Smith, Angela (2011) Femininity repackaged: postfeminism and Ladette to Lady. In: Women on Screen: feminism and femininity in visual culture. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, pp. 167-184.

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Femininity Repackaged: Postfeminism and *Ladette to Lady*

Angela Smith

This chapter looks at the recent backlash against postfeminist discourses of empowerment through special reference to the commercial phenomenon of "Girl Power". Since the late 1990s, this backlash has been registered in the British press, which has generated and fuelled a "moral panic" about binge drinking, alcohol-induced violence, and increasing levels of sexually transmitted diseases in the young. This generally gives cause for concern about adolescent behaviour, which is persistently formulated as "out of control" – a formulation that was validated, to some extent, by the introduction of anti-social behaviour orders (ASBOs [i]) under the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act. Much of this attention has been aimed at young women, who are commonly referred to as "ladettes"[ii] because of their perceived adoption of behaviours more usually associated with young British men. As Katy Day et al have shown, many British national newspapers in the period 1998-2000 reported on studies of teenage drinking which claimed that young women were "bigger binge drinkers" than their male counterparts. Such articles trade on wider moral panics about the behaviour of young women and are used to represent women as a threat to themselves (through a greater risk of assault and ill-health) and to patriarchy (through the challenges they pose to established norms of female passivity). Although this chapter will focus primarily on representations of young women in British media texts, the anxieties with which these texts engage are not

limited to the UK and are, as Ariel Levy observes in *Female Chauvinist Pigs* (2006), equally widespread in contemporary American culture.

While such negative coverage of women's behaviour is not new, what is different about this particular media attention is the range that it extends into television entertainment programming.[iii] Certainly, the rapid rise of reality programming since the 1990s and the contemporaneous arrival of multichannel television – with its typical bias towards "female" genres – have led to an explosion in programming based around the home and domesticity (Holmes and Jermyn 24). Such programming makes conspicuous use of "documentary" strategies, altering the parameters of "factual" television in ways that are consistent with John Corner's description of "post-documentary culture" (156). As Anna Hunt observes in her study of *Big Brother, Wife Swap*, and *How Clean is Your House?*, many of these programmes feature "domestic dystopias", in which viewers are enticed by overtly negatives images of domesticity. As we will see in the following chapter, the ladette is now open to wider criticism in light of postfeminist discourses where she is the personification of an extreme performance of Girl Power, as viewed through a dystopian domestic gaze.

The equality argued for – and, in some respects, won – by second wave feminism has been diffused by an increasingly consumerist culture to produce the sense that, despite everything that has been gained, there is still something missing. This is writ large in the theme of "change the way you look; change your life" that guides the "narrative" of makeover programmes aimed at female participants.[iv] Focusing on the reality television show *Ladette to Lady* (RDF 2005-), I will demonstrate how such makeover shows contrast sharply with quality television dramas that insistently represent "the oppression of upper-middle class suburban life"

and its associated containment (Richardson 158). I will also examine the complex ways in which the discourses of postfeminism operate within a makeover show that explicitly aims to turn "ladettes" into "ladies", with all the assumptions about lifestyle and class that these labels imply. With special reference to the second series of *Ladette to Lady*, screened in the UK on ITV1 in autumn 2006, this chapter will illustrate how the young women's postfeminist performances as ladettes are criticised in the show, while also interrogating the extent to which these criticisms turn, primarily, on issues of taste and self-control.[v]

Postfeminism

As Charlotte Brunsdon, Elspeth Probyn, Sarah Projansky, and Imelda Whelehan have argued, since its emergence in the 1980s, postfeminism has often been viewed negatively as hailing the end of feminism. As its prefix implies, after all, the term suggests that the aims and objectives of the (white, middle-class) second wave agenda have already been addressed, achieved, and surpassed. More positively, though, the discourse of "choices" offered by postfeminism – with respect to work, family and dating – is frequently offered as a resolutely heterosexual alternative to "anti-sex" constructions of second wave feminism (Projanksy 67). As a playful, positive strand of postfeminism, however, "Girl Power" has a persistent tendency – signified through the term "girl" – to infantilize the women to whom it refers. Feminist scholars often point out that the freedoms won by the second wavers have allowed Western women to live the lives that they choose – lives which often have a vexed and/or unstable connection to feminist politics and to traditional gender roles. As Probyn has observed, this climate of instability is implicated in an increasingly prevalent strand of postfeminism – one in which pre-feminist ideals and traditional, patriarchal models of

femininity are seductively repackaged as postfeminist freedoms. This offshoot of "Girl Power" is, perhaps, most readily classifiable as "Lady Power", and it is, to some extent, symptomatic of Susan Faludi's "backlash" manifesto, in which the "having-it-all" single, career woman of the 1980s is returned to the patriarchal fold within the postfeminist discourse of "neo-traditional feminism".[vi]

Girl power and ladettes

In celebrating the equality and choice afforded by second wave feminism, the ladette is the personification of an extreme performance of Girl Power that started to draw media attention in the 1990s. As Whelehan states, the ladette playfully, if problematically, celebrates the male gaze (9). This is usefully demonstrated through the representation of Frances in *Ladette to Lady*, who – having received breast enhancement surgery as a gift for her eighteenth birthday – develops a tendency to flash her breasts in public. Frances's "playful" behaviour is necessarily equated to her exhibitionism; as a result, it is persistently framed as problematic within the context of the show. Through her implied courting of male attention, the ladette is rendered distinct from the longer-standing image of the "tomboy": the tomboy, after all, wants to *be* one of the boys; the ladette, on the other hand, wants to *be attractive to* the boys. As a result, the ladette – while appropriating aspects of "laddish" male behaviour, in terms of binge drinking and sexual promiscuity – remains resolutely heterosexual, embodying an "excessive" form of heterosexuality that could be perceived as a threat to the moral order of Western civilization. As Skeggs argues, in the British context, the sexualized appearance of working-class women is routinely defined against the well-dressed, cultivated women of the middle classes (100). In *Ladette to Lady*, middle-class tastes are insistently imposed upon the appearances and behaviours of

the working-class ladettes, with a view to reinstating "safer" – or more traditional – codes of sexual conduct.

A more positively-received aspect of Girl Power, according to Hollows, was its attempt to envision new, assertive feminine identities, while recapitulating – and popularizing – (second wave) principles of female solidarity (181). As Whelehan observes, Girl Power also seems to "recognise the age-old strengths of women's friendships and community and is particularly positive towards mother-daughter relationships" (46). This is writ large in *Ladette to Lady*, where the "school" venue, with its shared dormitories, is used as a tacit means of encouraging the female participants to develop strong friendships with their peers. In addition, the "teachers" at the school act as both mentors and mother figures, guiding the young women as they progress through various stages of "self-improvement". While this might be the case, however, the official curriculum works to undermine the politics of Girl Power through its nostalgic evocation of femininity – a femininity that is most readily signified in the term "lady".

Traditionalizing femininity: the spread of "lady power"

Diane Negra argues that one of the key premises of neo-traditional femininity is the need to abandon the overly-ambitious 1980s programme of "having it all" (12). In its most assertive form, McRobbie suggests, this is part of a "patriarchal attempt to undo the achievements of the women's movement" (47). In this sense, the traditionalizing discourse of female empowerment sees ladettes as misguided, and thus "appeals to a nostalgia for a pre-feminist past as an ideal that feminism has supposedly destroyed" (Projanksy 67). That the ladette is misguided in her appropriation of girl power is

clear in the urge to reveal the "real", "ladylike" self who will conform to neo-feminist ideals.

The decline of positive images of girl power in the twenty-first century marks a shift towards a "safer" femininity. In makeover television, there has been a concentration on "reforming" ladettes to be more "respectable" in conduct and appearance, reverting to traditional feminine stereotypes.[vii] There is a foregrounding of the performative nature of femininity, where the sense of identity that is evident elsewhere in postfeminism becomes naturalized and internalized by the young women featured. This is seen in shows such as *My Fair Kerry (*Granada 2005*)* and *Asbo Teen to Beauty Queen* (North One Television 2006), as well as in *Ladette to Lady*. Such shows follow on from cinematic representations of working-class excessive attention to appearance used to denote low moral value and potential disruption (see Brunsdon 1997).

Whelehan has observed that lifestyle politics leaves in its wake those who do not conform to its preferred images and those who cannot afford to engage in "liberating" consumerism that would enable them to exercise "control" over their lives (178). Consumerism is therefore linked to notions of good taste and cultural capital, where "better taste" is usually aligned to upper-middle-class ideas. Glossy magazines consolidate this connection in their regular depictions of celebrities' homes, which – in Britain at least – are often designed to emulate those of the landed gentry. Likewise, when it comes to personal appearance, the "style" which is most actively esteemed is rooted in consumption patterns which seek to traditionalize femininity around a performance that is (predominantly) middle class and conservative, as we shall see shortly.

***Ladette to Lady*: a case study**

Ladette to Lady, first aired on ITV1 in September 2005, is a reality makeover show which follows eight self-identified ladettes as they undertake a five-week intensive course in learning how to be ladies. Predominantly white and working class, the young women are described on the show's web site as being "loud, foul-mouthed, uncultured and unpleasant women, who like to drink to excess and are sexually promiscuous". Each week, one ladette is "asked to leave" the show, having failed – in the opinion of the school's teachers – to engage sufficiently with the traditionalizing process around which the show is based. Over the course of the series, the young women are assessed on their performance in various trials and at particular formal events, while also being judged on their unchaperoned behaviour. At the end of the series, the remaining participants are presented, Eliza Doolittle-like, at a "society ball", where the winner is announced as being the woman whose journey from ladette to lady has been the most remarkable.

Staged in Egglestone Hall, a former finishing school in North Yorkshire, the institutional format is stressed by providing the ladettes with a uniform (comprising a classic tweed suit, court shoes, and a pearl necklace). There is an implicit valorization of upper-middle-class, white Britishness, with an emphasis on domesticity based around heritage and glamour that is also found in a more playful way in celebrity magazines. Like Roberts, Skeggs has observed that the middle classes are usually associated with "restraint, repression, reasonableness, modesty and denial", contrasting sharply with the excesses of working-class behaviour that are embodied by the participants in *Ladette to Lady* (99). This traditional notion of middle-classness is carried through in the kinds of lessons which are taught, such as deportment, elocution, etiquette, flower arranging, cookery, and dressmaking. These lessons are

conducted in a less playful way, in that the participants are situated as schoolchildren who must respect and obey the teachers' authority. This forms an extreme version of the sort of governance that is found on other makeover shows, as discussed by Roberts. The teachers are addressed formally, and the participants are expected to abide by rules that are more usually imposed on much younger, school-aged pupils, particularly those at traditional boarding schools. Should any of the participants fail to abide by the rules, they risk incurring penalties; they may, for example, be confined to the school premises while their peers are "rewarded" with a trip to the local pub. In Episode 2, a participant who drank to excess at a weekend house party is subsequently made to wait a table at a formal party and forbidden from speaking to any of the guests. Thus, the containment of the young women is not only physical but also, as we shall see, behavioural, in line with traditional notions of femininity.

In face-to-face encounters with individual participants, the teachers are shown to be more maternal, offering advice and encouragement to any young woman who appears to be struggling. The apparent non-competitiveness of the show is emphasized through the fact that it is the teachers who decide which participant leaves at the end of each week, not some viewer phone-in vote or skills test. Instead, the teachers claim to look for aptitude and attitude towards becoming ladies, gathering this information through classroom and social observation in the way a mother would judge her daughter.

Sexual etiquette

Ladette to Lady implicitly upholds traditional, gendered notions of sexual etiquette through its aggressive endorsement of female chastity, modesty, and reserve. The "progress" of the participants in this area is tested at regular intervals when they are

required to meet a group of young men who are (euphemistically) called "eligible bachelors". These bachelors are largely upper-middle-class and aristocratic men, and are promoted, in Lucy Briers' plummy-toned voiceover, as the "cream of the private school system". Interestingly, although the sexual behaviour of these men is broadly comparable to the promiscuity of ladettes, the former tend to be cast in far less judgemental terms as "cads".[viii] In this way, the men's promiscuity is licensed by virtue of their gender and social class, and it is up to the young women to avoid their sexual advances. Should any of the women succumb to the allures of these "cads", then she risks being expelled, though there is no such surveillance or sanction for the male protagonists.

Throughout the series, there are montages of the participants during their ladette days; most of these sequences are shot in pubs or clubs, where the participants are shown to be drinking excessively and dancing provocatively. This content is certainly typical of the montage which documents the antics of Rebecca, who is insistently situated as problematic on account of her sexual promiscuity. According to *Ladette to Lady*, Rebecca's promiscuity is facilitated by her job as a barmaid, which affords her frequent opportunities to meet men. In the following extract, this promiscuity is contrasted with Rebecca's own testimony about the benefits of celibacy, which she outlines to Liz Brewer, the sexual etiquette coach, and Jill Harboard, the (notional) principal of the school. However, this testimony has a very specific structural rationale, and this is hinted at in the opening voiceover, which anticipates Rebecca's subsequent "misbehaviour".

> VOICEOVER: Now Principal Jill Harboard is rewarding the girls with a trip to the pub but Rebecca is out for more than a few pints tonight [*shots of Rebecca*

as barmaid making eyes at customers] Twenty-one-year-old barmaid Rebecca Squire has a remarkable track record.

REBECCA: [*pre-Egglestone to camera*] I've probably slept with a hundred people if not a few more. I lost count quite a while ago.

VOICEOVER: [*shots of class*] In the first week of term a class in sexual etiquette struck a raw nerve.

LIZ: Make it difficult. It's a question of putting a value on yourself and being special.

REBECCA: [*to camera after the class*] It's all common sense and everything she said don't do I do. I just feel like dead really cheap and bit of a (sic) . . . just feel like a bit of slapper.

VOICEOVER: But after three weeks of celibacy Rebecca is becoming restless [*montage of Rebecca in pub drinking pints, shots and smoking*].

REBECCA: [*to local lads in pub*]. I'm not going home yet; not a fucking chance am I going home yet [*shot of Rebecca applying lipstick*].

VOICEOVER: Rebecca soon makes an acquaintance and arranges to meet at the local club [*shot of ladettes walking to a club*]. It's now ten thirty and ladettes should be tucked up in bed [*dancing, kissing*]. It's one-thirty in the morning when they finally make it back to Eggleston Hall.

[*Next day. Rebecca is expelled. School head to camera*].

JILL (SCHOOL PRINCIPAL): There is no way you could have turned that into a lady.

REBECCA: [*Vox pop of Rebecca packing*] I like sex and there's nothing wrong with that. It's healthy and keeps you fit. I've not had any in here and look at

> how much weight I've put on. When I was at home I was getting regular exercise and I weren't a chunky monkey [*laughs*]. (2.3)

The "reward" of a trip to the local pub is clearly a means of evaluating the participants' behaviour once they are out of the school and back in more familiar venues, where the stern eye of the teachers is geographically and temporally distant (though their activities are still accessible to viewers via the cameras that follow the participants). Potential problems are flagged up in the focus on Rebecca's past. She condemns herself through her own testimony, with a further montage of flashbacks of her sitting attentively through a sexual etiquette lesson before a brief to-camera shot of her after the lesson, in which she indicates that she has hegemonically accepted as "common sense" the positive messages about chastity and traditional femininity that the school promotes. However, this is immediately undermined by the voiceover, in which the delicate, euphemistic references to Rebecca's "remarkable track record" give way to a description of her sexual frustration as "restlessness". When a visibly drunken Rebecca is shown applying make-up in a pub toilet, her rebelliousness is highlighted through her use of taboo language and her refusal to abide by the infantilizing rule of lights-out by half past ten. The cameras follow Rebecca and the other participants as they proceed to another venue, where Rebecca's raucous partying is ironically reformulated in Briers' voiceover as her "meeting an acquaintance in a local club" – a narrative register that is humorously evocative of upper-middle-class refinement and restraint. Rebecca's fall from grace is completed the following day when her behaviour leads to her expulsion. Here, the headteacher derogatorily refers to Rebecca as "that", rather than "her", while Rebecca remains unrepentant, playfully recasting her promiscuous behaviour as a legitimate form of

physical exercise that prevents her becoming a “chunky monkey”. Rebecca is thus removed from the programme for her failure to adapt her behaviour in a sincere way, and is not regarded as worthy of further attention by the teachers.

Interestingly, Rebecca also touches on one of the less apparent aspects of traditional feminine performance: its sedate and sedentary dimensions. As the series progresses, it is clear that many of the participants are struggling to fasten their tailored jackets. Such weight gain is, perhaps, a predictable consequence of a curriculum that enforces the importance of ladylike deportment: visible evidence of an increase in weight brought about by their enforced inactivity. Perhaps this is also one of the expected consequences of a ladylike deportment: the women, after all, are severely restricted in their movements; they are required to negotiate staircases slowly and elegantly, and are forbidden from bounding around the premises as they might at home, where they are not subject to such stringent levels of self-governance.

Lessons in housewifery

The ladettes must also develop an array of domestic skills that are inextricable from traditional accounts of feminine behaviour, such as flower-arranging, dressmaking, and cookery. While such skills are, potentially, practical, they are taught in ways that render them irrelevant to the everyday lives of the young women. During the dressmaking, for example, the participants are taught how to make eveningwear, with a particular focus on the ballgowns which the finalists will wear in the concluding episode. The impracticality of such garments is only too apparent as the finalists proceed downstairs, stumbling over trailing hems and tugging awkwardly at low-cut necklines. The cooking lessons are similarly impractical, in that they focus on

catering for formal dinner parties, where game is the most common main course (reflecting the culling by the shooting party seen earlier in the series).

Within this domestic fairytale, the general lack of regard for the young women's lives prior to their arrival at Egglestone Hall lives is remarkable. These lives are, in fact, dismissed as irrelevant as the teachers impose their code of behaviour on the participants. Only occasionally are the participants allowed to divulge evidence of their cultural backgrounds, and this is usually accompanied by tears of humiliation or self-pity. One such instance involves Frances, the serial exhibitionist to whom I referred earlier. Throughout the series, Frances is seen as something of a comedy figure, and shots of her breasts are edited into every episode by the predominantly male production team, inviting us to read her playfulness as foolishness. However, after a drunken night out towards the end of the series, when she is called to account by the cookery teacher, Rosemary Shrager, Frances shows remorse. We see in this particular episode (2.4) evidence of the confessional culture that Furedi (2004) has discussed as central to a wider move towards emotionality in the popular media in recent years.

ROSEMARY: We don't really know anything about you not really.

FRAN: No, you don't [*shaking head and looking tearful*].

ROSEMARY: Exactly so why don't you tell me?

FRAN: I was really picked on for having no boobs and now I've got 'em just [.] I just flash 'em about a bit too much and it causes problems with me.

ROSEMARY: Did you expose yourself last night?

FRAN: [*shameful and quiet*] Yeh [*sniffs*].

ROSEMARY: You did?

FRAN: Yeh.

ROSEMARY: But you obviously don't have self esteem.

FRAN: I just [.] I've never had a proper boyfriend never had a Valentine's Day card [*brightening up as RS looks shocked and sympathetic*].

ROSEMARY: What! Really?

FRAN: Nope.

ROSEMARY: Does that upset you?

FRAN: Yeh.

ROSEMARY: I can see that [*Fran crying*]. You know this weekend you've actually got a real opportunity to try and find out who you could be and what you could be like. [*Fran nodding*] I think you should take it up and really try.

FRAN: I promise you I'm really going to try hard now.

ROSEMARY: Promise.

FRAN: I promise, yeh.

ROSEMARY: Alright.

Rosemary here compels Frances to reveal the underlying problem: her low self-esteem. By electing to have breast enhancement surgery, Frances has taken a consumerist solution to this problem, by paying to change what she perceives to be the source of her low self-esteem. This has, however, led to other problems, given that she now exposes her breasts in ways that are sexually provocative. Frances volunteers the flaw in this, illustrating Whelehan's argument that in the neo-traditional femininity strand of postfeminism, ladettes are misguided: Frances tearfully claims never to have had a "proper boyfriend", which she clearly expects her teacher to find shocking. Frances's admission also underlines the prevailing view that ladettes are not

marriageable: they may have fun and flirt with men, but the likelihood of their involvement in longer-term commitment is slim. Thus, the "genuine" Frances is revealed to be a person who accepts traditional femininity, inwardly aspiring to long-term relationships that fall within its boundaries. Rosemary then attempts expedite the liberation of this "genuine" self by suggesting that Frances's hosting of the weekend party will be a "real opportunity to try and find out who [she] could be".

Ultimately, the programme demands that participants be grateful for their makeovers, and not bitter; enthusiastic not cynical. This is achieved structurally through the editing and voiceover. Where a ladette is shown to be conforming, this will be intercut with a shot of her cavorting drunkenly in the past, demonstrating just how far she has been "improved" by the strict regimen. The voiceover will also draw attention to the "negative" ladette behaviour, and this is routinely reinforced by the testimony of the ladette herself. Only those whose behaviour is considered worthy are allowed to reach the series finale. Any woman who fails to embrace "lady power" is represented as flawed, most often through the instructors' comments, which draw on reductive discourses about gender that are presented without any critical interrogation. These essentializing tendencies are crystallized in the words of the etiquette coach, Liz, as she reflects on the meanings and implications of the term "slag":

> When you understand what a slag is, and a slag is a woman of loose morals but it's also the scum that you take off, you know a coal pit, it's that scum and what we start off with are girls who are little more than that.
> (*End of Term Report*)

Ultimately, the programme's most successful transformations are shown to be those which involve the young women whose "real selves" conform most closely to traditional ideals of femininity, while those who fail to reform are discarded as irredeemable owing to their innate ill-breeding. In this way, traditional femininity is elevated and glorified, at the same time as unconventional behaviour is denigrated and dismissed.

Conclusion

According to Moseley, postfeminist identity is a site of tension between feminism and femininity, and as such it is understands "conventional modes of femininity as *not necessarily* in conflict with female power" (419). However, what I hope to have shown is that the more recent backlash against Girl Power sees a move to make traditional femininity more dominant within postfeminism in popular culture, although not quite as destructively as McRobbie suggests. In *Ladette to Lady,* the adoption of lady power leads to a willing acceptance of traditional feminine roles as a form of empowerment. Social attitudes towards traditional gender roles are revealed through the rules of sexual etiquette which are imparted to the young women – rules that seek to contain female desire while refusing to condemn male promiscuity. The playfulness of the performance of the ladette is curtailed and eventually rejected as misguided by the successful participants themselves. Visually, this bias is registered in the montage of images that features in every episode. This montage charts the ladettes' arrival at Egglestone Hall, where the sartorial symbols of working-class identity (namely leisurewear and conspicuous jewellery) are immediately removed and replaced by tailored suits and pearl necklaces that are constricting, traditional, and resolutely associated with the middle class. The lessons at the school are also highly

marked by social class, acting as training for the management of a marital home (whether their own or someone else's). Confined to the domestic sphere, the participants are expected to host dinner parties, where the assumption is that everyone has a dining room in which to accommodate large numbers of guests. Such an earnest, grown-up lifestyle is very different from the "irresponsible" pub-crawling of the ladettes prior to their arrival at Egglestone Hall, but the show insistently valorizes this model of neo-traditional femininity as one that is worthy of adoption. Where dissident voices do come through, as with Rebecca's reaction to her expulsion, these are framed as being the voices of participants who were never going to be "ladies" anyway, and for whom there can be no salvation or redemption.

Overall, as Whelehan comments, discourses advocating pre-feminist ideals are meant to be read ironically (147); however, from this analysis of *Ladette to Lady* we can see that the participants themselves are not only shown to be internalizing these discourses of constraint, but are also rewarded for so doing. The adoption of traditional femininity by the successful participants is emphasized by the *End of Term Report* episode, in which former participants return to the school for tea with the teachers. Of those who are finalists, we learn that they have all gained confidence and self-esteem, their experience at Egglestone Hall having "changed their lives" for the better. The positive, empowering effects of lady power over girl power are thus recapitulated, while the more problematic aspects of the show and its invocation of neo-traditional aspects of postfeminism escape any obvious interrogation.

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[i] The acronym "ASBO" stands for "anti-social behaviour order", aimed at curtailing troublesome neighbours and street behaviour. Largely perceived in the media as being served on young, working-

class people, it has rapidly become synonymous with the "new lad" and, of course, the more problematic ladette.

[ii] Widely used in British culture, the term "ladette" was first coined in the men's magazine *FHM* in 1994 to describe young women who adopt "laddish" behaviour in terms of boisterous assertiveness, heavy drinking, and sexual promiscuity. In Britain, it is frequently associated with young working-class women.

[iii] See Jackson and Tinkler.

[iv] See McRobbie.

[v] See McRobbie 2009 and Roberts 2007.

[vi] See Probyn 2007 and Projansky 2001.

[vii] See Roberts.

[viii] While "cad" is defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as "a man who behaves dishonourably", one of the many female equivalents that is used elsewhere in the series is "slag", which is defined as "a prostitute or promiscuous woman". Thus, the label applied to women carries a more explicitly moral judgement that, in turn, reflects society's double standards with respect to "appropriate" sexual behaviour.