into the various ages and stages of the demanding — but rewarding — state of womanhood. (Ferguson, 1983, p. 185)

This socialization is largely attached to ideological values, and the construction of its discourse is "absolutely reactionary in the position they give to women in society"

(Ballaster et al., 1991, p. 154). It seems that, above all, girls are being encouraged to adapt themselves to the needs imposed by that "male gaze."

In short, what these magazines do is to give girls lessons on how to spend their money and on how to behave. In other words, how to be both a consumer and a "socially well behaved" female. Information and advice work together to promote traditional femininity and consumption, not only of the items offered in the magazines, but also of the magazines themselves. That is, these publications strive to create in their audience an "endless need" of "consuming" both the products they announce and the advice they offer in their texts.

#### 2.6 - Critical Language Study

As I stated in the beginning of this chapter, critics of teenage girls' magazines provide crucial insights about the role of socialization — among other insights — in these publications. Their investigations, however, are restricted to the content analysis of those texts. In my investigation of the genre quiz, I propose to analyze its role of socialization by considering its linguistic conventions and their implications. In other words, I will demonstrate how some linguistic features of the genre quiz are "traces of" and "clues to" (Fairclough, 1989) hidden messages, power relations of which, most of the time, the reader is not aware.

The theoretical support I use to carry out my analysis of quizzes comes from Fairclough (1989; 1992a; 1992b) and it is called Critical Language Study (CLS henceforth), or Critical Discourse Analysis. The main objective of CLS is to help

individuals to become aware of the processes of domination exercised through language, looking for evidence that language is not only used as a means of communication, but also as an instrument of power and control.

The term "critical" in Critical Discourse Analysis stands in opposition to the merely "descriptive" characteristic of mainstream linguistics and sociolinguistics. It is *critical* because it points out the interconnections between language, power and ideology. "CLS analyses social interactions in a way which focuses upon their linguistic elements, and which sets out to show up their generally hidden determinants in the system of relationships, as well as hidden effects they may have upon the system" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 5). The main interest of CLS, therefore, is to show how language conventions and language practices are invested with power relations and ideological processes. (Fairclough, 1992b, p. 7)

In CLS, language is seen as "meaning potential." The concept of language as meaning potential is based mainly on Halliday's (1978; 1985) principles of systemic and functionalist grammar. The tools offered by this type of grammar were used by the initiators of "critical" linguistics -- the British researchers from the University of East Anglia: Fowler et al., 1979) -- to analyze language.

Two important principles guide the "critical" linguistic analysis. *First*, critical linguistics does not treat language systems as autonomous and independent of the "use" of language. *Second*, it does not separate "content" from "form." (Fairclough, 1992b, p. 26). Critical linguists have as their main objective the critical interpretation of texts, in an attempt to recover "the social meanings expressed in discourse by analyzing the linguistic

structures in the light of their interactional and wider social contexts" (Fowler et al., 1979, pp. 195-6).

#### 2.6.1 - Language as social practice

The study of language in CLS adopts a perspective of "language as a form of social practice" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 22). For Fairclough (1989; 1992a; 1992b), this has three main implications. The first implication is that all linguistic phenomena are social phenomena. Language is part of society and cannot be dissociated from it. Whenever we act linguistically, our acts are socially determined and have social effects (ibid., p. 23). The second implication is that language is a social process: the text is the product of a process which involves two other processes: production and interpretation. Language in CLS is seen as discourse: a process of which a text is only part. In other words, text is both a product of the process of interpretation and a resource for this same process (ibid., p. 24). Finally, the third implication of seeing language as social practice is that language is a socially conditioned process: it is conditioned by other parts of society. This means that both the production and the interpretation of texts involve social conditioning. These processes are socially influenced by what producers and interpreters bring from their own lives to the interpretation, and by the immediate, institutional and other conditions of the society in which the discourse occurs (ibid., p. 25).

According to Fairclough, CLS comes to be understood, then, not as just another approach to language which would complement other areas of language study, but as "an alternative orientation to language study which implies a different demarcation of language

study into approaches or branches, different relationships between them, and different orientations within each of them" (ibid., p. 13).

It is, therefore, the primary aim of any critical discourse analyst to make other people aware of the relationship between language and society, and to demonstrate how language is used as an instrument of control, as a means "to empower and disempower people and groups of people" (Gee, 1991, p. xx). CLS must be used to make people aware of the way language reflects and/or constructs, sets up, social identities and social relationships for discourse participants, and how it can mirror and/or frame reality and knowledge ideologically. It is important to notice that although CLS is clearly different from mainstream linguistics, the description of the linguistic conventions provided by the latter constitutes the first and crucial step towards the *critical* level of interpretation of texts.

Therefore, in spite of the fact that CLS is the "umbrella" theory that upholds the present work, I also make use of other types of linguistic analysis. I do not establish, however, a distinct line between mere linguistic description and critical analysis. Most of the time I undertake both simultaneously. Moreover, parallel to every new linguistic topic of analysis, I provide the linguistic theoretical support that underlies that particular discussion.

In the next chapter I move into the analysis of conversational features of quizzes.

#### CHAPTER 3

#### So, uh, what do you, like, wanna do?

In this chapter I investigate the "traces of" and "clues to" (Fairclough, 1989) the conversational features in quizzes in teenage girls' magazines and their implications. I analyze some of the specific characteristics of the conversational model of discourse: the exchange structure (Coulthard, 1985), where the reader is supposedly "given voice" (Fairclough, 1989); the use of a synthetic second person form of address; markers that resemble the spoken mode of discourse — graphic and discourse markers — and the use of the "teenage talk."

The reason for choosing these characteristics for analysis is that they enable me to demonstrate that quizzes simulate "real" conversations, and that this simulation promotes informality and equalization of the relations between writers and readers. This analysis will support the argument that informality and equalization of relations constructed in quizzes attenuate the authority of editors who prescribe and proscribe models of behavior.

I believe that the linguistic features I analyze in this chapter are related to some of the pleasures quizzes give to readers. These pleasures are: first, the engagement of the reader in the activity, i.e., she is called into direct participation, simultaneous to her reading. Second, the texts give the impression that they were written for one particular reader. The second person addressed in quizzes works towards personalization. Quizzes build up the impression that the you which is being addressed is the reader herself. Third, the you is not only addressed individually but also given voice — although this voice will never be "heard." And finally, the fourth pleasure is that of finding out more about oneself,

about what others think of him/her, and about what ideal friends or mates are. This sort of pleasure, which builds up curiosity to "travel" through the inner thoughts, is perhaps the same pleasure that incites so many people to look for clairvoyants to read or interpret their lives. And finally, the fifth pleasure is that of being advised by an expert what direction to take.

#### 3.1 - Data

The data under investigation in this chapter are 15 quizzes from 'Teen, Sassy, Seventeen, and Capricho. The quizzes under analysis are listed below. Their texts in full are in the appendix.

Quiz 1: "Is your boyfriend your life?" (Seventeen, 1994, March, p. 142)

Quiz 2: "Você é machista?" (Capricho, 1994, July, pp. 128-129)

Quiz 3. "What do guys think of you?" (Seventeen, 1994, April, pp. 106 and 110)

Quiz 4: "Test your social savvy. Do you sizzle or fizzle?" ('Teen, 1994, March, pp. 36 and 38)

Quiz 5: "Você sobrevive sem namorado?" (Capricho, 1994, August, pp. 106-107)

Quiz 6: "Você se gosta? Mesmo?" (Capricho, 1994, Special Issue, pp. 40-41)

Quiz 7: "Are you independent?" (Sassy, 1994, May, p. 26)

Quiz 8: "What kind of flirt are you?" (Seventeen, 1994, August, pp. 106 and 112)

Quiz 9: "Are you a control freak?" (Seventeen, 1994, March, pp. 96 and 98)

Quiz 10: "Você é insegura?" (Capricho, 1994, Special Issue, pp. 52-53)

Quiz 11: "Do you have a big mouth?" (Seventeen, 1994, July, p. 46)

Quiz 12: "Are you a slacker?" (Seventeen, 1995, January, p. 6)

Quiz 13: "Are you a slacker?" (Sassy, 1994, March, p. 30)

Quiz 14: "Are you a user?" (Sassy, 1994, February, p. 30)

Quiz 15: "Você tem pavio curto?" (Capricho, 1994, November, p. 160)

#### 3.2 - Conversation and the discourse of media

The media exercises great power over viewers, listeners and readers. However, according to Fairclough (1992b), there is a tendency to eliminate, or at least, mitigate, overt markers that would indicate the use of this power. One of the ways of doing that is the use of the conversational model of discourse. The reliance of the media on the conversational model of discourse functions strategically and together with their exercise of power. As Fairclough points out, broadcasters have a tendency to "extensively 'converse' with their mass audiences, as if they were chatting with individual members of them" (1992b, pp. 204-205).

The use of the conversational model of discourse in media aims at "informality" (ibid., p. 204). While formal relations between participants work towards the sharpening of the asymmetries of power and status between them, informality works towards the equalization of their relations. Fairclough suggests that

a central manifestation of increasing informality is the way in which conversational discourse has been and is being projected from its primary domain, in the personal interactions of the private sphere, into the public sphere. Conversation is colonizing the media (Kress 1986; Fowler 1988b), various types of professional/public discourse, education and so forth: by this, I mean that their discourse is taking on an increasingly conversational

character. This is part of a major restructuring of the boundaries between public and private domains. (1992b, p. 204)

#### 3.3 - The reader is "given voice": the exchange structure in quizzes

The set of questions and answers, incomplete assertions, and/or True or False sentences, which is typical of any quiz, is one peculiarity that characterizes quizzes as dialogic.

From now on, the word *test* will be used to refer only to a quiz. The word *quiz*, on the other hand, will be used to refer to the whole "text," that is, the set of questions and answers plus the subsequent classification (the categories) and the texts that follow them (description of the categories and set of advice).

According to Coulthard (1985), the *exchange* is "the unit concerned with negotiating the transmission of information" (p. 139). It comprises "at least an initiation (I) from one speaker and a response (R) from another. The simplest structure for an exchange is therefore IR" (Stubbs, 1983, p. 104). The question—answer pair is one of the most evident example of such an exchange. According to Stubbs (1983), the fundamental notion of an exchange is that it consists of an initiation and "any contributions that tend to close that mini topic: by completing a proposition . . .; by acknowledging it . . . , and so on" (p. 135).

Coulthard (1985) suggests that in conversational interactions the exchange structure is realized in terms of *moves*. He defines a *move* as the smallest contribution that a speaker can make to an exchange (p. 125). It is a combination of moves that forms an exchange. Each move consists of one or more *acts*. The definition of *acts* is based on their

function. Coulthard proposes a three-parted general division of types of acts: *elicitation*— which has the function of requesting a response —, *informative* — which has the function of providing information —, and *directive* — which has the function of requesting an action from the receiver (ibid., pp. 124 and 126). Eliciting, informing and directing are respectively related to what is generally known as "questioning', 'stating', and 'commanding'" (id.).

According to Coulthard, besides the two basic moves mentioned above (*Initiation* and *Response*), an exchange may also present an optional third move: *Follow-up*. Interactive acts are therefore made up of the initiation options, their respective responses, and optional feedback. (ibid., 127)

Response	Follow-up (optional)
acknowledge	
	accept
(acknowledge) react	evaluate
reply	comment
	•
	acknowledge  (acknowledge) react

Fig. 1 (Coulthard, 1985, p. 127)

Coulthard suggests that two principles are necessary to distinguish the moves within an exchange structure. These principles can be represented by two basic questions: "(i) does the element [or move] generate constraints which amount to a prediction that a particular element will follow, and (ii) has a preceding element predicted its occurrence?"

(ibid., p. 135). In other words, the *initiation* move is the "item which begins anew" and predicts the occurrence of a response (id.). The *response*, on the other hand, is predicted by an earlier element (i.e., initiation), but does not set up expectations for further elements. Finally, the *follow-up* element is not necessarily expected nor does it set up the expectation of a new element (id.).

In the *test* part of the quizzes analyzed here, I found only eliciting and informing moves. I did not find any sort of exchange of the *directive* type. As Coulthard (1985) points out, except for the directive exchanges,

all other exchanges are basically concerned with the transmission of information in its more general sense and thus must contain one informing move, which can occur in either the initiating or the responding slot. In some cases one participant initiates by offering a piece of information and then wants to know, minimally, that it has been understood and hopefully accepted and agreed with. . . In other cases information is elicited and then the reason for its occurrence and its interpretation should not be problematic, so an acknowledging move is not essential. (p. 137)

I adopt here Coulthard's (1985, p. 139) subdivision of the eliciting and informing moves into two sub-classes:

e1) Eliciting moves which seek major information and polarity:

Example: How would you start that first conversation?

**e2)** Eliciting moves which seek polarity information:

Example: Do you find it difficult to start a first conversation?

i1) Informing moves which assert major information (and polarity):

Example: I'd start a first conversation by asking the other person about him or herself.

i2) Informing moves which assert polarity information:

Example: No, I don't.

There are three basic exchange structures that occur in the tests I analyzed. *First*, there is the sequence e1 / i1, which consists of an elicitation of major information followed by an assertion of major information. *Second*, there is the sequence i1 / i2, which is made of an assertion of major information followed by an assertion of polarity information. Finally, there is a *third* sequence e2 / i2, which consists of elicitation of polarity information followed by an assertion of polarity information. Each of these sequences is represented by different forms.

The *first* major sequence, e1 / i1, occurs in the form of x-questions, or the commonly known Wh-questions (Stubbs, 1983, pp. 104-5), and in the form of *incomplete* assertions, as illustrated below:

#### 1) x-questions:

- e1 You're walking, tray full, through the cafeteria and can't spot any of your friends. Where will you sit?
- i1 (a) With a bunch of girls you sort of know.
- i1 (b) At an empty table in the corner you can finish that book you've been reading.
- i1 (c) With one boy who always sits alone you don't want people thinking you are some friendless loser. (Quiz 7)

## 2) incomplete assertions:

- e1 Se uma menina da sua classe ficar com um menino logo no primeiro dia que foi apresentada a ele, você vai achar que:
- i1 (a) ela é meio galinha.

- il (b) ela está no direito dela de ficar com quem ela estiver a fim.
- il (c) os meninos podem ficar pensando mal dela. (Quiz 2)

Although the elicitation of information in the two exchanges is syntactically constructed in different ways, that is, 1) is a question and 2) is a statement, the two types belong to the same type of exchange structure (e1 / i1). This can be verified mainly by transforming, for instance, the incomplete assertion into a question:

- e1 O que você acha de uma menina de sua classe que fica com um menino logo no primeiro dia que foi apresentada a ele?
- i1 (a) Que ela é meio galinha.
- i1 (b) Que ela está no direito de ficar com quem estiver a fim.
- i1 (c) Que os meninos podem ficar pensando mal dela. [Modified version of Quiz 2]

According to the example above, nothing in the structure changes. The sequence remains the same: e1) elicitation of a major information followed by the i1) assertion of a major information. Therefore, we can say that in the case of incomplete assertions, it is "by completing a proposition" (Stubbs, 1983, p. 135) that the reader contributes with a Response to the Initiation.

The second major sequence, i1 / i2, takes place in the forms of True or False,

Right or Wrong sentences, as exemplified below:

#### 1) True or False sentences:

- il Every sentence you utter starts with the phrase "My boyfriend says..."
- i2 True
- i2 False (Quiz 1)

# 2) Right or Wrong sentences:

- il Menino é que tem que tomar a iniciativa de convidar a menina para sair.
- i2 Certo
- i2 Errado

(Quiz 2)

In the case of the sentences above, the Initiation requires a confirmation on the part of the respondent. Based on Labov and Fanshel (1977, pp. 62-3), Stubbs (1983) enumerates three types of events: A-, B-, and AB-events. For what concerns A-events, he suggests that it is the speaker (A) who has a privileged access to them, since they concern "A's own emotions, experience, personal biography, and so on. Examples include I'm cold and I don't know" (pp. 118-9). In the case of B-event, however, it is the hearer who has a privileged access to them, since they concern B's own feelings, personal history, point-of-view, and so on. Therefore, Labov and Fanshel (1977, p. 100) claim that the speaker (A) cannot

normally make unmitigated statements about B-events, such as You're cold, unless A is in authority over B [italics added], for example, as mother to child. Statements about B-events would normally be modalized or modified: You must be cold or You look cold. In either case, Labov proposes a rule of confirmation. (Stubbs, 1983, p. 119)

Therefore, if it happens that **A** makes statements about **B**, Labov and Fanshel (1977) suggest a "rule of confirmation" (apud. Stubbs, 1983, p. 119). In other words, if **A** states something about **B**'s own emotions, biography, thoughts, directly to her/him, that is understood as a demand for confirmation.

Although it may be A who makes a statement, it is B who, as it were, has to give the stamp of authority to the proposition involved. Thus, there is a separation between A, who asserts a proposition, and B, who confirms or denies it. (id.)

This request for confirmation is exactly what happens in the Right/Wrong or True/False sentences in the tests. The writer states something about the reader: her behavior, her personal life, her attitudes, her feelings. Then, according to Labov and Fanshel's (1977) rule, the asserted information expects a confirmation or denial on the part of the reader.

Finally, the *third* major sequence, **e2** / **i2**, takes the form of *Yes-No questions* (Stubbs, 1983, pp. 104-5), or of anything in the *yes-no continuum*.

## 1 – Yes-No questions:

- e2 Você fica em casa e deixa de fazer algum programa somente por que [sic] não tem namorado?
- **i2** a) Sim.
- i2 b) Não.
- i2 c) As vezes. (Quiz 5)

Although the first exchange structure (e1 / i1) might presuppose that there is some more freedom for the respondent than in the second or third case (e2 / i2), the three types of exchange are just as limited and limiting. In the two last types (i1 / i2 and e2 / i2), the respondent only provides polarity information (true or false; right or wrong; yes or no). In the first type (e1 / i1), despite the fact that the respondent is expected to provide major information (e1), the possible answers, or information (i1), are already predetermined and limited to three or four items. There is no possibility for the respondent to come up with

an answer which has not been already predicted by the devisor/s of the test. If she refuses to accept any of the suggested answers, and raises a different one, her response will not be scored by the magazine. This is due to the fact that the magazine will not ascribe any value to anything that has not been previously predicted as a possible response.

Mixed exchanges are also possible to occur in one single test. The tests under analysis here can be divided into two major types: complete elicitation tests and partial elicitation tests. The complete elicitation tests are the ones that just elicit major information (e1 / i1). This is the case of the tests which are made up exclusively of questions and answers and/or incomplete assertions. The partial elicitation tests are tests which both elicit major information (e1 / i1), and seek polarity information (i1 / i2 and e2 / i2). These are the tests which consist of both x-questions and/or incomplete assertions plus True/False, or Right/Wrong sentences, or Yes/No answers.

#### 1) Complete elicitation tests:

Quiz 3: "What do guys think of you?" (Seventeen, 1994, April, pp. 106 and 110)

Quiz 4: "Test your social savvy. Do you sizzle or fizzle?" ('Teen, 1994, March, pp. 36 and 38)

Quiz 7: "Are you independent?" (Sassy, 1994, May, p. 26)

Quiz 8: "What kind of flirt are you?" (Seventeen, 1994, August, pp. 106 and 112)

Quiz 9: "Are you a control freak?" (Seventeen, 1994, March, pp. 96 and 98)

Quiz 10: "Você é insegura?" (Capricho, 1994, Special Issue, pp. 52-3)

Quiz 12: "Are you a slacker?" (Seventeen, 1995, January, p. 36)

Quiz 13: "Are you a slacker?" (Sassy, 1994, March, p. 30)

Quiz 14: "Are you a user?" (Sassy, 1994, February, p. 30)

## 2) Partial elicitation tests:

Quiz 1: "Is your boyfriend your life?" (Seventeen, 1994, March, p. 142)

Quiz 2: "Você é machista?" (Capricho, 1994, July, pp. 128-129)

Quiz 5: "Você sobrevive sem namorado?" (Capricho, 1994, August, pp. 106-107)

Quiz 6: "Você se gosta? Mesmo?" (Capricho, 1994, Special Issue, pp. 40-41)

Quiz 11: "Do you have a big mouth?" (Seventeen, 1994, July, p. 46)

Quiz 15: "Você tem pavio curto?" (Capricho, 1994, November, p. 160)

The interesting fact about the information exchange in these tests is that, although they simulate a real *two-way* exchange of information, similarly to what occurs in real conversations, they are far from actually being so. I use the term "simulate" because in spite of the fact that the devisor of the tests *does elicit* information from the reader, s/he is never going to receive it. Although the respondent is being asked to provide information, either major or polarity information, she is not informing anyone else *but herself*. In other words, even though these tests are interactive, they still consist of a *one-way* communication.

In *one-way* communication, the roles of producer and interpreter do not alternate. The producer is always the producer, and the interpreter is always the interpreter (Fairclough, 1989). The producer is always the one who provides the information, whereas the interpreter is the one who receives it. The interpreter never gets the chance to

reverse the roles. Although the reader is somehow "given voice" in these tests, her voice will never be heard.

Therefore, despite the fact that the respondent is called into participation, by giving information about herself during her reading, I argue that this is a "strategic" kind of discourse (Habermas, 1984, apud. Fairclough, 1989, p. 198). The information the reader provides is directed to nobody else but the reader herself. This personal information gathering is strategic because it only consists of a means to personalize the information the reader will end up reading. It is through the answers — given by the producer and not by reader herself — that the reader selects that she is going to be classified.

Within the category the girl is fitted in, there will be *only one* text (among three or four) that will address her. Here, the reader will be given more personalized information about herself, and advice on how to change her behavior, in case this was not classified as "adequate." This individualized or personalized information is, in fact, strategically created through what Fairclough (1989; 1992a; 1992b) calls *synthetic personalization*.

# 3.4 - "I'm talking to you" — synthetic personalization

Fairclough (1992b) claims that one marker of informality commonly encountered in modern advertising is the *direct address* (p. 115). Direct address is one of the devices that contributes to the construction of synthetic personalization. Synthetic personalization, according to Fairclough (1992b), is "the simulation of aspects of interpersonal meaning on the basis of strategic calculation of effects" (p. 216). The interpersonal meanings that are simulated through synthetic personalization follow "from

the subordination of all other aspects of discursive practice and meaning to achieving strategic and instrumental goals — the type of interaction that Habermas calls 'strategic' in contrast to 'communicative'" (id.). The use of synthetic personalization is strategic because it is purposeful, that is, it is a strategy used in order to reach a favored effect.

In quizzes, synthetic personalization is particularly prominent. Its favored effect is to approximate the editor and the reader, to mitigate the overt authority of the former over the latter, and to give the reader the impression that the text was especially written for her. This is what Fairclough (1989) calls the "I'm talking to you" effect.

To check this effect I computerized the 15 quizzes I investigated (total of 13,356 words). I applied the concordancing program *Word Smith* (Scott, 1995). which provides a frequency list and the number of occurrences of selected items. *You*, or *você* in Portuguese, and their respective pronouns *your(s)*, *yourself*, *seu(s)*, *sua(s)*, *te*, *teu*, and *tua*, were the words that ranked highest in occurrence in quizzes. *You* or *você* and related pronouns occur 1,088 times. There is approximately one occurrence of the second person pronouns for every 12 words.

The effectiveness of the use of the "I'm talking to you" strategy is even greater in quizzes than in general advertising. That is because in quizzes an individual you is first "given voice," and later, "individually" classified. In other words, first, she is asked a number of questions for which she is going to provide her "supposed" own answer. The answers given by the respondent, although obviously limited and previously devised by another person, create the effect of letting the reader speak. The act of "giving voice," or

allowing the reader "to speak" creates the impression that each individual has room to express herself, her individual actions, reactions, thoughts and feelings.

# Do you sizzle or fizzle?

How do you meet the challenge of meeting new people? . . . How do you make a positive impression without making a mistake? It's easier than you think! Begin by taking this quiz to rate your social skills. Be honest—circle the letter that best describes how you'd really act.

- 2. How would you start that first conversation?
- a. Tell your life story.
- b. Make fun of the way a nearby couple is dancing.
- c. Ask the other person about him or herself [my emphasis] (Quiz 4)

Furthermore, the synthetic personalization is reinforced in the classification provided by the editor. Each different score will direct towards a different classification. Different respondents will have different classifications, different descriptions of their behavior, and a different set of advice. Once again, the impression created is that one specific result conforms to one specific respondent; that is, it was "especially" written for that reader. The following pieces are examples of classifications in quizzes:

Socially Insecure . . . Shyness often leaves you tongue-tied and attempting a disappearing act. Or you may babble nonstop, your mouth taken over by aliens. . .

Socially Reckless . . . Your moves may turn out well — or turn your hopes upside down. Stunts work if you want to live dangerously, not if you want to make friends.

Socially Secure . . . you've found the secret to social success. . . . Use your enviable skills to get to know a variety of people [my emphasis]. (Quiz 4)

The synthetic personalization creates the impression that each reader is treated as an individual. However, as it is known to everyone, in mass communication addressers rarely know who their audience is, and it is quite impossible for readers, listeners, or viewers to be treated on a private basis. For that reason, in the media, there is a construction of an "ideal" receiver.

Synthetic personalization simulates solidarity: it seems that the more 'mass' the media become, and the less in touch with individuals or particular groupings in their audiences, the more media workers . . . purport to relate to their audience as individuals who share large areas of common ground (Fairclough, 1989, p. 195).

In quizzes the editors simulate a personal and face-to-face conversation with each individual girl. The editor writes as if she/he knew who his/her addressee is. The informality created by synthetic personalization also works towards "simulated equalization" of relations (Fairclough, 1989, p. 221). In other words, the features which convey informality in quizzes function towards the equalization of the relations between editors and readers. This equalization disguises the power the producers of these texts actually have.

# 3.5 - The "spokenness" of a written text

Apart from synthetic personalization, another form of manifestation of informality in quizzes is what Fairclough (1992b) refers to as a "shift" in the relation between *spoken* and *written* discourse (p. 204).

Two important concepts have to be explained and differentiated here: *medium* and *mode*. *Medium* concerns the way a message is conveyed to its receivers. In this sense, a

text can be transmitted via *spoken* or *written* medium (McCarthy, 1993, p. 171). *Mode* concerns the way a message is designed stylistically, "that is, with reference to sociolinguistically grounded norms of archetypical speech and archetypical writing" (id.). Mode is taken here, therefore, as a "conscious (or otherwise) choice" of composing a text with characteristics of "writenness" or "spokenness" (id.). Making reference to the work of Biber & Finegan (1988), McCarthy (1993) notices that "many texts composed and transmitted in the written medium and meant to be read 'mark' themselves on the surface of the text as echoing that which might be spoken and heard" (p. 172). In this sense, it is possible to find spoken texts that are more like writing and written texts that are more like speaking.

Quizzes, while written texts, are saturated with features that characterize their mode as *spoken*. We can say, thus, that by making this *shift*, writers create more involvement with their audience, generating more informality and intimacy: *a chatty tone*.

According to Chafe (1982), *involvement* is typical of spoken language. In his study of the main differences between spoken and written language, Chafe (1982) points out that speakers tend to *interact* more directly with their audience than writers do (p. 45). He points out that while *involvement* with the audience is characteristic of speakers, *detachment* from the audience is typical of writers. Chafe suggests that the characteristic of detachment of the written language is due to the type of relation established between writers and readers. Writers usually do not know who their audience is going to be. Therefore, the writer is concerned in producing a text which will be suitable to a diversity

of readers. Furthermore, even when s/he knows who her/his audience is going to be, both are separate in time and space.

The opposite happens in spoken language. Participants of a spoken interaction share considerable knowledge about the environment. In addition, they are constantly providing mutual feedback, which helps to reorganize their speech in different ways, according to the needs of the situation.

# 3.5.1 - The spontaneity of "real" conversation in quizzes

### 3.5.1.1 - Graphic devices

Among the devices used in the media to make a shift between spoken and written discourse, there is the use of what Fairclough (1992b) calls "graphic devices," such as dots. According to him, dots "simulate 'dramatic' pausing in speech" (p. 204).

É muito dificil ter conflitos com alguém desse tipo, a menos que você tenha um temperamento exatamente oposto e ... já viu só, choque garantido. (Quiz 15)

Worse yet, has it happened already ... and you don't even know it? (Quiz 1)

You . . . suggest he come over to your place later to ... uh, practice. (Quiz 3)

Before I come to any conclusions ... (Quiz 7)

You're . . . going out with Romeo ... if he calls. (Quiz 1)

In quizzes, in addition to dots, there is also a great number of parentheses. Another type of graphic device, the parentheses suspend the flow of information as if giving room for second thoughts.

This guy you've been secretly reciting voodoo love chants to asks you out (it worked!) [my emphasis] for Friday night. (Quiz 9)

Jake, who financed his bike shop with Jo's divorce settlement, then took money from Amanda to pay back Jo (who, by the way, thinks Amanda's "a thnake") [my emphasis]. (Quiz 14)

Vocês raramente brigam (quer dizer, menos de seis vezes por ano) [my emphasis]. (Quiz 15)

Your biology teacher makes you lab partners with some thoroughly obnoxious guy who's on the verge of flunking the class (as if dissecting a pig fetus wasn't horrible enough) [my emphasis]. (Quiz 9)

You put on . . . your favorite (read: everyday) [my emphasis] outfit. (Quiz 3)

A movie is being made about your life (just go with this one) [my emphasis]. (Quiz 12)

Your close personal friends refer to characters on soap operas as your close personal friends (who hasn't?) [my emphasis]. (Quiz 12)

Parentheses break the *linearity* of written information. On the continuum *non-linear—linear*, thoughts are at the non-linear extreme: they are not structurally organized; they are fuzzy. Written information is at the other extreme: it is highly linear. Spoken information, in its turn, is located at some point between these two extremes. Parentheses, in this sense, provide the writer with some room to "branch off" from the linearity of written texts. As graphic devices, parentheses contribute to place written message at a more central point in the non-linear—linear continuum. In this way, the written message comes closer to the spoken message.

#### 3.5.1.2 - Discourse Markers

According to Schiffrin (1987, p. 31), discourse markers are "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk" (apud McCarthy, 1993, p. 172). The main function of discourse markers is to signal to the receiver what is occurring in the discourse,

where the discourse is, where it is going, whether it has finished, whether utterances follow smoothly from what has been uttered before or whether some kind of disjunction is occurring; they are therefore a system of management of what is said or written. Within any language, discourse markers consist of a finite set of forms which realise a range of interactive functions. (id.)

Some markers are more directed to the written mode while others are more directed to the spoken mode. In McCarthy's (1993) analysis of spoken discourse markers in written text, he found: you know, oh, well, now, still, so (sentence-initially), after all, I mean and okay. (p. 173). Among McCarthy's suggestions, oh, still, after all, so and okay are especially present in quizzes. Here are some examples:

Oh God [my emphasis], now you want me to add!?!. (Quiz 4)

Still [my emphasis], if you catch yourself mining people as a natural resource once in a while, don't worry — it's totally normal. (Quiz 14)

Even if it means going to hear a band you hate — after all [my emphasis], he asked you out. (Quiz 9)

Okay [my emphasis], male attention is nice, but why are you so hell-bent on having it all the time? (Quiz 8)

Maybe you're afraid you'll say something stupid. So [my emphasis], what if you do? (Quiz 11)

Well [my emphasis], aren't we selfless? (Quiz 14)

Other discourse markers I found in quizzes that characterize their mode as spoken are *uh* and *huh*. *Uh* functions in real conversations as a pause-filler (Goodwin, 1981, p. 66), or to simulate embarrassment (see the whole quiz):

You . . . suggest he come over to your place later to ... uh [my emphasis], practice. (Quiz 3).

The marker huh, in the contexts below, signals interrogation or doubt:

In your opinion, the best way to get a guy's attention is to ... huh? [my emphasis] Isn't he supposed to make the first move? (Quiz 8)

It's 11:30 On a Saturday morning. You are typically ... Huh? [my emphasis] Oh, sleeping. (Quiz 4)

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning the presence of the spoken-mode markers *hey* and *hello*, in the contexts below, function as to attract the receiver's attention.

Hey [my emphasis], it worked out for Madonna. (Quiz 8)

Figure, hey [my emphasis] she may be a shallow bitch, but everyone wants to be in her circle. (Quiz 14)

You . . . make eye contact with him and smile — hey [my emphasis], it's a start. (Quiz 3)

Hello [my emphasis], do you have a life? (Quiz 1)

Hello? [my emphasis] It's cool to be young and motivated, but don't run yourself down trying to accomplish too much. (Quiz 13)

Finally, it is worth mentioning the words *just* and *really*. Chafe's (1982) calls them "emphatic particles," and suggests that their function in discourse is to "express

enthusiasm with what is being said" (id.). According to him, *just* and *really* are much more frequent in spoken language than in written language (p. 47), and therefore, they mark the former with more *involvement* than the latter.

You . . . go to your teacher after class and insist that some of the answers he marked wrong are right — just [my emphasis] how exact a science is chemistry, anyway? (Quiz 9)

Just [my emphasis] take this quiz and clue in. (Quiz 3)

This quiz has given to you . . . a headache! The thinking, the self-evaluation, circling all the letters — it's just [my emphasis] too much! (Quiz 13)

Or you're so afraid guys won't like you that you just [my emphasis] pretend not to be interested in them at all. (Quiz 3)

When you witness something really [my emphasis] awful happening to someone, your first thought is about who you will tell the story to. (Quiz 11)

Ted Koppel — he can really [my emphasis] grill a subject, and he's so well-versed politically (Quiz 13)

Whatever the reason, you really [my emphasis] have to work on getting the praise you need from yourself. (Quiz 3)

I was trying to figure out how to meet that **really** [my emphasis] neat guy whose locker is next to mine. (Quiz 4)

Everyone you know is going to college, but you'd really [my emphasis] rather work for a couple of years first. (Quiz 7)

Although the number of *separate* occurrences of each of the graphic and discourse markers discussed above might not seem significant, their presence in a written text is meaningful *per se*. Moreover, if considered *as a whole*, they do comprise an important amount.

## 3.6 - Teenage talk

Fairclough (1989) suggests that there are other choices of expression that function towards informality or towards putting "the producer on an equal footing with the reader" (p. 222). Among these choices there is what he calls "easification of vocabulary" (id.). In the case of quizzes, the selection of expressions that set the writers on "an equal footing" with their teenage readers corresponds mainly to the selection that the majority of teenagers make. Editors make an effort to adapt their language to their audience. That is, a great number of informal words, slang, and wordings that make part of "teenage talk" are customarily found in all the publications under analysis here.

Quizzes are permeated with wordings which belong to the everyday talk of youngsters. For instance, in an informal conversation about the ordinary topic *boyfriend* among Brazilian teenage girls, an expression such as "ficar com" is frequently used. "Ficar com" is equally present in quizzes, as is demonstrated below:

E se numa festa um amigo seu fica com [my emphasis] uma menina que acabou de conhecer. . . (Quiz 2)

Ela está no direito dela de ficar com [my emphasis] quem estiver a fim. (Quiz 2)

Como se sente em relação ao seu namoro? Com dúvidas, pois ele pode **ficar com** [my emphasis] outras garotas e esquecer de você. (Quiz 10)

Although some of these wordings seem to be restricted to the teenage world — or to what I have been referring to as "teenage talk" —, they are shared with the editors of

teenage girls' magazines. By making use of expressions such as "ficar com," editors claim common ground with their audience.

Also part of the teenage talk is the use of slang. Below, I show some examples of the use of slang in teenage quizzes. The information on slang in English and Portuguese was based respectively on *Random House Webster's* (1992) and *Novo Dicionário da Lingua Portuguesa* (1986).

He can catch that other **flick** [slang for "film"] on a bonding night with his buddies. (Quiz 9)

You and your friend are headed to the movies and he wants to see one of those blood-and-guts action flicks, which you hate. (Quiz 8)

You ... totally **glom onto** [slang for "to grab" or "get the hold of"] the guys, and follow them around even after they **ditch** [slang for "to escape from"] the arcade. (Quiz 3)

On a class trip, you're sitting next to a total hunk [slang for "a handsome man"] on the bus. (Quiz 3)

... hanging with friends and **scoping** [slang for "to look at or over; examine"] cute guys to talk to. (Quiz 3)

Two different guys really dig [slang for "to like or enjoy"] you. (Quiz: "Are you a user?"(Quiz 14)

Your reaction is to . . . write "Bob is a cheating scumbag" [slang for "a low, worthless person"] on the girls' bathroom wall. (Quiz 11)

Even the socially secure can find "getting-to-know-you" a difficult test. Here's how to ace [slang for "to receive a grade of A in or on; to complete with great success"] it. (Quiz 4)

Pinta [Brazilian slang for "to show up"] um ciúme. (Quiz 15)

**Desencana** [Brazilian slang for "to put something aside, or to stop doing something"] de estudar tanto — você não deve dar para isso mesmo. (Quiz 6)

Dá de cara com aquele **gato** [Brazilian slang for "a handsome man"] maravilhoso... (Quiz 6)

Como é a sua rotina? (a) Um saco [Brazilian slang for "boring; unpleasant"]. (Quiz 6)

Você chia mesmo [Brazilian slang for "to complain"]. (Quiz 8)

Finally, another tentative of approximation between editors and their young audience is the use of shortenings of words in English (*Random House Webster's*, 1992), and the use of "aumentativos" and "diminutivos" in Portuguese:

When you find a new **b-friend** [my emphasis], you. (Quiz 14)

Prep [my emphasis] him by saying, "Just pretend I'm Sharon Stone." (Quiz 3)

You decide to keep this info [my emphasis] to yourself. (Quiz 14)

Doing extra credit for history and chem [my emphasis]. (Quiz 12)

Mad, your zine [my emphasis] of choice and TV Guide. (Quiz 13)

Rate your rep [shortening for reputation; my emphasis]. (Quiz 3)

One of the **celeb-like** [my emphasis] chicks in your class is throwing a party. (Quiz 14)

Você tem que tirar um notão [my emphasis] de Física. (Quiz 10)

Tem o maior medão [my emphasis] de errar e se arrepende depois. (Quiz 10)

O grande problema é que, como suas reações às vezes ocorrem um tempão [my emphasis] depois. (Quiz 15)

Senão você vai embora superbrava [my emphasis]. (Quiz 8)

Vai ver que você se acostumou a ser assim na sua casa, onde um xiliquinho [my emphasis] sempre serviu para convencer seus pais. (Quiz 15)

Vale o esforço, se é para deixar seu cantinho [my emphasis] atraente e arrumado. (Quiz 6)

Rosinha [my emphasis], de 28 a 42 pontos. (Quiz 2)

#### 3.7 - Discussion

Teenage girls' magazines adapt their language to their audience in a way that other socializing agents, mainly parents and teachers, hardly do. In order to lessen their authoritative position, to build a closer relationship, and to create more involvement with the reader, editors adopt a chatty tone and make use of the same "way of talk." Thus, the discussion of disciplinary topics that in a parent-daughter conversation would usually sound authoritative, in quizzes they happen to flow smoothly and unproblematic.

The exchange structure constructed through the set of questions and answers in these quizzes is clearly not a *two-way* exchange. Although there are questions that the reader is supposed to answer, nobody — except if she deliberately decides to show them to someone — will read them.

The questions elaborated "especially" for the reader — that are not in fact especially addressed to her, as a single reader, but to a mass audience —, and the answers she provides — that are not in fact provided by her, but by the editors, who set up their content — work effectively towards synthetic personalization. That is, the final classification, and the set of advice given by the editors are strategically more personalized, for they have been based on the answers provided by the respondent.

In the next chapter, I concentrate on the section of classification and advice in quizzes. Through the Problem-Solution approach, I analyze their text structure. I also investigate other features, such as negation, presupposition, and lexical choice.

#### **CHAPTER 4**

# If you are not part of the solution, you are part of the problem

In this chapter I analyze the authoritative position of the editors in support of the "appropriate" behavior, the socialization, or the discipline of their readers in the genre quiz. I analyze the surface of the discourse — the text structure — in terms of Problem-Solution Pattern (Hoey, 1979; 1983). This analysis will help me to demonstrate that quizzes might constitute "examples of the complex relationship of linguistic Problem to real-world problem; [that is] it is often because A says that X is a problem that B sees it as such" (Hoey, 1983, p. 52). In other words, it is because the editors say that a certain behavior is a problem that the girl might see it as so. In this sense, I will demonstrate that quizzes are intrinsically related to the discourse of advertising, in which we also find the "problematization" of a situation and the offer of a solution. In the case of advertising, the Solution is usually the use of a product. In the case of the respondent of a quiz, it is the offer of advice, usually in the imperative, urging the girl to change her behavior.

Simultaneously to the discussion of the Problem-Solution pattern, I will analyze some lexical choices and the way they signal the elements of this pattern (Problem, positive or negative Evaluation, Solution, and so forth). I will discuss the way in which the lexical choices classify the girls' behavior. The use of negation, contradictions, presuppositions, and accredited sources will also be considered here.

This analysis will make evident that the quiz in teenage girls' magazines is not merely a highly interactional and enjoyable activity that helps the reader to find out more about herself. On the contrary, quizzes point out problems that girls might have never

thought of, and editors exercise great authority in evaluating, classifying girls as "good" or "bad."

#### 4.1 - Data

The data under investigation in this chapter are five quizzes from 'Teen, Sassy, Seventeen, and Capricho, which are listed below.

Quiz 2: "Você é machista?" (Capricho, 1994, July, pp. 128-129).

Quiz 3: "What do guys think of you?" (Seventeen, 1994, April, pp. 106 and 110).

Quiz 4: "Test your social savvy. Do you sizzle or fizzle?" ('Teen, 1994, March, pp. 36 and 38).

Quiz 7: "Are you independent?" (Sassy, 1994, May, p. 26).

Quiz 8: "What kind of flirt are you?" (Seventeen, 1994, August, pp. 106 and 112).

#### 4.2 - Text Structure: the Problem-Solution Pattern

Text structure is defined by Fairclough (1992b) as the "architecture" of texts (p. 77). It refers to higher-level design features of distinct types of texts, that is, "what elements or episodes are combined in what ways and what order to constitute, for example, a crime report in a newspaper, or a job interview" (id.). Fairclough also suggests that the conventions of such structures can impart "a lot of insight into the systems of knowledge and belief" and provide much understanding concerning "the assumptions about social relationships and social identities that are built into the conventions of text types" (ibid., p. 78).

Hoey (1983) points out that the interest of discourse analysis should be in the identification of "patterns of organization," which define the structure of a text (p. 30). By

pattern, Hoey means a "combination of relations organising (part of) a discourse" (ibid., p. 31). The Problem-Solution Pattern is defined by Hoey (1979) as a "structure made up of a situation requiring a response and a response to that situation which is evaluated as either successful or otherwise" (p. 78). The elements which compose this specific structure are: Situation, Problem, Response and Evaluation

Situation, according to Hoey (1983) simply provides the situation for the discourse, and it is only in relation to the discourse pattern as a whole that it can be appropriately defined (p. 46). Problem consists of an aspect of a situation that expects or requires a response. Response refers to that element of the Problem-Solution pattern "that records the response made up to the situation requiring a response" (id.). Hoey claims that while all Solutions are Responses, the opposite is not always true: not every Response constitutes a Solution. This is due to the fact that a Solution carries a positive evaluation, while a Response is neutral regarding its success. When a response is negatively evaluated, the negative evaluation signals the need of another response, and the cycle, a new Problem-Solution pattern, starts again. In any case, "most responses are solutions" (id.).

Finally, there is the *Evaluation* element, which elicits some sort of opinion regarding the Response given to the initial Problem. Hoey (1979) states that "at the level of the overall structure, the Evaluation answers the question 'How successful was the solution?' or 'Was the solution a good one?"" (p. 77).

The Problem-Solution pattern might be accompanied by the phenomena of Anticipation and/or Preview. Anticipation is "the phenomenon of a lexical signal telling the reader in advance what structural element or clause relation is about to occur" (Hoey,

1979, p. 77). For instance, in a sentence starting with the clause "In order to solve this problem...," the word *solve* anticipates that a Response or Solution to a given Problem is just about to come.

In the phenomenon of *Preview*, on the other hand, part of the discourse structure is shadowed in advance, in order to keep the reader/listener's attention (ibid., p. 78). The difference between the two phenomena is that in the case of Anticipation the reader is told that a particular element — Problem, Response, or other — is about to occur. In the case of Preview, the reader is given part of that particular element — part of the Problem, part of the Response, or other — in advance (ibid., p. 78).

### 4.2.1 - Problem-Solution pattern in advertisements and its similarity to quizzes

In texts, the element Response usually answers the questions "What response has been made?" or 'What response can be made?" (Hoey, 1983, p. 104). In the specific case of advertisements, however, instead of answering these questions — or one of the two —, the Response element answers the question "What response can I make [italics added]?" (ibid., pp. 104-5). By doing so, advertisements project the Solution to the future. In addition, they generally attribute the Response to the reader. In other words, the Response in advertisements is participant-linked: "the Response is not general but a particular Response for 'you', the reader [italics added]" (ibid., pp. 104-5).

The phenomenon of *attribution*, particularly common in scientific discourses and advertisements, "introduces the response element where the Response is not the author's own" (Hoey, 1983, p. 103). The attribution is employed to give "responsibility for some

suggested or adopted Response" (id.). Thus, whereas the Problems may be general, the Responses are particular to one or more participants (id.).

According to Hoey (1983), in the Response element in advertisements "the reader is advised/instructed by means of an imperative or interrogative clause" (p. 104). Hoey claims that "the knack of advertisement is to make the Response personal to the reader [italics added] even though the formulation of the Problem might be quite impersonal. The imperative form is one way in which this can be economically achieved" (ibid., p. 105). However, it happens sometimes in advertisements that the reader is a participant not only in the Response. There are cases in which the personalization technique of advertisements is extended to the Problem. In such cases, the problem is already participant-linked: it is linked to the "reader as potential participant" (id.).

Hoey (1983) argues that many advertisements claim to resolve problems that no one realized s/he had. He sustains that advertisements are "examples of the complex relationship of linguistic Problem to real-world problem" to which I referred above.

In the analysis below I claim that a similar process might take place in quizzes. Quizzes in teenage girls' magazines offer to find and solve problems that many of their respondents might have never thought they had. Also similarly to advertisements, in quizzes both the Response and Solution are participant-linked: the two elements involve direct participation of the reader.

### 4.3 - Problem-Solution in quizzes

#### 4.3.1 - The test

Among the 15 quizzes I collected, all of them, except quiz 4, start with a question that is the title of the quiz: "Are you independent?" (Sassy, 1994, May, p. 26), "What kind of flirt are you?" (Seventeen, 1994, August, pp. 106 and 112), "Você é insegura?" (Capricho, 1994, Special Issue, pp. 52-3). Although quiz 4 does not start straight with a question, it is immediately followed by it, in the title itself: "Test your social savvy. Do you sizzle or fizzle?" ('Teen, 1994, March, pp. 36 and 38).

The function of this question in the whole discourse is *first*, to set up the Situation, and *second*, to signal what aspect of that situation requires a Response. The starting question establishes a problematic Situation that I will refer to as the "overall Problem." The overall Problem in quizzes entails the need of an answer. Since the Problem is couched in the form of a "need", the Response is nothing else but an "answer" which is later evaluated. The Responses to the overall Problem are found in the *classification*, straight after the scoring table, at the end of the quizzes.

In structural terms, the test alone — only the set of questions and answers, without the title and the classification — constitutes a set of Problems and Responses.

[Problematic situation] Se você tivesse um gênio na sua frente e pudesse fazer um único desejo, qual desses você escolheria? [Response] a) Ter um namorado lindo e rico. Com ele, você poderia viajar. [Response] b) Ir fazer intercâmbio ou faculdade no exterior. Lá, além de aprender um monte de coisas, você ia acabar conhecendo meninos interessantes. (Quiz 2)

The test, as I discussed previously, is an obligatory part of a quiz. Based on the answers the girl gives, she will be evaluated and classified in a specific way. However, despite the fact that it is an essential part of the quiz structure, the Problem-Solution pattern in the *test* stands quite separate from the rest of the quiz — title and classification.

From now on, I will put the *test* part aside, and will concentrate only on the *overall*Problem of the quizzes — *title* or initial question —, and on the Responses — the classification.

#### 4.3.2 - The classification

Each test is followed by a scoring table and a classification. After being required to provide a particular Response for each of the Problems in the test, the reader is asked to sum up her points. This will classify her into one of three or four categories. Although there are usually three or four categories or classifications — Responses to the overall Problem —, only one is positively Evaluated.

The Problem-Solution pattern in quizzes is a complex one. It involves the phenomenon of *Multilayering* (Hoey, 1983, p. 82). "Multilayering is based on a simple fact . . . that a negative Evaluation is a signal of Problem" (ibid., p. 83). In other words, every time a Response is negatively Evaluated, a new Problem emerges. In quizzes, each of the Responses which is negatively Evaluated becomes a new Problem, and therefore it requires yet another Solution.

The positively evaluated Response, the Solution, coincides with what is considered by the magazine as a desirable behavior for girls. Each of the undesirable Responses is negatively evaluated.

I classify the quizzes analyzed in two broad types: Type A: the perfect girl, and Type B: the not so perfect girl. Both types have the same basic structure: Multilayering Problem-Solution. The difference between them is that whereas Type A quizzes present one of their categories as entirely positively evaluated, Type B quizzes do not. In the latter, even the positively evaluated category has its drawbacks or, at least, some "potential" drawbacks.

From now on, I will analyze each of the quizzes in order to demonstrate how the Problem-Solution pattern is presented.

# 4.3.2.1 - Type A quizzes: the perfect girl

In Type A I classify the following quizzes:

Quiz 2: "Você é machista?" (*Capricho*, 1994, July, pp. 128-129).

Quiz 3: "What do guys think of you?" (Seventeen, 1994, April, pp. 106 and 110).

Quiz 7: "Are you independent?" (Sassy, 1994, May, p. 26).

The figure below illustrates the text-structure of these quizzes, according to the Problem-Solution pattern:

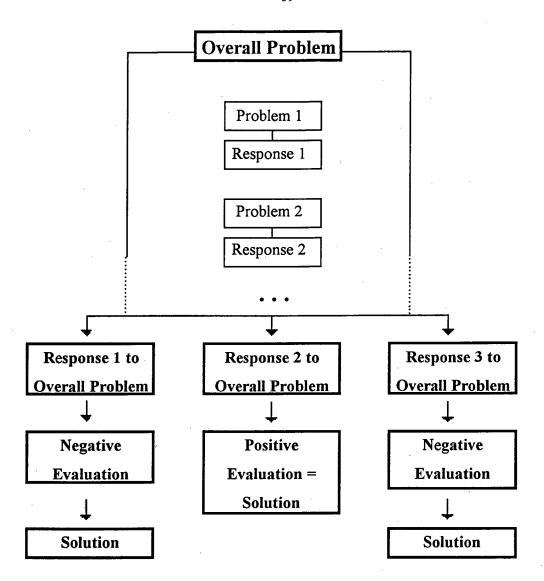


Fig. 2 Type A quizzes

Quiz 2: "Você é machista?" (Capricho, 1994, July, pp. 128-9).

In this quiz girls are encouraged to scrutinize their latent male-chauvinistic tendencies. The three possible classifications are represented by colors: *Rosa-choque*, *Rosa*, and *Rosinha*. According to these classifications, and the Evaluation provided by the magazine, the only desired Response is *Rosa*. It constitutes, therefore, the Solution.

The *first Response* to the *overall Problem* "Você é machista?" is *Rosa-Choque*. It this is not a desired attitude for a girl. The label *Rosa-choque* speaks for itself: "rosa-choque" is a very bright color that might cause discomfort for the eyes. This girl is characterized as "too aggressive," which, according to the magazine, is undesirable for a girl.

(1. 3) Você vira e mexe fica com raiva das dificuldades de ser menina. Acaba sendo um pouco agressiva com os meninos, principalmente quando desconfia que eles estão sendo privilegiados. Com seu namorado, por exemplo, exige dividir as coisas e fica ofendida se ele não te trata com igualdade.

This negative Evaluation is also signaled through: "fica com raiva," "sendo um pouco agressiva," and "fica ofendida." For being negatively evaluated Rosa-Choque comprises a new Problem which requires a Solution. The Solution, as in advertisements, answers the question "What can I do about it?" In this way editors attribute the Response to the reader, and project it to the future. That is, the Response is supposed to be undertaken by the girl and in the future: "você tem que tomar cuidado, "and "pode acabar atropelando."

(l. 8) Você tem que tomar cuidado para não querer ser mais forte do que é. Assim, pode acabar atropelando o delicioso fato de ser uma menina, com todas as fragilidades e fortalezas que isso significa.

Note that the sentence "Você tem que ter cuidado para não ser mais forte do que é" implies that *there is* a certain behavioral standard. The standard type has "all the fragility and strengths" that make her a girl. Any deviating behavior is entailed to be unnatural. Therefore, a girl who is stronger than the standard type is believed to be acting artificially.

The second Response, Rosa, is implied to be the appropriate conduct in terms of being a "male chauvinist" or not. The entire paragraph is a description of this type of behavior.

(l. 13) Você conversa com seu namorado sobre tudo, mas não hesita um segundo em pedir colo e chorar quando está triste. Adora se sentir protegida por ele. Não consegue ver sentido em dividir as coisas por sexo e, sinceramente, não se preocupa com isso. Acha que cada menina e cada menino têm seu próprio jeito de ser e de viver. Não vê o mínimo problema em fazer coisas que levam fama de ser masculinas (tipo jogar futebol, trocar pneu). Azar de quem pensar que é.

The type *Rosa* can be referred to as the *Solution*. The positive Evaluation is signaled mainly by the use of *negations*. There is a description of things that the *Rosa* type *does not do*: "não consegue," "não hesita," "não se preocupa," and "não vê o mínimo problema."

According to the classification of denials suggested by Pagano (1992), the negations used here can be classified as *denials of contrast*: "denials appearing as implicit contrast between two or more things" (p. 134). By saying that the *Rosa* type "não hesita um segundo em pedir colo e chorar quando está triste," the editor is implicitly evoking the previous negatively Evaluated type, *Rosa-Choque*, and putting it in contrast with *Rosa*. Recall that the *Rosa-choque* type is alleged to try to be stronger than she really is. On the other hand, by claiming that the *Rosa* type "não consegue ver sentido em dividir as coisas por sexo e . . . *não se preocupa* com isso," and that she "*não vê* o mínimo problema em fazer coisas que levam fama de ser masculinas," the editor is contrasting her with the male-chauvinistic type, *Rosinha*, whose description comes immediately after. The positive Evaluation of the *Rosa* type, therefore, is mostly based upon denials. As Fairclough claims

(1992b), negations may incorporate "other texts, only in order to contest and reject them" (pp. 121-2). In the negations that we find in the description of the *Rosa* type, the "other texts" are the previous and following classifications: *Rosa-choque* and *Rosinha*.

It is interesting to notice that the description of the *Rosa* type does negotiate with the feminist point-of- view on lines 19-21: "Não vê o mínimo problema em fazer coisas que levam fama de ser masculinas (tipo jogar futebol, trocar pneu). Azar de pensar que é." While the quiz rejects the radical non-chauvinist, the *Rosa-choque* type, it also incorporates some of its characteristics, by praising the girl who does not make use of *double-standards* between girls and boys. However, since the girl who "gets offended if she does not have the same rights as boys" (*Rosa-choque* type, 1. 6), is negatively evaluated, the incorporation of the feminist discourse sounds contradictory.

The *third Response*, *Rosinha*, as well as *Rosa-choque*, is negatively evaluated. The diminutive used to label this type evokes her fragility and her dependence on male counterparts. The *Rosinha* type is the opposite of the *Rosa-Choque* type, as the assertion "você é machista" (1. 27) conveys.

(l. 24) Lá no fundo, você sempre espera que seu namorado (ou seu pai) decidam algumas coisas por você. Acaba ficando um pouco decepcionada se ele não der soluções mágicas para tudo o que você sonhar. . . . você é machista quando acha que a coisa mais importante do mundo é a opinião dos meninos. Tem que tomar cuidado para isso não impedir você de ser você mesma.

The Solution, in the form of an advice, is: "Tem que tomar cuidado para isso não impedir de você ser você mesma" (1. 29). The interesting point here is that the girl is urged to make *her own decisions*, and *to be herself*. At the same time, if we go back to *Rosa-Choque*, we find that thinking *by herself* and making *her own decisions* have drawbacks.

Therefore, "ideally," according to the magazine, girls should be independent, but not too much.

Furthermore, the advice "tem que tomar cuidado para isso não impedir você de ser você mesma" opposes the whole discourse of the magazine itself. By warning the girl to be herself, the magazine contradicts itself. That is, in the quiz as a whole, the magazine tells the reader how she should be.

But the most interesting fact about this quiz is the negative evaluation of the Rosa-choque type. In a publication like Capricho, which claims to be open-minded, one would expect that not being a male chauvinist, like the Rosa-choque type, should be positive. This is not the case. Being classified as Rosa-choque, or absolutely non-chauvinistic, is considerably dislikable. It is therefore the Rosa type, the girl who is certainly not a fervent non-male chauvinist, and who loves feeling "protected by her boyfriend," that is considered a "good girl."

# Quiz 3: "What do guys think of you?" (Seventeen, 1994, April, pp. 106 and 110).

This quiz deals with one of the most frequent themes found in teenage girls' magazines: boys, or their opinion on girls' behavior. Here, girls are promised to be informed on what their male counterparts think of them. Depending on how she scores, the girl is classified as A Wild Woman, A Great Girlfriend, A Perfect Pal, or A Snob Sista.

A Wild Woman constitutes the first Response to the question "What do guys think of you?" Since A Wild Woman is negatively Evaluated, it becomes a new Problem. The initial part of the first sentence, "Sure, guys are interested in you (1.03)," constitutes a positive Evaluation. However, its second part, signaled by the conjunction but,

encompasses the *drawback* of that Response: "but not necessarily for the right reasons" (l. 04). The evaluation "right" in "right reasons" implicates the existence of reasons that are "wrong," which are explained in the sentences that follow.

(l. 05) In other words, they may just take advantage of you. Jerks, all of them. But flirting your head off is not the way to snag a great guy. And relying on guys to make you feel good about yourself is dangerous.

Note again the use of negation in "is not the way to snag a great guy." The denial here constitutes a form of presupposition. Presupposition is defined by Fairclough (1989) as "what can be taken as common ground for participants" (p. 152). It is some sort of proposition which the producer of the text takes as already "given" for both him/herself and the receiver of the text. According to Pagano (1992), the negation used here can be classified as denial of background information, "in which the proposition denied by the writer is an idea which he assumes his interlocutor entertains" (p. 132). The rejected background information in the sentence "flirting your head off is not the way to snag a great guy" is the previous experience or belief that the editor presupposes the girl has. It is assumed that she indeed "flirts her head off," or at least thinks that this is the way she will find a "worthy" boy to date.

From line 12 on, up to the end of the paragraph, we find a *set of Solutions* given by the magazine. The suggestions appear both in the direct imperative form, and in mitigated forms, such as "have to." Based on Hoey's (1979; 1983) proposal, instead of answering the question "What has been done about the Problem?," the Solution here answers the question "What can I do about it?" In this way, editors attribute the Response to the reader and project it to the future:

(1. 12) Try to figure out why you're so needy of the attention guys give you, says Kate Wachs, Ph.D., a psychologist in Chicago. Whatever the reason, you really have to work on getting the praise you need from yourself. "It's a big order," admits Dr. Wachs, "but it's vitally important." A good way to begin building this inner security is to get involved in a worthwhile project, for example, become a tutor for young kids. Liking yourself is way more important than having any guy (no matter how great he is) like you.

Note that although the advice is being delivered by the editor, it is not *she* who is actually providing it. The magazine makes use of an accredited source, Dr. Wachs, to give the advice. In addition to her full name, her profession, educational level, and origin are also provided. The reference to an accredited source confers more reliability, objectivity and seriousness to what is being said. In addition, Dr. Kate Wachs might as well be a fictional character. The aim of bringing her up is to detach the editor from the advice. It is not the editor who is telling the reader to change her behavior, but a highly specialized professional. In this way, the editor does not appear as an "old-fashioned" and moralistic person. It is important for the editor to appear as equal to her readers.

The second Response, A Great Girlfriend, is the only positively evaluated classification It is the Solution:

(1. 31) You've got everything down right. You know how to be friendly and flirtatiously in a subtle, *non*intimidating, and *no*-pressure way. Plus, you're confident, so you *don't* change your behavior just because guys are around — you're always yourself. Basically, guys feel comfortable with you because you feel comfortable around them. And most importantly, you *don't* take guys too seriously. That is why if a guy you like doesn't like you, you get over it pretty fast. You're too busy having fun to mope [italics added].

The use of negatives is eye-catching again. According to Pagano's classification (1992), all the negatives here are *denials of contrast* (p. 134). By saying that the *Great Girlfriend* type knows "how to be friendly and flirtatiously in a subtle, *non*intimidating,

and *no*-pressure way," the magazine refers, of course, to the type of girl that *does* flirt in an "intimidating" and "pushing" manner. According to the magazine's evaluation, the type of girl that does so is the *Wild Woman*. The same reasoning is valid for "you *don't change* your behavior just because guys are around" and "you *don't take* guys too seriously." These negative statements allude and argue against the positive assertions "you change your behavior" and "you take guys too seriously." In this context, the function of the negatives is *to contrast* the other types of flirting, considered inappropriate.

The third Response, A Great Pal, just as A Wild Woman, is negatively Evaluated. The first sentence in a Great Pal, however, consists of a positive Evaluation: "Guys are always saying what a great personality you have" (l. 48). Up to this point there is no signal which evaluates the category as "negative." It is in the question in the second sentence, line 49, that one finds the first hint that leads to a negative Evaluation: "Bet you're sick to death of hearing that, right?". Being "sick to death of something" is clearly an undesirable feeling. Interesting, however, is that the editor asks for confirmation of a feeling she assumes the reader has. It is the exercise of authority of the editors over the girls' emotions. The sentences that follow elaborate the Problem:

(l. 51) Maybe you're also sick to death of pretending to be one of the boys just because you're too self-conscious and afraid of rejection to let guys know the truth: that you are interested in them romantically.

The Solution is offered in the second part of the sentence that starts on line 57: "If you are trying to get one of them to like you in that boy/girl sort of way, you may have to turn the charm a bit more [italics added]." The Solution extends up to the end of the paragraph, both in the direct imperative: "don't be afraid," "just relax," and "have faith,"

and a more mitigated form, through the use of modals: "you can make physical contact," and "you can even strike up a personal conversation." Again, the Solution is given in the form of projected action; it is the behavior the reader is supposedly going to adopt from now on.

(1. 65) Don't be afraid to smile at a guy you like or make eye contact with him. You can make physical contact, too — not by socking him in the shoulder, but by casually and gently touching his arm or hand. You can even strike up a personal conversation. . . . Just relax, says Dr. Wachs, and have faith in yourself that you can be cool and act playful and flirtatious around guys at the same time.

The *last Response* to be considered, *A Snob Sista*, is not desirable either. The expression *A Snob Sista* is in itself derogatory. The first sentence of this classification both *evaluates negatively* this type of girl, and explains why she is labeled a *snob sista*: "You've got your guard up big time, girl" (l. 86). Then, there is a "list" of *Solutions* for the Problem:

(l. 106) Use your time more wisely by concentrating on the things you *like* about yourself. In other words, think positive! If you have to *act* like you're more self-confident than you really are at first, that's okay. Eventually, you'll get to the hang of it and you won't even remember the days when you were too afraid to talk to a mere guy.

The interesting point about this classification and about the quiz as a whole is that, again, it is based on a contradiction. The *Great Girlfriend* is positively evaluated for *being herself*: "you *don't* change your behavior just because guys are around — *you're always yourself* [italics added]" (1. 36). The *Snob Sista*, however, is advised to do exactly the opposite, that is, to simulate a personality which is not hers: "if you have to *act* like you're more self-confident than you really are at first, that's okay" (1. 109).

In the case of A Great Girlfriend, the girl is praised for being herself, and for not modifying her behavior because of a male presence. In that context, the approval functions mainly in contrast with A Wild Woman, who is the girl that does modify her behavior to impress guys. In the last classification, however, A Snob Sista is negatively evaluated for playing the "difficult type" with boys. This girl is then advised to change her behavior and try to loosen up a little. In this case, "acting out" a personality which is not the girl's own is not only approved but also recommended by the editors.

Another aspect to consider in this quiz is the strongly conservative tone of the "opinions" guys might have about girls. A girl who is more assertive towards boys, approaching them, taking the action, assuming roles which are considered appropriate only for males in our society, is labeled as a wild woman. For boys, being aggressive is not only an adequate behavior but also an expected one. For girls, however, this is certainly not the case. According to the text, and this is signaled in its vocabulary, boys dislike a girl who is more aggressive and who might intimidate them. This perspective is overtly demonstrated in the vocabulary which describes the behavior of a great girlfriend: "You know how to be friendly and flirtatiously in a subtle, nonintimidating, and no-pressure way [italics added]."

Being a *perfect pal* to boys is, in its turn, a behavior not only disliked by boys, but by the girls as well. A friendship relation between the two sexes is not what girls *want* and *should* be after: "Guys are always saying what a great personality you have. Bet you're sick to death of hearing that, right?" It is overtly expressed in this passage that having a "great personality" is not what prompts a guy's interest in a girl. This belief rejects aspects

of attraction between human beings other than those valued by the magazine: fashion, beauty, and charm.

The adjective "healthy," in the sentence "there is nothing wrong with some *healthy* flirty," is interesting as well. The classification of flirting as "healthy" implies the existence of some kind of flirt that is "unhealthy". The unhealthy behavior here is probably the one the "wild" girls have.

Finally, it is interesting to notice the lexical choice used to label the fourth classification: A Snob, Sista. "Sista" constitutes a derogatory use of the word "sister," which is a form of address among feminist women. By using this word to classify a type of girl who is not "likable to boys," the magazine conveys that being a feminist is a bad thing.

# Quiz 7: "Are you independent?" (Sassy, 1994, May, p. 26).

This quiz assesses the girl's degree of independence. The girl can be classified in one of three types: *Solo artist*, *Backup singer*, or *Groupie*. The *first Response*, *Solo artist*, is the girl who is absolutely independent. She is *negatively Evaluated* by the magazine. This is signaled mainly through the words "loner," "alienation," and "alone," in: "You are something of a loner, reveling in alienation. The cliché 'You come into this world alone, you go out of it alone' is probably perversely comforting to you" (1.01).

The Solution for the supposed Problem is given straight after the Evaluation, again in the form of an advice: "don't go carrying your autonomy to an extreme. Admitting that you need others to help you now and then is not a sign of weakness; it's a sign of strength" (l. 06). The negative assertion in "is not a sign of weakness" is the type of denial Pagano (1992) classifies as denial of background information. It presupposes that the

reader thinks the opposite, that accepting the fact she needs other people's help indicates fragility.

The second Response, Backup singer, is the Solution.

(l. 11) The balance you have struck is quite the healthy one. You realize that you do care what other people think and will sometimes even base your decisions and actions on ABC TV/USA Today opinion polls. However, in matters of extreme importance or deeply personal choices, the only voice truly heard is your own.

The positive evaluation is signaled mainly in the lexicon. In addition to the label of this category, *Backup Singer* — she never sings *alone* —, words such as "balance" and "healthy" also function in connoting a positive perspective.

Finally, there is the third Response, Groupie. Like the Solo artist, it is negatively Evaluated. The Groupie type is at the other extreme of independence, that is, she is too dependent: "You wouldn't dare take a trip to the bathroom by yourself' (l. 21). For being negatively Evaluated, the Groupie type becomes a new Problem, and therefore demands a Solution: "Low self-esteem, perhaps? If that's the case, get to work on it. Letting other people influence all your choices will make you more confused and miserable. Remember: Your life is not a group effort" (l. 23). While the last sentences provide the Solution, they also expand the Problem. By stating that the girl might become "more confused and miserable," the magazine presupposes that the Groupie type is already confused and miserable.

This quiz as a whole is quite contradictory in relation to the overall proposal of the magazine in which it appears. Whereas Sassy constantly encourages girls to be more self-

reliant, in this quiz, the independent Solo Artist type is completely rejected: she is a "loner," "reveling in alienation."

According to the magazine, therefore, the ideal independent girl is the one who is not absolutely independent, the Backup singer type. She is evaluated as the one who has reached a "balance of independence." Her behavior is also evaluated as healthy. Again, we find the dichotomy healthy/unhealthy. If the Backup singer is taken as the healthy type, the other two, accordingly, are considered unhealthy.

## 4.3.2.2 - Type B quizzes: the not so perfect girl

In Type B I include the following quizzes:

Quiz 4: "Test your social savvy. Do you sizzle or fizzle?" ('Teen, 1994, March, pp. 36 and 38).

Quiz 8: "What kind of flirt are you?" (Seventeen, 1994, August, pp. 106 and 112).

Type B quizzes differ from the others in one main aspect: they do not present any of the Responses as an absolute Solution for the overall Problem. In other words, although there is one category, or Response, that is positively evaluated, this category is presented as also having some Problems or, at least, "potential" Problems. The figure below illustrates the text-structure of Type B quizzes:

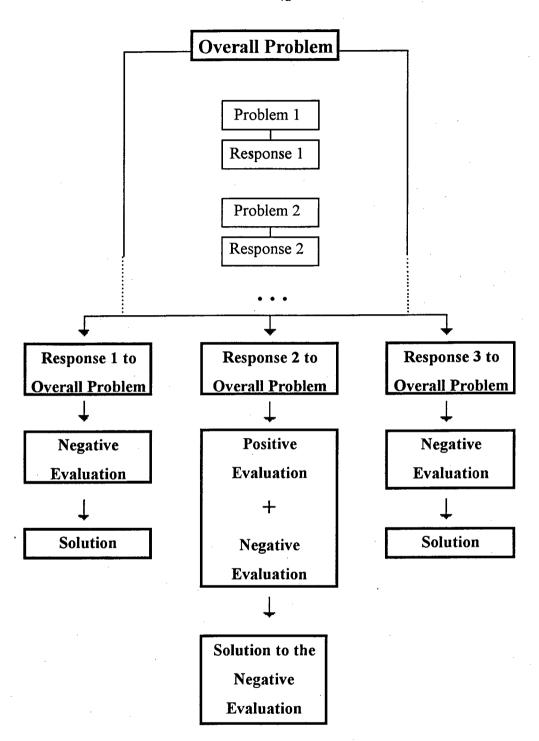


Fig. 3 Type B quizzes

Quiz 4: "Test your social savvy. Do you sizzle or fizzle?" ('Teen, 1994, March, pp. 36 and 38).

This quiz evaluates the girl's "practical knowledge of social behavior." Differently from the other quizzes, this one does not start with a question. First, there is a command: "Test your social savvy," followed by a question: "Do you sizzle or fizzle?" This difference is not significant because the question is actually present. However, since the question alone does not carry the topic of the quiz, there is the need for another sentence to complement it. The question depends on the previous command to be understood.

There are three possible Responses: Socially Insecure, Socially Reckless, and Socially Secure. The last category comprises the Solution; it is the behavior the magazine evaluates as appropriate.

The *first Response*, the *Socially Insecure* type, fails to meet the desired social behavior, as is signaled by the adjective *insecure*. The first paragraph describing this category comprises the *Problem*, which is anticipated by the actual word "problem," in *Communication Problem*.

(l. 04) Communication Problem: Shyness often leaves you tongue-tied and attempting a disappearing act. Or you may babble nonstop, your mouth taken over by aliens. Important message: No need to grade yourself a social failure.

It is interesting to notice, however, that the third sentence of the paragraph contradicts the preceding ones. Immediately after stating that the *Socially Insecure* type constitutes a Problem, the magazine reevaluates this category as a non-Problem: "No need to grade yourself a social failure (l. 15)." This sentence apparently dismantles the Problem

raised before, but not really, as we can perceive in the sentence that follows it: "And shyness can be cured — or at least hidden!" (1. 30)

What people usually *cure* is a disease. Besides, the personal characteristics that people generally *hide* are the ones they believe to be inappropriate. Therefore, the lexical items *cured* and *hidden* send us back to the initial idea of the *Social Insecure* type as a Problem.

From line 25 up to the end of the text, the magazine provides the *Solution* for the Problem of being *Socially Insecure*:

"Learn conversational comfort with 'Social Assistance' techniques. But take it easy — new friend 'quotas' and constant success checks can heighten shyness" (1. 25).

These sentences, however, constitute only part of the Solution, or a Preview of the Solution (Hoey, 1979, p. 78). The girl is suggested to read the column that follows the quiz, in which she will find a list of "techniques."

The second Response is the Socially Reckless type. Comparable to the previous type, it is not the desired behavior either. The first sentence of the paragraph (l. 44), as the expression Behavioral Blunder conveys, constitutes the negative Evaluation. Other expressions such as "a catty remark," "a questionable joke," "gossip" and "a hostile takeover," reinforce this negative evaluation.

(1. 44) Behavioral Blunder: Determined to hide any shyness or just naturally outspoken, you "jumpstart" conversations with a catty remark, a questionable joke, gossip or a "hostile takeover."

The Socially Reckless type behaves in the way described above because she is "determined to hide any shyness." Note the contradiction again: while the Socially Insecure type was encouraged to hide her shyness, the present type is negatively evaluated because she actually does so.

On line 64, signaled by the word *advice*, we find a series of suggestions which constitute the *Solution* for the supposed Problem. These suggestions are mainly in the direct imperative: "ease up," "consider," "think," and "save."

(l. 64) Friendly Advice: Ease up on performance pressure. The object is fun and friendship, not starlet status. To smooth every encounter: Consider other people's feelings, think before you speak, and save jokes for those with a matching sense of humor!

The *third Response*, the *Socially Secure* type, is the only positively evaluated category. The paragraph starts by praising the one who is so classified. This is lexically signaled by the words "talent," "success," and "clued in."

(l. 82) Talking Talent: You've found the secret to social success — get the other person involved! You're also clued in enough to know when to exit those no-win situations.

This type, however, is not "all perfect" either. She also has her drawbacks, and therefore needs some help from the *Social Assistance* column. The magazine refers to a "potential" Problem. This potential Problem is anticipated through he use of the word *catch* (1. 94), and eventually realized in the sentence that follows it::

"Frankly Speaking: The only *catch*? You may 'collect' people to bolster a shaky self-image" (l. 95).

Since there is a potential Problem, there is also the need for a Solution. Thus, the magazine provides the *Socially Secure* type with advice, mostly realized in the imperative form: "make sure," "never count," "don't limit," and "use."

(l. 98) Make sure you seek friends for themselves, not as an ego-boost. . . . Never count others out because they're shy — your conversational flair can help shrinking violets bloom. And don't limit yourself! Use your enviable skills to get to know a variety of people.

The use of negatives is significant again. In the first occurrence, "not as an ego boost," the negation constitutes a denial of background information (Pagano, 1992, p. 132). The writer denies what she/he thinks the reader might believe, or the behavior s/he assumes the reader might have: that she can seek friends as an "ego-boost." The second denial, "never count others out", is also a denial of background information. At the same time the author assumes the reader might exclude some people because they are timid, s/he advises her not to do so.

Finally, as it is Previewed throughout the quiz, the three possible categories of "social savvy" are followed by a set of Solutions for all the Problems (and potential Problems) raised before. This set consists of a series of suggestions on how to achieve a better social performance which, according to the magazine, is one more behavioral aspect that girls should worry about. The final set of Solutions comes under the heading Social Assistance, and it is entirely in the direct imperative.

#### SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

Even the socially secure can find "getting-to-know-you" a difficult test. Here's how to ace it!

Don't get personal.

Use humor sparingly.

Give strangers time to become your friends before you kid around.

Avoid cattiness . . .

Rise to sincere flattery . .

Ask "leading questions" . . .

Be sure to let others talk . . . . Try to look at conversations as very friendly tennis matches — not lone practice sessions.

Note the reinforcement of the potential failure of the *Socially Secur*e type, signaled in the words *even* and *difficult*, in "even the socially secure can find 'getting-to-know-you' a difficult test." Note also the strengthening of the magazine's roles of *socializing* and encouragement of the "pursuit of excellence" (Ferguson, 1983, p. 99), in the sentence "here's how to *ace* it" [italics added].

Ouiz 8: "What kind of flirt are you?" (Seventeen, 1994, August, p. 106).

In this quiz, girls are evaluated regarding their "ability" to flirt. There are three possible types: *Flirtaholic*, *Flirtmaster*, and *Flirtaphobic*. Only the *Flirtmaster* type is positively evaluated. The two other Responses are seen as negative.

The first Response, Flirtaholic, is negatively Evaluated right in the first sentence of the paragraph.

(1. 02) Okay, male attention is nice, but why are you so hell-bent on having it all the time? . . . Maybe you feel like you're worth more when guys find you attractive — not surprising in a culture where a female's value is often measured by her sexiness. . . . Hate to sound school-marmish, but putting guys at the top of your life-goal list keeps you from getting anyone else (including yourself).

Set in the form of a question, the first sentence involves a presupposition. Fairclough (1992b) suggests that presuppositions can be either manipulative or sincere. When manipulative, the writer presents "a proposition as given for another or established by him dishonestly, insincerely, and with manipulative intent" (p. 121). Fairclough claims

that presuppositions work effectively in being manipulative for they are difficult to be challenged (id.). In this case, the manipulative intent of the presupposition consists in the writer setting up a particular life experience for the reader which is difficult to be challenged. The question presupposes that the girl is actually obstinate on constantly having the boy's attention. In this sense, while an affirmative assertion such as "you are hell-bent on having male attention all the time" is open to debate, and can therefore be contested, the presupposition in the actual text is not. In other words, if the magazine asks the girl "why" she is that way — "hell-bent on having male attention all the time" —, this presupposes that the girl is in fact like that.

The comment the editor makes about her own words is also interesting: "Hate to sound school-marmish." When the editor's words become too evaluative and authoritative — as in the evaluation of the *Flirtaholic* type —, and her talk recalls the one of parents' and teachers', she distances herself from the reader. Her strategy of reapproximation then is to "excuse" herself for sounding as an old-fashioned teacher. In this way, she tries to regain the reader's empathy by resetting her discourse as different from those of the school and home.

Note the negative charge of the word *Flirtaholic*. Although there is the possibility for the word to have been used jokingly, it cannot be disassociated from the recall of other, more dangerous addictions.

After the Problem having been established, the *Solution* is provided basically in direct imperatives: "get over it," "explore," "bond with," and "realize."

(l. 19) Get over it. You have more to offer the world than your feminine charm. Explore your interests, like drawing or blading. Bond with your

girlfriends. Realize that guys are more than just objects to be won, and so are you.

The second Response, Flirtmaster, is the example type of girl. The paragraph begins with a long positive Evaluation of this category. The positive value is signaled in the starting sentence with the phrase "You have no problem" [italics added] (l. 28). In this paragraph, the girl is mainly described regarding the "mental processes" (Halliday, 1985) she supposedly engages in: "like," "understand," "recognize." It seems that she thinks and feels more than she actually does.

(1. 28) You have no problem with the fact that you like guys and they like you. You understand that flirting is more about being open to romantic possibilities — or just plain communication — than sex. In short, you recognize that attraction is a two-way street, and you're willing to go some of the distance yourself. Yet, you also understand that there are other ways to relate to guys — like on a purely intellectual level.

However, the "perfect" type, *Flirtmaster*, has its "potential" Problems too. After evaluating the *Flirtmaster* so positively, the magazine advises her to "resist the temptation to use your all-powerful flirtation skills to manipulate situations. Know that self-assurance, brains, and creativity are what really count" (l. 42). These sentences encompass both a *negative Evaluation*, a "potential" Problem, and its *Solution*. That is, by advising the girl "to resist the temptation to use her skills to manipulate situations," the writer both suggests that the *Flirtmaster* does have the "potential" to employ her abilities in manipulative situations — pointing out the Problem —, and advises her not to do so — pointing out the Solution.

The third Response, Flirtaphobic, is negatively Evaluated. A phobia is an irrational fear, and therefore, an undesirable psychological state. In this quiz, the word

Flirtaphobic comprises the element Problem. But the negative Evaluation of the Flirtaphobic type extends a little further through the paragraph.

(1. 49) Are you lost in a time warp? Waiting around for boys to notice you might have worked for Jan Brady, but that show's been canceled. Maybe you don't like to flirt because you think it's all about playing games, acting cutesy, and making promises you don't want to keep.

Expressions such as "lost in a time warp," "waiting around for boys to notice you," "don't like to flirt," all convey negative evaluations. The sentence "maybe you don't like to flirt because you. ..." (l. 53), presupposes the girl does not like to flirt. Note that *not to like flirting* is considered a negative characteristic. Therefore, not having guys on the top of her life-goal list, or not having them in her list at all, is considered a dislikable attitude for a girl.

The Solution for the supposed Problem is anticipated by the word "technique:"

(l. 61) The technique, contrary to popular clichés, has more to do with hanging out and laughing with guys than seductively licking your lips or playing dumb. And don't worry about being perfect at it, because even the best flirts have their share of awkward, misunderstood moments. Not to mention rejection — look how Amanda, the quintessential male magnet, keeps striking out with Billy.

The usage of the word "technique" reduces flirting to a skill which can be learnt, and eventually mastered: the girl can become a *Flirtmaster*. Whereas the girl is encouraged to master her flirtation skills, she is also warned "not to worry about being perfect at it." The latter functions towards solidarity with the girl for she will never be able to achieve "perfection." Nevertheless, it is highly contradictory if compared to the whole

discourse in this quiz which encourages the "pursuit of excellence," even when the girl is positively evaluated (See analysis of the *Flirtmaster* type above).

Note the allusion to the TV characters *Amanda* and *Billy*. This reference presupposes that editors and readers share the same background: both watch the same programs. This is one more procedure aiming at the approximation of readers and writers. In addition to putting herself on an equal footing with her readers, the editor ensures the reader that she knows what their preferences are.

A point worth mentioning about this quiz is the negotiation the reader has to make with two opposing discourses: the feminist and the sexist discourse. The disapproving description of the *Flirtaholic* type is clearly built from a feminist perspective, markedly in "maybe you feel like you're worth more when guys find you attractive — not surprising in a culture where a female's value is often measured by her sexiness [italics added]." There is an appropriation of this discourse in order to reproach those aspects of the *Flirtaholic* type which are quite sexist, such as the girl seeing herself and her male counterparts as "objects to be won" and her offering nothing else to the world than "her feminine charm," a commodity like many other commodities offered "in the market of human beings" (Kress, 1985, p. 35).

In the subsequent classifications in the same quiz, however, we find the girl being essentially motivated to learn how to attract boys in the "right" way. The allusion to appropriate or approved ways or techniques for girls to flirt reflects the sexist discourse.

#### 4.3.3 - Discussion

Some important aspects about the analysis of the quizzes above deserve discussion: the use of "expert systems," evaluation and classification of good and bad girls, negation, presupposition, and clashes of discourses.

## 4.3.3.1 - Use of expert systems

The use of accredited sources, such as therapists, psychologists, or simply editors who have a long-career experience in devising quizzes, is shown to be a common practice in quizzes. As mentioned above, it is a strategy which conveys reliability to what is being said. In this sense, girls are not being evaluated, classified and advised simply by a layperson. On the contrary, the editors try to ensure their readers that the information they are providing is based on what experts say.

Based on Giddens, Fairclough refers to this strategy as the "use of expert systems." (Giddens, apud. Fairclough, 1993, p. 140). These are defined as "systems constituted by experts (such as doctors, therapists, lawyers, scientists, technicians) with highly specialized technical knowledge which we are all increasingly dependent upon" (id.).

The disclosure of the source happens in two distinct ways. There is either direct/indirect report of the source's speech in the body of the quiz, or there is an acknowledgment of the source outside the text of the quiz. I exemplify these two forms below:

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## 1 - Direct/indirect report:

Try to figure out why you are so needy of attention guys give you, says Kate Wachs, Ph.D., a psychologist in Chicago. (Quiz 3)

"A person who's into control is dictated by her fears," says Sam Alexander, a therapist in Pasadena, California. (Quiz 9)

## 2 - Acknowledgment:

Special thanks to quiz advisor dr. kathleen hook [sic]. (Quiz 7)

Para os testes de comportamento só havia uma pessoa. Cláudia Visoni, claro. Durante mais de quatro anos foi ela quem criou os testes de Capricho. (Capricho, 1994, Special Issue, p. 5)

The use of accredited sources has two main implications. First, it confers a tone of seriousness to the quiz. Second, it is a saving-face strategy for the editor. It detaches the editor — who aims at the equalization of his/her relationship with the reader — from the authoritativeness of some of the evaluations and advice provided.

The use of expert systems grants seriousness to the quiz. This might implicate something much more profound. As Fischer (1993) puts it very well, the girls' behavior is "patologizado, medicalizado, cientificizado" (p. 17). That is, the therapist's classification of a girl's behavior as unhealthy has a totally different weight than that of a layperson. The use of "expert systems" breaks away from the ludic appearance editors want to create in quizzes. The use of these professionals is intrinsically related to the evaluation and classification of girls through the lexical choices I will discuss below.

## 4.3.3.2 - Evaluation and classification of good and bad girls

As the analyses above demonstrate, quizzes in teenage girls' magazines basically consist of evaluation and consequent classification of girls' behavior. Classification has to do with the way the world is linguistically ordered (Fowler & Kress, p. 210). Lee (1992)

says that the categories of classification "are not objective, ready-made, inherent properties of the external world but are subject to processes of perception and interpretation" (p. 16). He suggests that some words might be used in order "to impose a classificatory scheme *on* [my emphasis] the reader not by argument but through the more insidious process of naming and reference" (id.).

In quizzes, there is imposition of a classificatory scheme not only on the reader but also of her. The "object" of classification and the reader coincide. In other words, the readers receive a classificatory scheme of herself. Lee (1992) claims that text producers express evaluations "through drawing on classification schemes which are in part systems of evaluation" (p. 119). The lexical choices used to evaluate and finally classify the girl are what essentially signal the element of Evaluation in the Problem-Solution Pattern. And it is at this point that we find the relation between the linguistic Problem and the real-world Problem, suggested by Hoey (1983, p. 52).

From the analysis above, I conclude a few things about the lexical choice of classification. Girls are classified under two main labels which, in fact, are never made explicit: the good and the bad girls. There is always only one type of girl who has the appropriate, adequate behavior, there is only one girl that is classified as "good." Under the "bad" girls' label there are at least two subdivisions. At one extreme, for instance, there is the too independent or too flirtatious girl. At the other, there is the too dependent or too little flirtatious one. Sometimes there are even three types of inappropriate behavior, as it happens in the quiz "What do guys think of you?" The "good" girl, nevertheless, remains only one.

Within the evaluation/classification of the girls' behavior, it is also interesting to notice the use of the terminology of the "expert systems," mainly for what regards the "patologização" of her behavior. A good example is the persistent use of the dichotomy healthy vs. unhealthy: "healthy flirty" (Quiz 3, 1. 61) and "the healthy one" (Quiz 7, 1. 12). Expressions such as "cured" (Quiz 4, 1. 21), "socially insecure" (Quiz 4, 1. 2), "needy of attention" (Quiz 3, 1. 13), "inner security" (Quiz 3, 1. 23), "afraid of rejection" (Quiz 3, 1. 55), "confused" (Quiz 7, 1. 27), "miserable" (Quiz 7, 1. 27), "low self-esteem" (Quiz 7, 1. 23), "self-reliant" (Quiz 7, 1. 6), "fica com raiva" (Quiz 2, 1. 3), "tongue-tied" (Quiz 4, 1. 7), and the created words "flirtaholic," "flirtmaster" and "flirtaphobic" (Quiz 8), confirm this binary division of behavior between what is healthy and what is not.

In addition, within the terminology used by "experts," we also find a number of words that seem to have been borrowed from the business world: "quota" (Quiz 4, 1. 31), "moves turn out well" (Quiz 4, 1. 55), "exit those no-win situations" (Quiz 4, 1. 91), "technique" (Quiz 8, 1. 61).

Being a "bad" girl, therefore, is taken as an "unhealthy" state. Nevertheless, it can be "cured." And the magazine is there to do this, to teach girls how to become good, with the help of the experts. The definitions of a "good" and a "bad" girl are overtly provided by the magazine. Becoming a "good" girl seems to be what is expected of any girl. It is reduced to something that can be mastered — Flirtmaster —, through the application of a series of "techniques" that the magazine, through the voice of "experts" is willing to teach.

## 4.3.3.3 - Use of negation

The use of negation, mainly in the description of the "good" girls is also an interesting characteristic of quizzes.

(Quiz 3, 1. 32) You know how to be friendly and flirtatious in a subtle, nonintimidating, and no-pressure way.

(Quiz 3, 1. 36) You don't change your behavior just because guys are around.

(Quiz 3, 1. 42) You don't take guys too seriously.

(Quiz 8, 1. 28) You have no problem with the fact that you like guys and guys like you.

(Quiz 2, l. 13) Não hesita um segundo em pedir colo e chorar quando está triste.

(Quiz 2, l. 15) Não consegue ver sentido em dividir as coisas por sexo e, sinceramente, não se preocupa com isso.

(Quiz 2, 1. 19) Não vê o mínimo problema em fazer coisas que levam fama de ser masculinas.

The denials in the description of the girl who is positively evaluated stand in opposition to the other categories which are negatively evaluated. They constitute the type of negation Pagano (1992) classifies as denials of contrast. By saying what the "good" girl does not do, or how she does not do it, the editors compare her to the negatively evaluated girls. It is exactly what the "bad" girl does that the "good" girl does not do.

This technique seems to operate very well in the quizzes' function of disciplining girls. A girl who is negatively evaluated in the quiz is not going to read only her own classification and advice. She will probably read how the "ideal" type is described, that is, how she is expected to be. By doing so, she will find a description of a series of things a good girl does not do, and will immediately identify herself with the type that is being contrasted. Therefore, not only the negative evaluations discipline, but the positive as well.

## 4.3.3.4 - Presuppositions

As it has been demonstrated, there is also a great number of presuppositions underlying the quizzes. The presuppositions about the reader's feelings, thoughts and/or life experience are reinforcing clues to and traces of the strategy of synthetic personalization, so common in quizzes.

In the process of building an "ideal reader" for their texts, editors also tend to impose certain assumptions on her, and to ensure her that they know who she is, what she thinks and does, and what her preferences are. As I said above, presuppositions may be manipulative. Many times, they can be used for captious purposes, claiming facts as given, and not allowing any space for challenge of what is being presupposed.

In the case of quizzes, one of the functions of the presuppositions is to create a synthetic personalization, which works strategically to approximate editors and readers. It builds up in the reader the conviction that the editor does know who she is

#### 4.3.3.5 - Clashes of discourses

In the analyses of the quizzes above, many contradictions appear. Perhaps the most insidious of them all is the editors' constant encouragement of the reader to be herself, when she constantly advises her to change her behavior.

In quiz 3, for instance, "What do guys think of you?," the "good" girl is the one who does not change her behavior "just because guys are around;" she is always herself (l. 36). On the other hand, the girl who is classified as a snob sista, is advised to "perform" a personality which is not really hers (l. 109).

The clash of the feminist and sexist discourses appear in several quizzes. In quiz 2, "Você é machista?," for instance, the girl who is considered a "male-chauvinist" is advised in this way: "Tem que tomar cuidado para isso não impedir você de ser você mesma" (l. 29). Up to then, we find the girl being encouraged to be herself, and not to think her male counterparts are better than her. However, the absolutely non-male chauvinist is negatively evaluated and is advised not to try to be stronger than she really is. Moreover, the "good" girl is described as loving "feeling protected" by her boyfriend (l. 15). The ideal type, therefore, is the one that is not absolutely a non male chauvinist. It is the one that reveals some sort of weakness. This belief supports the sexist belief of male's superiority.

Another interesting contradiction occurs in quiz 7, "Are you independent?" It would be expected that being totally independent would be a positive thing. However, the girl who is so classified is negatively described: she is a loner.

Moreover, if we compare two quizzes published in different issues of the same magazine, we find a contradictory position of the editors. In Seventeen, in the quiz "Are you a good flirt?," the negatively evaluated Flirtaholic is advised to remember that "self-assurance, brains, and creativity are what really count" (l. 45). In the quiz "What do guys think of you?," however, — in addition to the emphasis given to boys' opinion on girls' behavior —, the girl classified as A Great Pal is negatively evaluated. Contradictorily, she is not the "desired" type of girl for she has the same qualities that the Wild Woman is blamed for not having: "Guys are always saying what a great personality you have. Bet you're sick to death of hearing that, right?" (l. 48)

This series of contradictions unveil the unstable position these magazines have. On the one hand, they strive to create a new image of teenage girls' magazines of the nineties: they talk to a self-assertive, self-reliant, independent, non male-chauvinist, and strong-minded girl. On the other hand, they support the sexist discourse, imposing on girls certain ways of thinking and behaving that conform to the traditional roles. Therefore, a good girl should flirt, but not too much; be independent, but up to a certain point; not be a male chauvinist, but not completely. Above all, a good girl should be herself, but only as far as being herself means to be a good girl.

In the next chapter, I relate my analysis of quizzes to a broader social theory, the theory of Discipline and Punish (Foucault, 1977).

#### CHAPTER 5

## This is how they punish bad girls: quizzes as disciplinary instruments

In this chapter I establish the connections between the genre quiz and a more comprehensive social theory: the theory of the *disciplinary society* — whose birth and development are traced by Foucault (1977) in his investigation of the history of prison. I explain Foucault's concepts of *discipline* and *examination* and relate these concepts to my analysis of the quizzes in teenage girls' magazines.

I demonstrate that quizzes in teenage magazines constitute one more technique of the disciplinary society. By working with the procedure of *examination*, or self-scrutiny, quizzes are a technique to *discipline* teenage girls, or an "instrument of socialization" of them.

### 5.1 - Discipline and examination

Foucault (1977) defines *discipline* as "a technique that assures the ordering of human multiplicities." He claims that it

may be identified neither with an institution nor with an apparatus, it is a type of power, a modality for its exercise, comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets; it is a 'physics' or an 'anatomy' of power, a technology. And it may be taken over either by 'specialized' institutions (the penitentiaries or 'houses of correction' of the nineteenth century), or by institutions that use it as an essential instrument for a particular end (schools, hospitals), or by pre-existing authorities that find in it a means of reinforcing or reorganizing their internal mechanisms of power [the family, for instance]. (ibid., pp. 215-6)

Foucault claims that what we see today is a spread of disciplinary procedures which are not necessarily in the form of distinct institutions, but centers, groups, or places

spread throughout society (ibid., p. 216). Religious groups and charity organizations are examples of these aggregations that, for a long time, have been imposing discipline on the population.

Foucault claims that the success of disciplinary power stems from the use of simple instruments. These instruments are: *hierarchical observation*, *normalizing judgment* and *examination* (ibid., p. 170). The instrument of *examination* — the focus here — combines the techniques of an "observing hierarchy" and those of a "normalizing judgment" (id.).

According to Foucault (1977), an examination consists of "a normalizing gaze [italics added], a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them" (p. 184).

The disciplinary systems present some essential characteristics. *First*, they have a "small penal mechanism" (ibid., p. 177). The school, the workshop, and the army work with *micro-penalties*. Some of these micro-penalties are of behavior — impoliteness, disobedience —, of the body — incorrect attitudes, irregular gestures —, of sexuality — impurity, indecency (ibid., p. 178).

Second, the disciplinary penalty has to do with "non-observance." It is that individual — or his/her behavior — that does not observe the norm, that does not measure up to the rule, that diverges from it. In other words, every act, behavior, speech, among others, that is non-conforming, that deviates from an established norm is subject to punishment (id.).

Third, one of the functions of the disciplinary systems is "to reduce gaps" (ibid., p. 179). Disciplinary punishment must be fundamentally "corrective" (id.). It must operate towards the *normalization* of subjects; that is, to correct the individuals who deviate from an established norm.

Fourth, "in discipline, punishment is only one element of a double system: gratification-punishment" (ibid., p. 180). According to Foucault, in the school system, for instance, the teacher must make an effort to give more rewards than apply penalties. This procedure encourages the deviant pupil to be more constantly rewarded for his/her fear of being punished (id.). The mechanism of two elements — gratification-punishment — provides means for some operations to take place. First, it defines behavior and performance "on the basis of two opposed values of good and evil. [;] all behaviour falls in the field between good and bad marks, good and bad points" (id.). Second, it makes it possible to measure this field between a positive and a negative pole. "The disciplinary apparatuses hierarchized the 'good' and the 'bad' subjects in relation to one another" (ibid., p. 181).

Lastly, the *fifth* fundamental characteristic of the disciplinary system is the method of distribution according to ranks or grade. This method has a dual purpose. It both delineates the gaps, hierarchizing qualities, skills and aptitudes, and it punishes and rewards. The rank in itself, therefore, constitutes both a form of reward and of punishment (id.). That is, the system of assessment of the individuals according to their behavior and performance, the provision of grades, and allocation in specific ranks or hierarchical positions, functions both in rewarding the 'good' ones, and in punishing the 'bad' ones.

In school, for instance, this system classifies students according to their abilities and behavior, and it exercises a permanent pressure on them to correspond to the same model: to be diligent and obedient. In this way, all pupils are more easily "subjected to subordination," and will eventually be all alike (ibid., p. 182).

Foucault claims that, as a disciplinary procedure, the *examination* "manifests the subjection of those who are perceived as objects and the objectification of those who are subjected" (ibid., pp. 184-5). That is, at the same time as examination places the individual — the object of examination — under subjection, it also objectifies him/her so as to become analyzable, and eventually to be corrected, or normalized.

According to Foucault, within an examination there is a "superimposition" of knowledge relations and power relations (p. 185). As discussed above, some type of specialized institution, or association, has the authority to submit an individual to examination, and has, by the same token, the authority in terms of knowledge: the expertise. Knowledge supports the authority of specialized institutions so they can establish what is to be corrected.

## 5.2 - The discipline in the examination quiz

The quiz in teenage girls' magazines constitutes a type of examination. As a type of examination, it also comprises observation — the questions and answers — which classifies and judges girls in order to normalize them, or to "correct" their behavior.

Responsible for its elaboration are the "specialized institutions" that Foucault talks about: editors, physicians, and psychologists — such as Dr. Wachs (Quiz 3). The

specialized institutions, or expert systems, work as "judges of normality" (Foucault, 1977). For Foucault, we live in a society where the judges of normality are present everywhere. It is a society of the "teacher-judge," the "doctor-judge," the "educator-judge," the "social-worker-judge." In quizzes, there are the editor-judge, the psychologist-judge, the male-judge. All these judges work together to discipline teenage readers.

In quizzes, there are also the "micro-penalties" that we find in the prison and in the school system. The girl is punished for not acting "properly." In these tests, the micropenalties are essentially linguistic, condemning deviant behaviors. The girls that are classified as "bad" girls — the ones that have to be punished —, are the ones that *do not observe* the norm. The norm is what the magazine — as a vehicle that reflects and/or constructs society —, defines. The girls who are classified as having "inappropriate" behavior are labeled as problematic. They are given a set of advice on how to change or to correct that "improper" behavior. The judgment, classification, and advice in the quiz work towards the *normalization* of the girl, that is, towards the achievement of a conduct that the magazine describes as appropriate to the "good" girl.

The characteristic of *hierarchizing* in the disciplinary systems is also typical in quizzes. The answers the girl provides in the test will classify her in one of the opposed poles, "good" or "bad," which are measured one in relation to the other, as I demonstrated in chapter four. The girl's individual action is referred "to a whole that is at once a field of comparison, a space of differentiation and the principle of a rule to be followed" (Foucault, 1977, p. 182).

In quizzes, there is also the process of *punishment-gratification*. The good girl is gratified by being praised, while the bad girl is punished by being negatively described. This procedure might create in the "bad" girl the desire to be gratified as well. In order to be gratified she has two options: she can either change her behavior, or she can lie in the answers she provides.

The hierarchizing system has a double outcome in quizzes as well. It classifies girls according to their behavior, and exercises a continuous pressure over them to correspond to the same model: to be obedient, moderate flirt, socially well behaved, not absolutely male-chauvinist, not completely independent or assertive. In this way, all girls are more easily subjected, and will eventually be all similar; they will be "normalized."

Therefore, the same operations found in the disciplinary systems that are described by Foucault are also carried out in quizzes. Quizzes are not located in an architecture such as that of schools, hospitals, and prisons, that Foucault describes. But they are certainly placed in a well planned structure, strategically formed by different sections and departments: the structure of teenage girls' magazines. Quizzes also do not undertake any form of physical violence, as the old school systems used to, and most prisons still do. But they do have imposition of discipline.

The quizzes in teenage girls' magazines, which Foucault (1977) has certainly not talked about, can be defined as one more disciplinary instrument in contemporary society. They compare all girls, differentiate, put them in a hierarchy, and exclude the "bad" ones. They work towards the creation of *docile* female bodies and minds; they discipline girls to be "good girls."

#### **CHAPTER 6**

### **Final Remarks**

I have demonstrated through this study that, among other major institutions like the church, the school, and the family, quizzes in teenage girls' magazines constitute a "disciplinary instrument." Girls are taught how to be "good girls," and socialized into attitudes and types of behavior that are considered "appropriate." Quizzes give the definitions not only of the "good" girl, but of the "bad" ones as well. The latter are provided with a set of advice on how to change their behavior.

Similarly to the girls' parents and teachers, the devisors of quizzes in teenage girls' magazines act authoritatively in relation to the readers, evaluating and judging them, and telling them how they are supposed to act. Differently from those socializing agents, however, girls' magazines try to mitigate their authority.

As I have shown in my analysis, one of the forms of mitigating this authority is the reliance on the *conversational model of discourse*. The exchange structure of quizzes, the use of markers of the spoken mode, the use of "teenage vocabulary," and the construction of synthetic personalization, create a conversational and intimate discourse. Informality and equalization of relations bring readers and writers closer, weakening the imperative position of the latter.

The synthetic personalization is a characteristic that quizzes have in common with the discourse of advertising. The questions and the set of advice in quizzes are aimed at a supposedly individualized "you." The questions and answers, evaluation, classification, and advice, which are produced to large masses, are treated as if they were addressed to a

specific you. In addition, the individual you is given voice, which gives the quizzes a fundamental characteristic of the discourse of interview. Her opinion, her feelings, her actions are given room to be expressed, even though they will not be "heard."

In my investigation of the macro-structure of quizzes, in terms of the Problem-Solution pattern (Hoey, 1979; 1983), I have demonstrated that quizzes are related to the discourse of advertising also in the sense that they "problematize" the girls' lives. They point out problems in girls, and offer the solution in form of advice. However, in many cases, the "problems" raised in quizzes might have never been thought of by girls as problems before.

Quizzes seem to create endlessly problematic situations for girls. There is a necessity to make the girl wonder about her behavior, to stimulate her wish to be tested and her wish to improve. Quiz after quiz, girls are encouraged to test, to scrutinize themselves.

Problems sell magazines. They are problems related to beauty and fashion as well as to behavior. Teenage girls' magazines sell products and advice. The latter is the discourse of counseling. In the case of quizzes, instead of beauty and fashion items, advice is sold. Although the discourse of counseling comes varnished with a tone of equality, solidarity and intimacy, it constitutes a "strategic discourse," a goal-oriented discourse: to discipline girls.

Foucault claims that the discourses of therapy or counseling have become fundamental ingredients of "social control." Authority and control might be exercised in the strategic form of counseling. In quizzes, a "pack" of recommendations is given either

in the voice of the editors or of what Foucault (1977) calls the "specialized institutions." Rules for conformity of behavior are what basically define the genre.

As Fischer (1993, p. 13) argues, the practices we find in these magazines involve one special kind of submission: the submission of the girl to the "other" — the boy, the physician, the psychologist. This dependency happens because it is this "specialist" who controls her life, who knows what is best for her, and therefore, the one who has the authority or, at least, the experience to give her guidance.

Through the analysis of the linguistic conventions of the genre, together with a critical investigation of their implications, I have demonstrated that the quiz, a steady feature in teenage girls' magazines is not as harmless and simply ludic as it appears to be. Although editors suggest that it is up to the reader to decide what to do, she is profoundly influenced by values conveyed by hidden discourses. Traditional feminine values and behaviors are emphasized, while more controversial ones are discredited. The girl is induced to be moderately independent, to behave "properly" in social gatherings, not to be a radical feminist, not to talk too loud, not to "pressure" and intimidate guys by being too flirtatious. The right, appropriate, favored, expected behavior is mainly what the male's eye judges to be so.

Teenage girls' magazines constantly betray themselves by reinforcing "the old values" of female submission, of female's behavior subjected to the "male gaze." The apparent liberal discourse of the magazine, informing girls about their body, sexuality, and their rights in society, is suddenly demolished by a discourse which tells her not to be radical non-male chauvinists, and which derogatorily calls her "a snob sista."

As Sharpe (1976) sustains, during the girls' process of socialization, "as well as gaining insights into customs, attitudes, socially acceptable behaviour and moral aspects endorsing 'right' against 'wrong,' they [girls] will perceive that it is essentially a man's world" (p. 117).

Therefore, although the effect of the messages conveyed in quizzes will not teach or radically change the girls' conception of their role, it will certainly reinforce some understanding that they already have. In quizzes, girls can see a construction of the female which is a reflection of society's attitudes and ideals: that girls are supposed to be good girls. Although they may not learn their role solely from this source, the quiz does constitute a reinforcement.

## 6.1 - A pedagogical application

As Van Dijk (1993) claims, "critical discourse analysis may not make much difference, unless we are able to contribute to stimulating a critical perspective among our students and colleagues" (p. 280). I hope that this work will help to raise some consciousness among both my colleagues and students. I also hope that language teachers will find interest in applying some of my findings to their own teachings.

It is known to us, high school teachers, that girls frequently bring magazines to school to be read during the break or even during the classes. Since the quiz in these magazines is highly interactive and attractive, it might constitute a useful instrument in language teaching. Therefore, it should be brought to the top of the girls' desks.

As educators and agents of consciousness raising, one of our tasks is to go beyond the text. In the same way as quizzes scrutinize the girls' lives, we should encourage our students to scrutinize the quiz, encouraging them to find the hidden messages it conveys. Both girls and boys would gain from an activity of this sort. It is time also for boys to be made aware of the sexist construction of these texts.

## 6.2 - A suggestion for further research

This work has limitations. I have restricted my study to the analysis of the linguistic conventions that are, on the one hand, "traces of" the production process and, on the other, "clues to" the interpretation of teenage quizzes. It would surely be interesting to investigate the reception of quizzes by the target audience. A study of this type would raise new insights on how evident are the hidden messages for its intended audience. In addition, it would certainly give us an idea of the degree of persuasion quizzes exert, on how pressured girls feel to conform to its impositions, and on how inadequate the "bad" girls feel when they are evaluated as such. Moreover, an investigation of the reception of quizzes would provide some findings on how much girls already know about what is expected from them, in other words, about society's definition of "good" girl.

Educators can use these quizzes in the classroom to make the pupils conscious about the role of language in reproducing discriminatory discourses and unequal sex-relations. By helping readers to identify the hidden messages, we will make critical readers of them. Girls will have a closer look at themselves and become more conscious of the

classification society imposes on them. This may contribute to transform them from subordinate beings into active subjects of their own social change.

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#### **APPENDIX**

#### List of magazines

Capricho, 1994, February. São Paulo: Editora Abril S.A.

Capricho, 1994, March. São Paulo: Editora Abril S.A.

Capricho, 1994, April. São Paulo: Editora Abril S.A.

Capricho, 1994, July. São Paulo: Editora Abril S.A.

Capricho, 1994, August. São Paulo: Editora Abril S.A.

Capricho, 1994, Special Issue. São Paulo: Editora Abril S.A.

Capricho, 1994, November. São Paulo: Editora Abril S.A.

Sassy, 1994, March. New York: Sassy Publishers, Inc.

Sassy, 1994, June. New York: Sassy Publishers, Inc.

Sassy, 1994, February. New York: Sassy Publishers, Inc.

Seventeen, 1994, March. New York: K-III Magazines.

Seventeen, 1994, April. New York: K-III Magazines.

Seventeen, 1994, July. New York: K-III Magazines.

Seventeen, 1994, August. New York: K-III Magazines.

Seventeen, 1995, January. New York: K-III Magazines.

'Teen, 1994, April. Los Angeles: Petersen Publishing Company.

'Teen, 1994, August. Los Angeles: Petersen Publishing Company.

You've seen it happen. A perfectly normal-seeming girl with a mind, a pulse, and a life of her own hooks up with her very own Romeo, and suddenly she changes into someone with all the independence. spontaneity, and gumption of the offspring of a hand puppet and a pod person. Right, you think. That could never happen to me. But could it? Worse vet, has it happened already . . . and you don't even know it? Take this quiz and find out.

Nouve seen it become A A b It's Saturday afternoon. You're and a life o (a) going out with your friends tonight. Romeo hasn't bothered to ask you, and it's way too late for him to call now and get away with it. (b) going out with your on friends, unless Romeo calls. If he does, maybe you'll invite him to come along (c) going out with Romeo .... if he calls. If he doesn't.

you'll spend the night with cucumber slices on your eyes-you've heard they reduce the appearance of tear-induced swelling.

Your parents surprise you. with their plan to take you to Le Bistro Swanque for your birthday dinner But Romeo wants you to write his college entrance essay, which must be postmarked before midnight tonight. You is warned talls.

(a) go, but only after telling Romeo you'll call him so he can read his essay to you over the phone. And you try not to worry about him over your pâté. (b) go out to dinner with your

parents. Romeo will pull through. by Julia Marcil

hand their simple sallers of

### Is your boyfriend vour life?

Can't live without him? Think again



(c) stay home and write his: essay for him. After all, it's only a restaurant and they're only your parents. But Romeo is your boyfriend.

Your guy wants to go to the football game on Saturday afternoon. You want to go hang out at the mall. Who wins?

(a) No question. He does.

(b) No question. You do.

(c) You part company for a few hours, each do what you want to do, then get together later.

You love your brand-new Betsey Johnson dress.

Romeo says he hates it. You (a) wear it anyway.

(b) still wear it, but mostly when he's not around.

(c) give it to Goodwill.

You got into Yale, Romeo got into Lower Midstate State Community College. So you'll be majoring in premed at (a) LMSCC.

(b) Yale. Duh.

(c) Yale, with a minor in week ends at LMSCC.

For questions 6 to 12, circle \* either TRUE or FALSE.

Every sentence you utter starts with the phrase

"My boyfriend says. . . . " TRUE/FALSE

You have forgotten many of your girlfriends' first names, TRUE/FALSE

You allow Romeo to copy your math/history/PE homework. TRUE/FALSE

When you're on the phone with your friends, you hang up if Romeo's on call waiting. TRUE/FALSE

You inadvertently sign your SATs with the name "Mrs. Romeo...." TRUE/FALSE

Your boyfriend's favorite reading is comic books and box scores. What a coincidence! Yours is. too! TRUE/FALSE

You have plans with Romeo. His friends invite him on a fishing trip and he opts to go. He also forgets to tell... you, which means you spend much of your Saturday night calling hospitals to see if he's been run over by a truck. You accept this, and continue to date Romeo-that is, when it's convenient for him. TRUE/FALSE:

#### SCORING

at your score makes us think 16 to 29 points: Fiello

Illustration by Larry Ashton

desiday consigning Quiz 1 Port stays its intests, Yes

Você já percebeu que não são só os meninos que são machistas? Ao as vezes isso está tão incorporado na gente que nem é muito visível.

#### Parte prati

Escolha a alternativa que for mais próxima do que você faz ou faria em cada uma dessas situações.

- 🗓 Quando seu namorado vai jogar bola com os amigos:
- wocê fica sempre um pouco emburrada e acaba ficando em casa.
- (b) você aproveita para sair com suas amigas.
- THE STATE OF THE S 2 Quando você val ylajar com a turma,
- na hora de cozinhar e lavar a louça:

  (1) todo mundo entra ha dança.
  (b) os meninos estão dispensados
- dessas preocupacoer.

  3. Voce acharelificili aprelide i arrocar o pneu do carro porque
- (a) não tem força neci Mala de la gi
- O macacost v (vintes) (dotalelizich com t v () 1 1 1 1 1 b) Lempre reare El-Un m () une part aludan

- 🗣 Se uma menina da sua classe ficar com um menino logo no dia que foi apresentada a ele, você val achar que:
- a) ela é meio galinha.
- (B) ela está no direito dela de ficar com quem estiver a fim.
- (c) os meninos podem ficar pensando mal dela.
- **5** E se na numa festa um amigo seu fica com uma menina que acabou de conhecer, você vai achar que:
- a) ele é galinha
- (b) menino é assim mesmo
- c) ele gostou da menina e está no direito dele de fiçar com quem estiver a fim.

- Qual é a sua relação com o futebol?
- a) Você gosta, torce, mas acha violento para uma menina jogar
- (b) Você gosta, torce e joga (ou gostaria de jogar).
- c) Você não se interessa por ele e não entende uma menina gostar.
- 7 Se você tivesse um gênio na sua frente e pudesse fazer um único desejo, qual desses dois você escolherial

· WARREN

- Com ele, você poderia viajan
- b Ir fazer intercambio où faculdade no exterior. Lá, além de aprender um monte de coisas, você la acabar conhecendo meninos interessantes.

### ontuação

AL.		1	2	3	4	5_	6	7
ì	<b>a</b> .	24	>0<	2	4	<b>X</b>	2	4
4	b	0	4	4	0	A	$\stackrel{>}{\sim}$	\ <b>2</b>
1	С	-	-	-	X	0	4	-

Parte teórica Um ponto para cada certo que voce marcar. de 0 a 12 pontos 🕠

Você vira e mexe fica com raiva das dificuldades de ser menina. Acaba sendo um pouco agressiva com os menios nos principalmente quando desconfia que eles estão sendo privilegiados. Com seu namorado, por exemplo, exige dividiras colsas e fica ofendida se ele não te trata com igualdade Voce tem que tomar cuidado para não querer ser mais forte do que é. Assim, pode acabar atropelando o lo delicioso fato de ser uma menina, com todas as fragilidades e fortalezas que isso significa.....

CAPRICHO - Julho

## 108 And the same

crescer, todos — meninos e meninas — recebem a mesma educação Aproveite a oportunidade para pensar se isso não acontece comivocê

#### Parte teórica

Diga se você acha as afirmações certas ou erradas.

- **?** Menino acha perda de tempo ver novelas e filmes românticos.
- () Certo
- ( ) Errado
- Menino ë que tem que tomar a iniciativa e convidar a menina para sair.
- ( ) Certo
- () Errado
- 10 Menina que anda com camisinha na bolsa é galinha.
- () Certo
- ( ) Errado
- 1 É compreensivel que o menino não se preocupe em usar anticoncepcional. Afinal, prevenir a gravidez é uma responv sabilidade da menina.
- ( ) Certo
- ( ) Errado

- 1 Pega mal para um menino dividir a conta com a namorada principalmente no começo do namoro.
- ( ) Certo
- ( ) Errado
- 1 3 Palavrão fica mais feio quando é dito por uma menina.
- () Certo
  - ( ) Errado
- 14 É mais feio menina fumar.
- ( ) Errado (·) Certo
- 15 Menino è mais bagunceiro que meni-
- () Certo ( ) Errado

- 16 Mulher tem mais jelto para cuidar de casa.
- () Certo
- 1 7 Seu irmão é incapaz de aprender a fazer brigadeiro.
- () Certo ( ) Errado
- 18 Homem dirige i helhor do que mulher.
- () Certo
- **1 ●** Engenharia Mecanica é faculdade de menino.
- () Certo
- ( ) Errado
- **🤰 🙆** Menino não chora.
- ( ) Certo ( 1') Errado
- 🤰 🛘 É esquisito (ou seria esquisito) sua mãe ter um salário maior do que seu pai.
- 🗅 Errado

13 a 27 pontos

triste. Adora se sentir protegida por ele. Não consegue yer sentindo em dividir as coisas por sexo e, sinceramente, não se preocupa com isso. Acha que cada menina e cada menino têm seu próprio jeito de ser e de viver.

20 fama de ser masculinas (tipo jogar futebol, trocar pneu). Azar de quem pensar que é.

de 28 a 42 pontos i

Você conversa com seu hamorado sobre tudo, mas não Lá no fundo, você sempre espera que seu namorado (ou seu hesita um segundo em pedir colo e chorar quando está 25 pai) decidam algumas colsas por você. Acaba ficando um triste. Adora se sentir protegida por ele Não consegue pouco decepcionada se ele não der soluções mágicas para tudo o que você sonhar. Consigo mesma e com as suas amigas, você é machista quando acha que a coisa mais importante do mundo é a opinião dos meninos. Tem que tomar Não vê o mínimo problema em fazer coisas que levam 30 cuidado para isso não impedir de você ser você mesma. 🇱

CAPRICHO - Julho

Quiz 2

129

# What think of Y

You don't have to sneak into the boys' locker room to find out what they're saying about you. Just take this quiz and clue in

by Eileen Livers

You're hanging with some girlfriends at lunch when a group of guys (including your dream date) sits down at vour table. You

(a) say to your man, "There's a seat free next to me, big guy." (b) make eye contact with him and smile-hey, it's a start. (c) split-no way will he notice you with so many people around, and just sitting there will make you totally self-conscious.

(d) joke around with him about the awful food.

This guy comes up to you at a party and says, "Hey, aren't you in my chemistry class?" You don't recognize him, but he's kind of cute. You (a) smile flirtatiously and say, "No, but I'd like to be." (b) say, "No, I don't think so," and walk away. (c) smile and say, "No, but maybe

I've seen you in the halls," to get the conversation rolling. (d) smile and say, "That's not a bad line, but let me tell you a few that would work better."

> On a class trip, you're sitting next to a total hunk on the bus. You

(a) spend the ride playing hangman and tic-tac-toe with him.

(b) inch over until your thigh is touching his, then lean over him and pretend to look at something out the window.

(c) take a book out of your bag and read.

(d) strike up a conversation.

Of all places, the guy you. like turns up at the track while you're jogging. You (a) pretend to be finished with your workout-you're not about to run and sweat in front of him. (b) tell him how great he looks

in his running shorts.

(c) challenge him to a race. You may humiliate yourself-or maybe you'll humiliate him. Either way, he'll notice you. (d) pace yourself so that you're running right next to him. It'll be worth it.

You and your girlfriends are going to a big party. You put on

(a) your favorite (read: everyday) outfit-jeans and a tee.

(b) something short, tight, and way sexy, of course.

(c) a skirt, a T-shirt, and your

Doc Martens—coolly casual meets big night out. (d) whatever you happen to have

on-you don't want anyone to think you're trying too hard. 

Come on, out with it. What do you do when you have a crush on a guy?

(a) Think about him morning, noon, and night, but clam up anytime he's around.

(b) Hang around him constantly and stick love notes in his locker. (c) Desporately try to act normal when he's nearby, but make a special effort to be around him. (d) Sympathize while he complains to you about bad dates, homework, whatever, Then tell. jokes to cheer him up: amount to

At parties, you can usually be found and a second (a) dancing and having the time of your life-you love letting loose. :

A LOS OF TEXT OF EQUIPMENT

(b) doing your famous wallflower imitation: ( ) control

(c) passing on "he likes you" messages for your guy friends to help them pick up girls. (d) hanging with your friends and scoping cute guys to talk to.

Style signals: desperate or "I don't care"?

You're at the mall doing some serious shopping when you see a group o guys you kind of know from school hanging out at the vide arcade. You

don't know what to say. (b) smile, say hello, and head

(c) quit shopping to join the guys in the arcade.

(d) totally glom onto the guys, and follow them around even after they ditch the arcadeyou'd rather shop for a new guy than a new dress.

You and the gang are in the park playing touch football. One of the on, of course—tackles you by >

(a) cruise right by them-you off to the stores.

guys-the one you have a crush

्रकार के भारता अवस्था स्थापित by Robert DeMichiell



accident and apologizes all over the place. You

(a) say, "No sweat"-you're no wimp.

(b) tell him you accept his apology, but he owes you a soda after the game-gotta use these moments for all they're worth.

(a) tell him he owes you What's your role—femme fatale or ice princess?

a massage later to ease the soreness-gotta abuse these moments for all they're worth. (d) are so dirty, grass-stained. and mortified that you can't even speak to tell him it's okav.

in drama class. you're paired with a major babe to do a scene-a kissing scene! You are ready to die from nerves, so you tell the teacher no way. suggest he come over to your : prep him by saying, "Just pretend I'm Sharon Stone, okay?" say, "Usually I insist on a first date before I kiss a guy,"-

is more and the second

in aramadana,

AND THE PROPERTY OF THE

#### Rate your rep:

1. (a) 4, (b) 3, (c) 1, (d) 2 6. (a) 1, (b) 4, (c) 3, (d) 2 2. (a) 4, (b) 1, (c) 3, (d) 2 7. (a) 4. (b) 1. (c) 2. (d) 3 3. (a) 2, (b) 4, (c) 1, (d) 3 8. (a) 1, (b) 3, (c) 2, (d) 4 4. (a) 1, (b) 4, (c) 2, (d) 3 9. (a) 2, (b) 3, (c) 4, (d) 1

5. (a) 2, (b) 4, (c) 3, (d) 1 10. (a) 1, (b) 4, (c) 2, (d) 3

der," admits Dr. Wachs, "but it's vitally important." A good way to begin building this inner security 25 project; for example, become a tutor for young kids. Liking yourself is way more important than having any guy (no matter how great he is) like you.

OA Great Girlfriend (25 to 32 points) You've got everything down right. You know how to be friendly and flirtatious in a subtle. nonintimidating, and no-pressure 35 A Snob. Sista (10 to 16 points) Sway. Plus, you're confident, so you don't change your "behavior just because" guys are around-you're always yourself. Basically, guys feel comfort- 90afrald guys won't like you that 40 able with you because you feel comfortable around them. And most importantly, you don't take guys too seriously. That's why if

45 you get over it pretty fast. You're too busy having fun to mope. A Perfect Pal (17 to 24 points) Guys are always saying what a great personality you have. Bettotion with a guy doesn't mean they may just want to take 50 you're sick to death of hearing

that, right? Maybe you're also sick to death of pretending to be one of the boys just because

feel good about yourself is dan-55afraid of rejection to let guys know the truth: that you're interconcentrating on the things you ested in them romantically. If like about yourself. In other words. you are trying to get one of them. to like you in that boy/girl sort 10 like you're more self-confident The your parents or teachers 60 of way, you may have to turn to on the charm a bit more. And okay, Eventually, you'll get the there's nothing wrong with some hang of it and you won't even rehealthy flirty. Need some help in

65 tips: Don't be afraid to smile at a guy you like or make eye contact with him. You can make physical contact, too-not by socking him in the shoulder, but by 70 casually and gently touching his arm or hand. You can even strike up a personal conversation.

There's no need to go overboard or do anything that will is to get involved in a worthwhile 15 make you feel uncomfortable, though. In fact, you shouldn't change your basic interests (like sports, for example) just because you think it'll make guys see 30 you in a more feminine way. Just relax, says Dr. Wachs, and have faith in yourself that you can be cool and act playful and flirtatious around guys at the same time.

You've got your guard up big time, girl. Maybe you've taken the concept of "playing hard to get" a little too far, or you're so you just pretend not to be interested in them at all. Or maybe you're just shy. But guys don't know the reason for your behava guy you like doesn't like you,95 ior. All they know is that you treat them like second-class citizens, which is why they label you a snob. It's about time you lightened up. After all, one conversayous two are getting married! And if you're thinking you're just not likable to boys, remember that everyone has faults, so you you're too self-conscious and 105 might as well accept yours. Then, use-your time more wisely by

think positive! If you have to act than you really are at first, that's member the days when you were that department? Here are a few 115too afraid to talk to a mere guy.

CALLED SOLD OF STATE OF STATE OF

two and the process.

10 And relying on guys to make you. gerous. Try to figure out why

of Guys think you're:

A Wild Woman (33 to 40

points) Sure, guys are interested

in you, but not necessarily for

advantage of you. Jerks, all of

them. But flirting your head off is

not the way to snag a great guy.

05 the right reasons. In other words,

you're so needy of the attention guys give you, says Kate Wachs, 15 PhD, a psychologist in Chicago.

always criticizing you? Whatever the reason, you really have to work on getting the praise you. and hope the idea hits home. 20 need from yourself. "It's a big or-

April 1994 seventeen



ow do you meet the challenge of meeting new people? It's no sweat to hang out with old friends, but getting to know new ones can

make even practiced social hands feel clammy. How do you make a positive impression without making a mistake? It's easier than you think!

Begin by taking this quiz to rate your social skills. Be honest—circle the letter that best describes how you'd really act. Don't be nervous! Even if your "social security" score is low, our "Social Assistance" section is packed with savvy strategies to build confidence and boost success!

Quiz 4

#### anyone. What's your plan?

- a. Stick like glue to the people you do know.
- b. Talk loudly about the terrific party you went to last week so people don't peg you for a wallflower:
- "Target" three friendlylooking people, and start a conversation with the nearest one.

#### How would you start that first conversa-

- a. Tell your life story.
- **b.** Make fun of the way a nearby couple is dancing. c. Ask the other person about him or herself.
- There's that cute guy you've been scoping, waiting for someone at the mall. What's your move?
- a. Spy from the jeans store to see who he's
- **b.** Spill your purse at his

the pet shop—then ask him about his favorite kind of dog.

#### You've joined a new club • at school. Your get-acquainted strategy?

- a. Volunteer for the clean-
- up committee b. Announce that you'd like to run things differently.
- C. Ask a few friendly members to tell you more about the club's activities.

#### When meeting your boyfriend's parents for the first time, how do you open the conversation?

- a. Don't speak unless spoken to.
- **b.** Tell a political joke to break the ice.
- C. Ask them about their community activities. jobs, golf game-whatever interests your boyfriend has told you about.

continued

112

Your blind date is a real dream. How do you impress him?

a. Talk nonstop, so he won't notice your nerves.

b. Brag about all your other boyfriends.

C■ Ask "leading guestions," so you get a better sense of his interests.

How do you handle it when you spot your ex and his new girlfriend at the drive-in?

a. Hide behind your burger wrapping.

b. Go up and ask her if he's learned how to kiss vet

C. Give them both a friendly greeting, say you're meeting someone and make a graceful exit.

You and your new boyfriend meet his ex at a party. What's the drill?

a. Forget it. You just can't talk to her.

b. Say, "I've heard so much about you," like it's all bad.

C. Compliment her dress then ask your boyfriend to

A friend introduces you to her friend, then leaves you two to get acquainted. How does it ao?

a. Okay, if the other person has lots to say.

**b.** Good, if she wants to hear the latest gossip.

c. Fine. It's always fun to talk to new people.

The neat new guy in school becomes your biology lab partner. What do you talk about?

a. The frog.

b. The dirt you've heard about his old school.

c. Helpful stuff.he-needs to know about this schoolgood classes, fun clubs, things like that.

1 MOSTLY A'S: 40 MOSTLY B'S: Socially

insecure Communication

5 Problems Shyness often leaves you tongue tied and attempting a disappearing act.

10 Or you may babble nonstop, your mouth taken over by aliens: Important Message:

15 No need to grade yourself a social failure. Nearly everyone feels shy and acts awkward-

20 ly at some time. And shyness can be cured—or at least hidden! Honest Discussion:

25 Learn conversational comfort with "Social : Assistance\* techniques. But take

30 it easy—new friend "quotas" and constant success checks. can heighten

35 shyness. And if. you don't always connect, don't despair. No one scores 100%!

Socially Reckless

Behavioral Blunder: Deter-45 mined to hide anv shyness or just naturally outs poken, you 'jumpstart conversations with a catty remark, a questionable joke. gossip or a 'hostile takeover."

Straight Talk: Your moves may turn out well-or turn. vour hopes upside down. Stunts work 60 if you want to live dangerousiy, not if you want to

make friends. Friendly Advice: Ease up on performance pressure. The object is fun and friendship, not starlet status.

TO To smooth every encounter:

Consider other people's feelings. think before you Speak, and save jokes for those with a matching sense of humor!

MOSTLY C'S

Socially so Secure

**Talking Talent:** You've found the secret to social success- 8 get the other person involved! You're also clued in enough to know when to exit those no-win situations

Frankly Speaking: The only catch? You may "collect" 9 people to boister a shaky selfimage. Make sure you seek friends for them- 100 selves, not as an ego-boost. Social Success:

Never count others out because they're shy-your conversational flair can help shrinking violets bloom. And don't limit yourself! Use vour enviable skills to get to know a variety 115 of people.

### Everyone's gone through moments

social zero!

"One Saturday morning, I was out in the yard with my dog before I'd washed my hair or put on makeup, and a friend drove up with this guy I'd been dying to meet. When I said she should have called first, she told the guy I didn't appreciate my I.T., Baydiff, Tex. friends."

of feeling like a

"I'd ironed a patch over a rip on the seat of my jeans, but I didn't have the iron hot enough. When I got to the mall, I found it had fallen off. People still ask me if I feel a breeze or just say "Cool jeans!"

P.C., Eugene, Ore.

"I was trying to figure out how to meet the really neat guy whose locker is next to mine, when my hand slipped and I dropped a book on his head. His friends joke about it, but he doesn't talk to me very much."

N.R., Bakersfield, Calif.

Quiz 4

#### social assistance

Even the socially secure can find "getting-toknow-you" a difficult test. Here's how to ace it!

 Don't get personal. Reveating your innermost feelings to strangers makes them uncomfortable-andyou're sure to regret it in the morning.

 Use humor sparingly. We don't all share the same sense of humor, especially for off-color, political or practical jokes. Give strangers time to become your friends before you kid around.

 Avoid cattiness. Snide remarks are dangerous attention-getters. Example: You make fun of a girl's dress only to find you're pointing it out to her best friend.

 Rise to sincere flattery. ".ove your earrings" to

another girl or "Great sweater" to a guy are gracious openers. Even if they don't lead to a long chat,. you'll be remembered well.

Ask "leading questions." Nothing personal, of course, but "Do you like the music?" at a party or "Did you understand that homework?" to someone at school will help to get a conversation going.

 Be sure to let others talk. Monopolizing a conversation can make people feel a). You've forgotten they're there, or b). You don't really care if they are there. Try to look at conversations as very friendly tennis matches—not lone. practice sessions. 30

# 113) | | | | | | |

Se você tem namorado, pegue a caneta. Se você não tem namorado



Quem não está namorando, lembre como era quando estava. Ou imagine como você agiria se...

#### I - É sábado à tarde. Você:

- a) vai sair com seus amigos esta noite. Seu namorado não combinou nada e, como a turma conseguiu ingressos para um show, você decidiu ir junto.
- b) vai ligar para ele e, se não conseguir marcar nada, sair com seus amigos.
- c) está esperando ele ligar para sair. Se ele não telefonar, você vai passar à noite com rodelas de pepino nos olhos um método para não ficar com os olhos inchados depois de chorar.
- 2-Seus pais, de surpresa, convidam vocês para irem num restaurante comemorar seu aniversário. Seu namorado, porém, tem que estudar muito e não pode ir junto. Você:
- a) pergunta se seus pais não topam adiar a saída.
- b) vai jantar com seus pais sem maiores dramas. Afinal, não dá para combinar todos os detalhes da vida de todo mundo.
- c) vai jantar com seus pais, mas não tira o pensamento do seu namorado. Se der. você até liga para ele.

- 3-Seu namorado quer ir no jogo de futebol sábado à tarde. Você quer ir no shopping. Quem ganha?
- a) Ele, é claro.
- b) Você, é claro.
- c) Vai cada um fazer o que quer e vocês se encontram mais tarde.
- 4-Você adora seu vestido novo. Só um problema: ele não gosta.
- a) Você o usa de qualquer jeito.
- b) Você continua usando o vestido, de preferência quando é dia de sair com suas amigas.
- c) Você acaba aposentando o vestido.
- 5-Você vai comprar um presente para seu namorado quando vê um disco que está querendo ter há muito tempo. O que você faz?
- a) Verifica se não dá para comprar as duas coisas.
- b) Compra o disco e depois resolve sobre o presente.
- c) Deixa para comprar o disco em alguma outra oportunidade.

- 6-Você tinha um compromisso com seu namorado, mas ele saiu com os amigos e nem ligou para avisar. Você:
- a) fica aliviada que nada de mal aconteceu com ele.
- b) fica bravíssima com ele.
- 7-Quando você conversa com suas amigas, metade de suas frases começam com "meu namorado disse...".

Verdadeiro/Falso

8-Se uma amiga ligar quando você está esperando uma ligação do seu namorado, você desliga rapidinho.

Verdadeiro/Falso

9-Você não gostava muito de filmes de aventura, ou do principal hobby do seu namorado, mas, de tanto acompanhá-lo, acabou gostando.

Verdadeiro/Falso

I O-Você prefere ir nas festas sempre com seu namorado. Verdadeiro/Falso

#### tide un sant finses comient PARA QUEM NÃO TEM NAMORADO

I. Você fica em casa e deixa de fazer algum programa somente por que não tem namorado?

្នាស់ ស្រាស់ ស្រាស់ ស្រាស់ និងសេស មិន ស្រាស់ ស

والمستخطعة والمحمد ومسا

- b) Não.
- c) As vezes.

- II. Quantas vezes por semana você se lembra que não tem namorado?
- a) Todo dia.
- b) Nos sábados à noite, quando suas amigas saem com os delas.
- c) De vez em auando.

- III. Pense bem. O que mais faz falta em não ter namorado?
- a) Ter sempre companhia e ter com quem conversar.
- b) Estar apaixonada."
- c) As duas alternativas.

a jame mer i da 1967.

CAPRICHO - Agosto

Ouiz 5

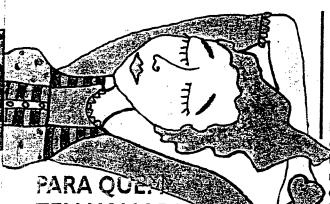
, também. Este teste é para ver o quanto você depende de namorado para viver.

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TEM NAMORAD

1. Quanto tempo você fica sem vert faiar com seu namorado?

- a) Algumas horas.
- b) Um ou no máximo dois dias.
- c) Mais de dois dias.

!!.Depois que começou a namorar, você sai com suas amigas:

- a) quase com a mesma frequência que saía antes.
- b) nunca mais saiu com elas.
- c) menos que antes.

III.Com quem você sai mais: com a turma dele ou com a sua?

- a) A dele.
- b) A sua mas ele sempre vai junto:
- c) A sua muitas vezes sem ele.

Some os pontos seguindo as tabelas abaixo:									
i <b>d</b>		1	2	3	4	5	- 6		
	а		3	3	- 1	2 '	3		
٠٠٠	b	2	ı	1	. 2		1		
A	c add	3	2	2	' <b>3</b> , '	³*3 <b>.</b> ∶			
7 a 10 - verdadeiro = 3 / falso = 1									
	Para quem Para quem não tem namorado tem namorado								
	nao te	em nan	torago		tem	namor	ado		
Z	nao to				tem <b>24</b>	namor L	ado LUL A		



IDE (de 13 a 20 pontos)

Para você, independência é uma coisa importantíssima. Não se filcomoda em fazer as coisas sozinha, tanto que às vezes até esquece de chamar seu namorado para ir junto. Não esqueça que um lado gostoso do namoro é dividir a vida. Se você não está namorando, preste atenção para dei-

xar uma brecha para um namorado caber na sua vida. Os sinais de que a gente está de braços abertos para receber alguém são importantes para encorajar as aproximações. Às vezes, você reclama da falta que faz ter alguém e nem repara que está fazendo de tudo para afastar os meninos.

mura decide



Nas próprias pernas (de 21 a 30 pontos)

porque está namorando. Se alguns gostos de vocês não coincidem, é só deixar um tempo livre para cada um fazer suas coisas, sem drama. Afinal, todo mundo precisa manter sua individualidade. Se você não está namorando, claro que às vezes

Você não deixa de ser você so bate uma tristeza, uma vontade de ter alguém do seu lado. Mas nada tão grande que impeça você de viver. Você sabe que a felicidade está em muitos lugares e que o importante é procurar se realizar. De uma coisa você tem certeza: antes só do que mal acompanhada. and harm division

nar da meni kon



Ambulância (de 30 a 39 pontos)

Uma menina aparentemente perfeita, com a cabeça no lugar e que, de repente, não funciona direito sem namorado por perto! Pensou que isso nunca la acontecer com você? Mas às vezes acontece e, pior, sem você se dar conta. Só que não dá para abandonar a sua vida e ficar pensando exclusivamente nele. Se

você não está namorando, mais grave ainda. Ficar esperando arranjar um namorado para começar a fazer as coisas que você gosta é uma roubada. Também não leva a nada só fazer os programas pensando em arrumar um. É mais fácil se apaixonar quando você está relaxada e despreocupada. ිරි

Cica Lessan











Mais importante do que saber se os outros gostam de você é saber se você se gosta. A auto-estima. que não pode ser confundida com orgulho exagerado, é uma qualidade difícil de definir mas indispensável. Ela faz toda a diferença entre sucesso e fracasso, satisfação e tristeza, um namoro feliz e um desastre. Esse teste é para descobrir o quanto você se gosta.

#### PARTE 1

- Alguém discorda com você em público e você sabe que está certa. Qual é a sua reação?
- a) Rapidamente muda o assunto para acabar com a discussão.
- b) Aposta com a pessoa que você está certa, e vai procurar uma prova depois.
- c) Faz uma piada sobre o caso, dando um desconto à ignorância do outro.
- **d)** Mantém sua posição de uma maneira discreta mas firme.

#### 2 • Você é organizada?

- a) Até demais: está sempre limpando cinzeiros e ajeitando os quadros na casa dos outros.
- b) Não, com tendência a deixar a bagunça acumular.
- c) Para ser sincera, não está nem aí.
- d) Vale o esforço, se é para deixar seu cantinho atraente e arrumado.

#### 3. Conse a sua rotina?

- a) Um saco... Será que algum dia isso vai mudar?
- **b)** Você até gosta dela. É tão divertida que faz até falta nas férias.
- c) Normal, sem grandes emoções.
- d) Não é tão legal como você gostaria, mas está fazendo o possível para tornála mais interessante.
- 4. Você sai desarrumada, sem maquiagem, quando, sem querer, dá de cara com aquele gato maravilhoso que anda paquerando! Qual é a sua reação?
- a) Sai correndo!
- b) Tenta dar risada e faz uma piada sobre seu estado lastimável.
- c) Normal.
- d) Você não consegue se imaginar numa situação destas.
- 5. Você emprestou dinheiro a uma amiga que estava dura. Um mês depois, a situação dela melhorou, mas ela não toca no assunto da dívida. Pode ser que ela tenha se esquecido. E aí?
- a) De um jeito muito delicado, você tenta tocar no assunto.
- b) A não ser que você precisasse muito do dinheiro, nunca comentaria.

- c) De uma maneira amigável, mas objetiva, perguntaria: "Quando você pode me pagar de volta?"
- d) Você inventaria um bom motivo para precisar do dinheiro, e pediria.

#### 6. Como você cuida da saúde?

- a) Com revisões físicas e médicas regulares e uma boa alimentação.
- b) Não encana muito. Se está se sentindo bem, para que inventar história?
- c) Você aproveita a vida: come besteira, dorme pouco, sai direto, se acaba e só depois procura ajuda.
- d) Você se cuida, senão acaba doente.
- **7 •** Vocês estão namorando dentro do carro quando ele insiste em ir mais longe do você que pretendia. O que você diz?
- a) "Absolutamente não!", indo direto assunto.
- 'Não queria fazer isso agora", e sugere um beijo especial.
- c) "Se você quer, mesmo...", tentando fazer ele captar a mensagem.
- d) "Tudo bem", porque você também está querendo.
- 8 Quando você participa de algum jogo seja uma partida de tênis ou de Imagem & Ação qual é a sua postura?
- a) Decidida a ganhar!
- b) Joga pela diversão. Bom mesmo é estar numa atividade entre amigos.
- c) Você acha que ganhar é divertido, mas não se esforça muito quando o parceiro é mais fraco.
- d) Não gosta muito de jogos e tenta evitá-los.

#### **y**• Como você se veste?

- a) Com um estilo próprio que dificilmente muda.
- **b)** Compra todas as revistas e gasta muito dinheiro com roupas, para ficar na última moda.
- c) Você não é muito boa para escolher roupas e prefere seguir os palpites de uma vendedora para montar seu visual.
- d) Compra roupas boas todo ano e procura combiná-las de um jeito legal com peças que já tem.

CAPRICHO

....













#### 1 0. Num restaurante, você entra e senta em qualquer lugar. Quando olha em volta você vê que está ao lado de uma pessoa

famosa, que admira bastante.

Oual é a sua reação? a) Se esconde embaixo da mesa, e morre de arrependimento de ter

sentado ali.

b) Faz de tudo para que ele ou ela repare em você.

- c) Fica provavelmente muito tímida mas faz o possível para parecer à vontade.
- d) Observa todos seus movimentos e tenta aprender o máximo sobre como seu ídolo come, segura o copo, conversa, sorri...

#### I • Você vai com notas ruins no boletim apesar de ter se matado de estudar. O que faz?

- a) Tenta estudar mais ainda na prova seguinte para compensar todas as notas ruins.
- b) Vai reclamar com o professor.
- c) Deséncana de estudar tanto você não deve dar para isso mesmo...
- d) Conversa com os colegas para ver o que eles acham.

#### 12. Como você se comporta ao ser apresentada para um grupo de desconhecidos?

- a) Fica tímida e um pouco fechada no começo.
- b) lmagina que vão gostar de você e já fica curiosa para saber mais sobre eles.
- c) Fica preocupada em causar uma má impressão.
- d) Fica um pouco exibida, para ter certeza de que vão reparar em você logo de cara.

#### PARTE Z

Marque verdadeiro ou falso.

- Você tem uma boa postura.
- 2 Às vezes você mente para guardar segredos dos amigos ou da família.
- 3 Pontualidade é seu forte.
- Seus amigos frequentemente tiram vantagem de você.
- 5 Você vive paquerando os meninos!
- Você odeia ver fotos onde não sai
- Você está sempre atrás de coisas novas para fazer.
- **8.** Você mente de vez em quando.
- **9.** Você é o seu assunto favorito.
- **■●** Biquíni não fica bem em você.
- Você vive assumindo novas tarefas e responsabilidades.
- 12 Você fica deprimida de repente.
- **13** Convidar um garoto para sair não é problema.
- A aprovação dos seos pais é muito importante para você.
- 15. No geral, você gosta da sua aparência.
- Você não gosta de contar suas qualidades ou falar sobre suas conquistas.
- **Z** Solidão é bom.
- 18. Você sempre se apaixona pelos caras errados.
- 19. Controlar seu peso não é problema.
- 20. Seu pior pesadelo é ter que se levantar e falar numa sala cheia de gente.
- **2** • Não te falta energia.
- 22 Você tem muita curiosidade em saber o que os outros pensam e falam en fact in the same of
- 23 🔩 Você detesta pessoas autodestrutivas, por mais atraentes que sejam.
- **24** Quando um namoro não dá certo, a culpa sempre é sua, da sua falta de sorte.

was found within a group

#### PONTOS PARTE 2

Faca um circulo em torno de cada frase impar que você tiver marcado como verdadeira. E faca um círculo em cada frase par marcada como falsa. Depois some o número de frases que você circulou e multiplique por 5.

#### RESULTADOS

Some os pontos das partes I e 2 e confira seu grupo.

#### Abaixo de 100

Você não gosta de você mesma e demonstra isto. Reconhecer o problema é o primeiro passo. Saia desse poço de autopiedade e medo. Boa sorte!

#### De 101 a 120

Talvez você tenha dado ouvidos demais às críticas ou aos conselhos para você ficar no seu lugar e acabou se retraindo. Sinta-se positiva de novo!

#### De 121 a 160

Auto-estima é uma qualidade que se desenvolve com a experiência. Você está no caminho certo para ter um caso de amor saudável com o seu querido eu.

#### De 160 a 200

Excelente! Você tem autoconfiança, equilíbrio, segurança e um saudável respeito por suas habilidades. Você gosta de si e instintivamente evita pessoas e situações que a prejudiquem. Mas você já sabia de tudo isso, não é, espertinha?

De 201 a 240 Este resultado indica uma personalidade rígida e excessivamente voltada para dentro. Por ironia, você não gosta de mesma, uma vez que você estabelece padrões de comparação altos demais. Tente relaxar e descobrir o verdadeiro sentimento de auto-estima.

#### PONTOS PARTE 1

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c: 7 2	5	7	10	5 5	5	2	5	7	2
d 5 7	7	10	5	2 7	2	10	7	2	10

special thanks to quiz advisor dr. kathleon hook

- You just got your driver's license and can't wait to use the school parking lot. You will procure the needed automobile by:
- a. Using your mom's minivan—all she does is grocery shopping and some other stuff, anyway.
- b. Asking your older brother if he'll lend you his Jeep once a week.
- c. Saving all the cash you earn from your part-time job.
- 2. The majority of your school is pro-choice. You are fervently pro-life. When a bunch of friends ask you to march at a pro-choice rally, you:
- a. Tell them no. then tell them why.
- b. Say you'd like to, but you have to watch your little brother all day.
- c. Agree to show up for an hour anything so long as you don't have to explain yourself.
- 3. There's a new stop-animation feature playing at the multiplex. None of your friends are interested, and it's only there for one weekend. You decide to:
- a. Wait till it comes out on video—there's no shame in hitting Blockbuster alone.
- b. Take mom—on the Richter scale of embarrassment, it rates just below being seen with no one.
- c. Go alone and enjoy gorging yourself on the jumbo-size popcorn and sitting where you damn well please.
- 4. You're walking, tray full, through the cafeteria and can't spot any of your friends. Where will you sit?
- a. With a bunch of girls you sort of know.
- b. At an empty table in the comer—you can finish that book you've been reading. c. With the one boy who always sits alone—you don't want people thinking you are some friendless loser.
- 5. Your boyfriend of three weeks dumps you on a Monday. By Friday you have plans to:
- a. Sit at home all weekend and wait for his pathetic, pleading call to try and get you back.
- b. Hang out with your best friend and forget about the jerk.
- c. Go out with a boy from the AV club.
- 6. You are the recipient of many strange looks and backhanded compliments in your brand-new

#### multicolored patchwork dress. You:

- a. Don't care—once people get used to seeing you in it, the laughter will cease.
- b. Wear it only on weekends to parties where the lights will be low and no one can see that clearly.
- c. Toss it to the back of your closet and return to wearing generic jeans and tees.
- 7. Your pen pal lives a couple of states away. She invites you to spend a weekend with her, but your parents won't take you. You:
- a. Write her back and tell her you are without a mode of transportation.
- b. Ask your older brother if he'll drive you up and hang out—you've never been to her city and are afraid of getting older to know what you think been to her city and are afraid of getting older. It is also bleeked to be a
- c. Call Greyhound—she can pick you up at the bus station.
- 8. Everyone you know is going to college, but you'd really rather work for a couple of years first. When your guidance counselor and parents get on your case, you: a. Tell them you have no intention of even applying to colleges right now,

- 10. You hear rumors that the boy you're craving thinks you're too opinionated and assertive. You decide to:
- a. Dust him.
- b. Not vocalize your thoughts as much when he's around.
- c. Ask him for help with your lit term paper, even though you get straight A's.

#### Before I come to any conclusions...

<b>1.</b> a.0	b.1	c.2	6. a.2	b.1	c.0
2. a.2	<b>b.1</b>	c.0	<b>7.</b> a.0	b.1	c.2
<b>3.</b> a.0	b.1	c.2	8. a.2	b.1	<b>c.</b> 0
4. a.1	b.2	c.0	<b>9.</b> a.0	b.2	c.1
<b>5.</b> a.0	<b>b.2</b>	c.1	<b>10.</b> a.2	<b>b.1</b>	c.0

l'd love to know what you think

sol 14-20 Solo artist You are something
of a loner, reveling in alienation. The
cliché "You come into this world alone,
you go out of it alone" is probably
of perversely comforting to you. While
it's very cool to be self-reliant, don't go
carrying your autonomy to an extreme.
Admitting that you need others to help
you now and then is not a sign of

weakness; it's a sign of strength. **7-13 Backup singer** The balance you

#### ARE YOU INDEPENDENT?

Are you living in a state of autonomy—or reliance?
Fill out this little questionnaire by yourself and
determine the extent of your self-governance.

but eventually you will go. ... see see a

- b. Shut them up by mailing out a couple of applications but purposely screw up the essay section to ensure you won't get accepted.
- c. Cave in and attend the nearest Turnpike Tech for a couple of years.
- 9. Ideally, how long would you like to live at home?
- a. Free food, clean clothes, no bills—as long as they'll have me!
- b. I don't like living at home; I'd rather sleep on a foam mattress and live on cereal.
- c. Maybe just until I'm through with college: it beats bunking with some weird strangers in a dorm room.

have struck is quite the healthy one. You realize that you do care what other people think and will sometimes so even base your decisions and actions on ABC TV/USA Today opinion polls. However, in matters of extreme importance or deeply personal choices, the only voice truly heard 20 is your own.

- **0-6 Groupie** You wouldn't dare take a trip to the bathroom by yourself. Low self-esteem, perhaps? If that's the case, get to work on it.
- 25 Letting other people influence all your choices will make you more confused and miserable. Remember: Your life is not a group effort.

Quiz 7

#### Do you attract guys with a whisper or a roar? Take this quiz and test your flirtability.

In your opinion, the best way to get a guy's attention is to

- (a) talk to him (duh).
- (b) say "sex" whenever you can and sport your underwear over your clothes-hey, it worked for Madonna.
- (c) . . . huh? Isn't he supposed to make the first move?

Your friend invites you to a rockin' college party. The first thing you do is (a) take a quick head count of the guys you pray will talk to you by the end of the night. (b) take a quick head count of the guys you will try to talk to by the end of the night. (c) take a quick head count of guys, period. Whatever it takes. by the end of the night they'll all want to talk to you.

You just found a slinky, no-underwear dress on sale that your parents would kill you for wearing. You (a) buy it, but stuff it in the back of your closet until you think you can wear it without feeling totally self-conscious. (b) forget it-you'd never be able to buil off wearing some-

thing like that. (c) grab it and sport that mama? ail over town!

You've noticed that the babe from school keeps coming into the coffee shop where you work. You (a) chat him up, and if he's a friendly beast, slip him a free espresso.

(b) wear a name tag with your phone number whenever he's around.

(c) hide behind the muffin counter when he comes in.

You're cruising down the hall with your best girls when you spot your future best boy. You (a) pretend you don't even see him. You don't want to be obvious.

(b) keep talking, but brazenly try to brush shoulders when he passes you.

(c) ditch those boring girlies and follow him.

The cute, shy poetry whiz in your English class has been provoking heart palpitations for a week. You attempt to attract him by (a) blushing and stammering if he so much as looks at you. (b) staring at him in class until he blusnes and stammers. (c) passing him a note in class asking if he hated the Max Blagg Gap ads as much as you did.

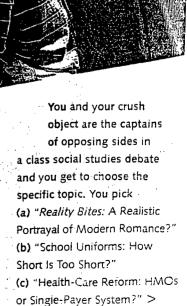
You find out that vour friend's crush is into you. You'd rather listen to 12 hours of NKOTB than spend a minute alone with him. You (a) discreetly let him know you're not interested. but tell him how great your friend is. (b) pay him extra attention anyway. It's always good to have a reservoir of guys who adore you.

(c) ignore him and ask her what's up with the loser obsession.

Your best friend needs to leave a party to make her curfew. You're the designated driver, but you've just noticed Dream Guy noticing you. You (a) pretend you were actually looking at a spot on the wall just above his head and make like a banana.

(b) beg your friend for 15 more minutes so you can at least work your last name into a conversation with him. He knows how to dial information, right? (c) ask her to find another nde-vou're not leaving.

Quiz 8



Photographs by Mikel Roberts

K: lo

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In Sir

Your wardrobe is proof that your flirting inspiration comes from

(a) Blossom.

(b) Keily on Married With Children.

(c) Robin Williams in Mrs. Doubtfire.

A classmate—who has a very cute older prother-invites you ever to work on your French project. You (a) suggest that you lock yourselves in her room-vou don't want to be distracted. (b) ask if you can work together at the kitchen table—there's more space (and a better chance you'll encounter the cute guy on the loose). (c) spend all afternoon asking about him, taking frequent trips to the bathroom that's just past his room.

> You hear through the grapevine that

the captain of the soccer team. wants to ask you out. You hang around after games and (a) joke around with his he'll be missing if he doesn't make his move soon. (b) mention a movie you'd like to see. If he stalls, ask him if he wants to see it with you. (c) wait for Romeo to take

action. And wait. And wait.

nut mands ou or

a) seeming aloot.

 b) having so many guy friends. c) being too friendly with other people's paymends.

scoring

(a) 2, (b) 3, (c) 1 (a) 1, (b) 2, (c) 3 (a) 2, (b) 1, (c) 3 (a) 2. (b) 3. (c) 1 (a) 1, (b) 2, (c) 3 (a) 1, (b) 3, (c) 2 (a) 2. (b) 3, (c) 1 (a) 1, (b) 2, (c) 3 (a) 2, (b) 3, (c) 1 (a) 2, (b) 3, (c) 1 (a) 1, (b) 2, (c) 3 (a) 3, (b) 2, (c) 1 (a) 1. (b) 2, (c) 3

ol Flirtaholic (31 to 39 points) Okay, male attention is nice, but why are you so hell-bent on 05 having it all the time? If you feel compelled to flirt at all times, think

about why and what the results 30 and they like you. You get you. Hate to sound schoolyour love obsession. Jo marmish, but putting guys at the top of your life-goal list keeps you from getting to know anyone else (including yourself). Maybe you feel like teammates so he knows what 15 you're worth more when guys find you attractive-not surprising in a culture where a female's value is often measured 40 are other ways to relate to by her sexiness. Get over it. 20 You have more to offer the world than your feminine

> charm. Explore your interests. like drawing or blading. Bond 45 manipulate situations. Know with your girlfriends. Realize 12.00 filmes critic ze 25 that guys are more than objects to be won, and so are you.

> > Flirtmaster (22 to 30 points) You have no problem with the fact that you like guys

understand that flirting is more about being open to romantic possibilities-or just plain communication-than sex. In 35 short, you recognize that attraction is a two-way street. and you're willing to go some of the distance yourself. Yet, you also understand that there guys—like on a purely platonic or intellectual level. Resist the temptation to use your all-powerful flirtation skills to that self-assurance, brains, and creativity are what really count.

Flirtaphobic (13 to 21 points) Are you lost in a time 50 warp? Waiting around for boys to notice you might have

worked for Jan Brady, but that show's been canceled. Maybe you don't like to flirt because 55 you think it's all about playing games, acting cutesy, and making promises you don't want to keep. But the truth is that it can be just a simple way 60 to let guys know you notice them. The technique, contrary to popular clichés, has more to do with hanging out and laughing with guys than 65 seductively licking your lips or playing dumb. And don't worry about being perfect at it, because even the best flirts have their share of awkward, 10 misunderstood moments. Not to mention rejection—look how Amanda, the quintessential male magnet, keeps striking



Quiz 8

out with Billy.

## are you a CONTROL 120

Do you always have to have

it your way? Find out if

your sense of control

is out of control

This guy you've been secretly reciting voodoo love chants to asks you out (it worked!) for Friday night, but he doesn't mention any specific plans. You (a) draft Date Plan A and Date Plan B—he may be adorable, but that doesn't guarantee a good time.

(b) casually ask him what he has in mind for the date-so at least you'll know what to wear. (c) wait and see what he has planned and go along with it, even if it means going to hear a band you hate-after all, he asked you out.

You're invited to a party and you don't know the person throwing it very well. But you do know that music can make or break a bash, so you (a) bring a set of earplugs just in case the sonics make you sick. (b) make a party tape of all your favorite songs and give it to the host as a present.

(c) show up with two dozen CDs and set up a command post at the stereo-you're certainly not going to suffer through gangsta rap or death metal: all night!

It's inventory day at the clothing store where you work. Your boss tells you to count the stock by size, but you think it

would be better to do it by style. You (a) do it her way she's the boss.

(b) do it your way without asking or telling her.

(c) suggest your way.

You're on the basketball team and there's a game Saturday morning, but there's also a phat party Friday night that most of the girls on the team are going to. You (a) go to the party, but don't stay too late so you can be relatively fresh for the game.

to be a star player. (c) go to the party and end up staying late because your best friend doesn't want you to leave without her.

(b) don't

go to the

party—that

way, you're sure

Your mom absolutely refuses to let you out of the house dressed "like that." You (a) tell her you'll retire the World's Rattiest Jeans if you can wear the flannel shirt. (b) decide it's not worth fighting about-better to keep the peace

Ouiz 9

Nina Malkin

and sacrifice a bit of your identity. (c) say "Fine!" and stomp up to your room—if that's how she feels, you'll ground yourself for eternity, or until she comes to her senses.

Your biology teacher makes you lab partners with some thoroughly obnoxious guy who's on the verge of flunking the class (as if dissecting a pig fetus wasn't horrible enough). You

(a) ask if you can work with your best friend again instead -you two did well on the last project—and pray she says yes. (b) tell the teacher that she just has to put you with somebody else, or you'll go to the principal and complain.

(c) grin and bear it. Things could be worse-you could be the pig fetus.

The guy you like is dating someone else. You (a) befriend the girl he's seeing, convince her that she's too good for him, then move in on him. All's fair in love and war. : (b) pine and whine and try (in vain) to forget him. If he's into the other girl, what chance do you have?

(c) make sure he knows you're alive and interested, then see. what happens—if he's attracted to you, maybe he'll act on it.

Bry Order with a

There's a "Save the Planet" competition for high schools across the country—the individual or group with the best environmental defense program goes to Washington, D.C., to present >

the idea to the EPA. Your school is holding a student brainstorming session to discuss ideas. You

(a) think about attending the meeting, but don't because everyone else's ideas are probably better than yours.

(b) get to work right away on your own. Why waste time haggling with a group and then have to share the glory?

(c) present your concept at the meeting.

You and your boyfriend are headed to the movies and he wants to see one of those blood-and-guts action flicks, which you hate. You

(a) refuse to subject yourself to such disgusting, demoralizing junk and insist he go with you to see a romantic comedy, the type of movie he hates.

(b) suggest seeing something you're both interested in—he can catch that other flick on a bonding night with his buddies. (c) don't buy any candy at the theater because that kind of movie makes you queasy.

When your chemistry teacher hands back a major test, you're ready to die—you got an F, and you've never falled anything before in your life! You

your life! You

(a) swear on your Doc Martens
that you'll do better next time—
and quit watching so much TV.

(b) dash to the bathroom to cry
through the rest of class.

(c) go to the teacher after class
and insist that some of the answers he marked wrong are
right—just how exact a science
is chemistry, anyway?—or ask

for a make-up test, anything!



#### Scoring:

1. (a) 3, (b) 2, (c) 1 6. (a) 2, (b) 3, (c) 1 2. (a) 1, (b) 2, (c) 3 7. (a) 3, (b) 1, (c) 2 3. (a) 1, (b) 3, (c) 2 8. (a) 1, (b) 3, (c) 2 4. (a) 2, (b) 3, (c) 1 9. (a) 3, (b) 2, (c) 1 5. (a) 2, (b) 1, (c) 3 10. (a) 2, (b) 1, (c) 3

#### Control Queen

(24 to 30 points) Janet Jackson, watch out! You are hypercritical, always demanding perfection of yourself and of other people. You want to get your way all the time, which is unreasonable and unhealthy. "A person who's into control is dictated by her fears," says Sam Alexander, a therapist in Pasadena, California. Maybe you're afraid you won't be good enough, or that people won't like you. But everybody feels insecure and afraid sometimes, so stop fighting those feelings in yourself.

You probably do get your way most of the time, but at a price—loneliness. "You might get people to do things your way at first," explains Alexander, "but pretty soon your 'friends' will get tired of your domineering behavior." People will like you better if you stop trying to be so perfect and show vulnerability. Plus, once you learn to be more considerate of others and are open to their ideas, you'll see how much

they have to offer. And you won't have to shoulder the burden of being in control anymore.

#### Smooth Operator

(17 to 23 points) You're a wanted woman!-at parties, on teams, as a friend. You're ambitious and you believe in yourself, but you don't think it's necessary to get the whole world to bend to your will. You just want people to value and respect your ideas and opinions the way you do theirs. And you're perfectly willing to compromise when that's the best thing to do. One of your nicest qualities is that you're realistic about and comfortable with your strengths and weaknesses, and you take full responsibility for your happiness and success.

#### Out of Control

(10 to 16 points)
Believe it or not, you act like a doormat for the same reason a control freak acts the way she does: fear. The difference is that while a con-

nies her fear and acts domineering to hide her insecurities; you're very much in touch.

with yours. You're terrified that people will think you're stupid or boring or unattractive, so you rarely voice your opinion, and you tend to wear clothes that help you blend in with the crowd. But if you live your entire life in fear of rejection, you'll never get out there and take risks, like going for a great job or falling in love.

Try discussing your problem with someone you trust and respect. If talking is too much to handle, pick a person you want to be more like-real or fictional-and when you're in a difficult situation, ask yourself what he or she would do. Then when you get comfortable with the idea of acting differently, push yourself: Raise your hand in class, voice your opinion, ask a guy out. Lightning will not strike you. It's more likely that you'll get what you want-and be happy.

Failed experiment: How could anyone flunk you?

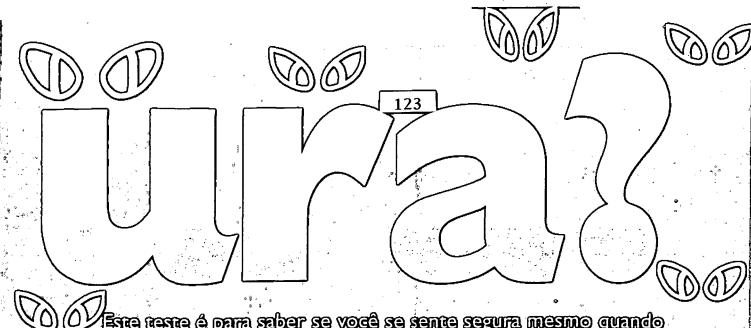


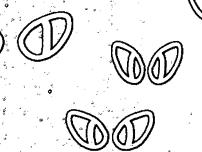


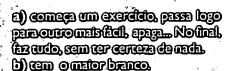
- quando pensa em que profissão vai escolher?
  - a) Aflita, porque não tem a menor idéia do que decidir, fora o medo de errar, de não gostar da faculdade, de não conseguir passar no vestibular...
  - b) Não se preocupa com isso, porque, na hora H, você sabe que decide.
  - c) Meio tranquila, porque já escolheu desde criança o que vai ser.
  - 🗷 No sábado, você cortou o cabelo curtinho. Como você vai para a escola na segunda-feira de manhã?
  - a) Ótima, porque você fez um corte que queria há muito tempo e está se sentindo bem com ele.
  - b) Arrumadissima, para impressionar mais todo mundo.
  - c) Preocupada com as opiniões e apelidos que os meninos costumam arrumar. Pior, só se fizerem de conta que não perceberam sua mudança.

- tirou seu título e vai votar pela primeira vez este ano. Na hora de decidir, você:
- a) vota em quem já tinha escolhido mesmo antes de ter o título.
- b) fica mais tranquila se seu candidato estiver bem colocado nas pesquisas de opinião.
- c) fica na maior dúvida, sem entender o que os candidatos estão dizendo. É melhor votar como seus pais.
- 🛨 Num espaço curto de tempo, você ficou com dois garotos e neste fim de semana vai a uma festa onde os dois vão estar. Como você se sente?
- a) Preocupada com o que um possa ter falado para o outro.
- b) Na sua. Afinal você não tem compromisso com nenhum dos dois.
- c) Muito bem, por já ter ficado com dois dos meninos mais interessantes da escola. Quiz 10

- garoto, mas vão passar as férias separados. Como se sente em relação ao seu namoro?
- a) E um assunto para depois das férias.
- b) Com dúvidas, pois ele pode ficar com outras garotas e esquecer de você.
- c) Relaxada, porque vocês se gostam.
- Sua melhor amiga começou a fazer um curso de teatro e está cheia de ensaios e compromissos com os novos amigos. Você: a) dá um jeito de ficar amiga do novo
- pessoal rapidinho.
- b) se sente meio enciumada e ameaçada, mas só por um tempo.
- c) não perde uma chance de boicotar a nova turma dela.
- Você tem que tirar um notão de Física. Estudou até com um professor particular. Na hora de fazer a prova, você:







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O Nahozada kezara malapara viajar, vocês

a) sempre precisa compar algunas coupas novase, durantea viagem, acha que deverta ter levado outras coisas.
b) pensa quantos dias val franc para onde é e calcula o que tevan que levan e) filma indecisa e acaba levando três vezas mais coisas que o recessário.

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Resposses

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Quiz 10

quado.

මු ම්ලි වෙනු ලකුණ Ås vezes você බේම tem සොසන ලා ගෙ ගෙන fazar, mas vat å lura. Na divida voce experimenea. perguna para os **ापण्डा** ६२२ विक्रिसक्त, सिर्ट um partodo da testes. Assim, você îtea â vonredeparameter de de de නිව. Você නිව්ව අපතෝලcersimaçõesamiseachs e procura se preservar දූල ලෝ සේ ක්රීම ඇති ලෝ alguns momentos na vida é necessario entre de ativa do auro e deixar and the composition of the compo

මු 20 ක න ලක්කය මුවා ක නම් ලක්කය Sempreemfrente **Você deresa emoinde ්**නිතලයන්නෙන්නේ ce cer divides. Depois വ്നാ സേത സ്ഥ ക്തി-പ്പെങ്ങളെ അവസം വി guna se ele conúnua sendolegal Questionar, ළුවෙන්න කාල්න de ලක්<del>-</del> **බව්ම මෙන්න් මේ නැති මෙන්න** ලෝ වේ ළවස්වාගයක වේ você) රඩි valor ඩි ගෙනින **අපපෝඩ්ඩන්ටේ මානිට**, entresequesempreé predsomberreversums අග්ග වෙලාලෙනු අතරවෙන්න guêm ê infiliyel. (inclusi-യ യാർ



by Sabrina Solin

# do you have a





Do you find it hard to stop talking long enough to eat? Or would you stay silent even under the threat of torture? Find out if you know when to clam

When you have a new boyfriend, you feel that you must

(a) ink your initials plus his initials on your notebook until someone asks you what "H.B." stands for.
(b) keep your newfound coupledom to yourself—it's no one else's business who you date.

(c) make an announcement over the loudspeaker dedicating a song to him during lunch.

19 100

On the way home from picking you up at school, your brother puts a fresh dent in your father's car. He begs you not to tell, so you

(a) let him deal with it in his own dishonest way.

(b) use it to get him to do your homework.

(c) say casually at dinner, "So, did David tell you about the pole he hugged today?"

You're at a party and one of your friends is telling everyone about the hilarious thing that happened to the two of you the other day. As she gets to the funny part, you

(a) are already laughing.

(b) are in the other room getting a soda.

(c) cut her off and finish the story yourself.

Bob confesses to you that he's cheating on Becky.

(a) write "Bob is a cheating scumbag" on the girls' bathroom wall.(b) tell only your diary.

(c) tell another friend and swear her to secrecy.

The television character you identify with the most is

(a) Six on Blossom.

- (b) Andrea on 90210.
- (c) Amanda on Melrose Place.

Your friend has a crush on the captain of the football team. You

(a) tell him. Maybe they'll hook

up. You're a yenta!

(b) tell her about your crush on the captain of the math team.

(c) show her everything your brother taught you about throwing a spiral.

Robert State And Continued

You and your friends are having fries at the mall.

A fly on the table is most likely to hear

(a) you describing the choicest guys at school.

(b) a roundtable discussion on the choicest guys at school.(c) somebody else going on about

(c) somebody else going on about the choicest guys at school.

Your friend sees you kissing a guy at a party. The next day, you tell her

(a) every single tongue-wrenching detail.

(b) *nada*—you're not the **kiss**-and-tell type.

(c) "Kissed him. It was cool."

Master scientist that you are, you get an A on the biology exam.

(a) And everyone knows it.

(b) Your parents will be so proud.(c) You compare grades with your best friend in the class.

The last huge rumor in your school can be traced back to you.

(a) True

(b) False

When you witness something really awful happening to someone, your first thought is about who you will tell this story to.

· Call

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(a) True

(b) False

If a friend tells you a secret, you feel it's only fair to tell her one

in return.

(a) True

(b) False

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#2(b) (c) # 7(a) 7(b) 2(c) #1(b) 2 (c) # 8 (a) 3(b) 1(c) #2 (0) 1(c) 3# 9 (a) 3(b) 1(c) #3(b) 1(c) 3# (a) 2(b) 1 #2(b) 1(c) 3# (a) 2(b) 1

oz fo 33 points/Shut Upl

except when its about them

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hates your And constantly interupting and gronopoliting considerations work make you well
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love it bigmouth and try to be
aftle more are the following the
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having suits or this quize.

19 to 26 points. Smart Mouth rock powering to speak up and when to pulsa lideon its Kourt. See the enough with youself that your lock for it meet to advertise out that are to advertise out that are to advertise out that are to a vigor friends crown that Tubey tell your friends crown that Tubey tell your same and the pulsary of the confidence of all keep it made or sock of mules work apeau your mine when you we tutapeau your mine when you we tutapeau your mine when you we tutapeau your mine when you have some thing your friends might be something your friends might say want to be an

Carlo 18 points; Did You say Something? It is a second of the second of

structive gossip might be good

for you—it it's not the lethal kind

<sup>\*</sup> Quiz 11