

# Invasion of the Body-stockings

## *The Threat of Femininity in the Old Public Service Television*

VIBEKE PEDERSEN

Ten years ago the British newspaper *The Guardian* carried a full-page advertisement from a television organization opposed to deregulation, using as a scare image a photo of a stripper, allegedly an Italian housewife<sup>1</sup>. Recently, when the newly appointed head of entertainment in the old public service station DR-TV was asked to disclose his plans for the future<sup>2</sup>, he revived the metaphor, as he assured us that he intended to avoid stripping Italian housewives. Not only sex, but also domesticity are used to visualize the threat to the old public service television from the new commercial channels. Seduction and domesticity are the feminine traits associated with commercial television. The former head of DR-TV entertainment, Nils Fuglesang, directly applied the seductive female body as a metaphor for commercial television. "DR-TV should not wear a body-stocking" he stated in an interview, meaning that he wanted to de-commercialize DR-TV (*Politiken* 31.7.97). Thus, commercial television is in 19<sup>th</sup> century style – as described by Andreas Huyssen – associated with a female figure, who offers herself for money. This association of media panic and misogyny surfaced in the Danish debate in the mid-1990s following the deregulation of television and the end of the monopoly in 1988. I will return to Huyssen's work on the association of mass culture with the feminine

This article presents the Danish part of a joint Nordic Research project: *TV-presenters and Gender in Scandinavia: A Comparative Investigation with a Focus on the Relationship between Public Service and Commercial Channels*.<sup>3</sup> The aim of the project was to investigate whether deregulation resulted in a

higher proportion of female TV-presenters and offered women new opportunities on the screen.

The starting point was the growing proportion of female presenters in Danish television after the deregulation in 1988. A male-female couple presenting the news marked the end of the monopoly era on DR-TV in 1988.

Before 1988 Danish news was presented by alternating men and women. The new anchor couples were characterized by three things: Firstly, there were almost never same gender couples, secondly, the age difference between the new female newsreaders and their male colleagues was 10 to 15 years, and thirdly, there was a huge difference in seniority: The new female co-anchors were newly employed, hired to go on screen immediately. They were not chosen among women who had anchored before nor among the experienced female reporters of the station, while the male co-anchors came from the old stock of journalists and anchormen. Thus, the new female newsreaders embodied the renewal of the old public service station. Visually, the sensual and appealing demeanour of the new anchorwomen constituted a violent transition from the female newsreaders and reporters hired in the 70s. The first Danish female newsreader appeared on screen in 1972<sup>4</sup>, and during the 70s the station hired just as many new female as male newsreaders. Female newsreaders have, however, always formed a minority because of the group of male newsreaders hired at the beginning of newscasting in 1965. As in the BBC, as described by Patricia Holland (1987), the first female newsreader was hired in connection with a general change in the role of the newsreader from authority to transmitter. Her debut on the screen was also related to women's general entry into the labour market and to the women's movement which peaked in Denmark in 1971. In the beginning of the 90s several striking and spectacular

---

Department of Danish, University of Copenhagen,  
Njalsgade 80, DK-2300 Copenhagen S,  
vibped@hum.ku.dk

female hosts appeared in entertainment and talkshows. In an earlier article I have characterized three types under the headline "Soap, Pin Up and Burlesque" (Pedersen 1993). It was my point that female hosts were vitally important in deregulated television, because women are the "natural" providers of emotion, intensity and style, which are important qualities in the new television landscape. Female presenters then incarnated the new developments in the role of the TV-presenter in the era of deregulation. I further argued, that the visual excess of television and the postmodern masquerade in general might provide for a carnivalesque situation, in which the stereotypes of gender might be turned inside out. This, I found to be most likely to happen on the commercial channel TV3. In the spring of 1994 women seemed to comprise half of all television presenters, not only on the new commercial stations, but on the old public service station as well. Female presenters were typically employed as figureheads to launch new programs and program formats (example: Mette Vibe Utzon posing inside the cipher 1, which forms the logo of DR-TV). This progress was not unambiguous, however. On the one hand there was an increased proportion of female presenters in a broader spectrum of positions and genres, on the other hand we have witnessed the triumphant return of traditional femininity. Also, various parties criticized the new types of female presenters. The former top-executive of DR-TV Hans Jørgen Jensen denounced the hiring of young female presenters as a populist strategy. I am translating his statement in its entirety because of its apparent rationality:

I think the institution has gone too far towards populism by putting female presenters who are too young on screen. I am worried by that. If we look at Germany, England and Sweden, we see competent grown-ups with charisma as presenters. I certainly have nothing against pretty girls between 25 and 30. But I do not think that they solve our communication problems. The infatuation with young female presenters may turn out to be extremely problematical, if DR is not cautious. (*AudioVisuelle Media*. June 1994.)

This denouncement is remarkable in several respects: Not only because the top executive himself bears responsibility for this policy, but also because the young women alone are put up as scapegoats, while the old public service station is trying to accommodate to the new television environment in many ways.

Other critical voices belonged to the female journalists at DR who called attention to the fact that

women over 40 were absent from the screen, and one young female presenter was annoyed to be judged by her looks rather than by her professional skills (Pedersen 1995c).

The thesis of the research project was that the increasing proportion of female presenters is not only due to equal opportunity, but also recent developments in TV-politics, that is deregulation and commercialization. Whereas public service TV has been a part of the public sphere and traditionally has focused on typically male interests such as politics, sports and high culture, commercial television has been more dependent on the female viewers who are the main consumers. Public service TV has been obliged to allow for democratic access and equal opportunity, but has neglected the female audience. Commercial television, however, has addressed the female viewers, but has also conformed to a traditional concept of femininity. In short the thesis was that while women are marginalized in public service television, they are trivialized in commercial television.

The thesis is discussed on the background of a qualitative analysis of television presenters in four Scandinavian countries, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland. We asked: How large is the share of women? Are women about to take over the area? Are the female presenters younger than their male colleagues? Is the gender of presenters related to genre? And finally: Is there a difference between public service and commercial channels? Does commercial, deregulated television allow for transgressions of traditional gender positions, such as the tendency was in the beginning of the 90s? The material analyzed consisted of one week in 1995 on all the main channels in each of the four countries.

The results of the Danish part of the project were surprising in that the share of the female presenters actually decreased from 1994 to 1995, instead of increasing as expected. This is what I am going to discuss in this article. I presume that the decrease in female presenters has something to do with the association of commercial television and seductive femininity. The reaction against commercialization inside DR-TV thus seems to surface at the time of the research project, and it is articulated in gendered terms. The decrease in the share of women presenters was seen on all Danish TV-stations. But as the explicit dissociation to femininity is expressed only in relation to the old public service station, I am going to focus on this station. The development in gender and presenter positions in the following years confirms my allegation.

In 1996-97 the reaction against the growing share of female presenters became more explicit: In addition to the metaphorical associations of commercial television with seductive women made by the DR-executives, and the quantitative increase of male presenters, there was also a qualitative innovation in the selection and mise en scène of the male presenters, which may be described as a re-masculinization. On the one hand new male presenters sported testosterone looks, on the other hand male presenters now took over the new "female" topics and forms of presentation, which allowed for a higher proportion of women on screen immediately following deregulation. These new images of men are, of course, not specific to television, but are seen in society in general. In the current television environment, however, the new male presenters may be seen as safeguards against an alleged invasion of female body-stockings.

After a summary of my empirical findings from the sample week in 1995, I will discuss my findings in the light of the theory of the bourgeois public sphere to explain the ambiguity towards female presenters. Finally, I will take a closer look at the return of male presenters. But first some comments on the notion of television as feminine.

### Television as Feminine

American television theoreticians have been attentive to the notion of television as feminine, expressed in popular discourses on TV for a long time. According to American television historian Lynn Spigel, the introduction of television in American homes in the 50s was understood in gendered terms. Television was associated with the feminine in two ways: Placed in the home, television was associated with domesticity, and subjected to female norms of decency and virtue. The father, dethroned by the new electronic patriarch, was reduced to a passive (that is feminine) viewer. Furthermore, there is an obvious connection between femininity, consumerism and commercial television. Misogyny and telephobia were thus associated. Lynne Joyrich, writing about postmodernism and television, points to the metaphoric association between the seductive power of television and femininity. Both Spigel and Joyrich refer to Andreas Huyssens immensely interesting account of the association of femininity and mass culture, and the resulting denigration in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Just as Huyssen saw modernism as a virile and authoritarian reaction against the threat from the masses and the women in the 19<sup>th</sup> century,

Joyrich sees the current hypermasculinity as a reaction against the alleged feminine television.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century metaphor, mass culture as a seductive woman, is now revitalized in the present on the old public service station, DR-TV, as a result of DR-TV now needing to dissociate itself from the new commercial stations. A couple more examples illustrate this: A former DR-TV anchor, presently working as a newspaper journalist, criticizes the new emotional style in newsreading and associates it as feminine and seductive: "The luscious presenter-ess" looks at us with a twinkle in her eye, she puts her head to one side and "chirps", as he puts it in disgust (*Information*, February 22-23, 1997). My final example I would not call misogynistic, but it confirms that deregulated television is seen as a woman: While the covers of the first two volumes of the recently published Danish media history carry images of men, the third and final volumes are decorated with a cover girl, the newsreader Lene Johansson. With her long blond hair she is thus put forward as the icon of deregulated news<sup>5</sup>. Again a cultural crisis is understood in gendered terms, and this has consequences for real women on the screen.

### Snapshot: Danish TV-Presenters and Gender 1995

The quantitative research I conducted in 1995, comprised one-week's programming on three Danish channels, the old public service channel DR-TV, and the two new channels, both started in 1988, TV2, financed by a combination of license-fee and advertising, which is also a public service institution, and the fully commercial TV3, which is cable transmitted from London, and can only be seen by about half of the population. In this article, I call these two channels commercial channels as opposed to the old public service station, which doesn't carry advertisements at all.

The snapshot exposed a much smaller proportion of female presenters than expected. Only one third of all presenters and only one fourth of the presenters at the old public service station were women. In order to ensure that my estimation that women in 1994 comprised half of all presenters was not an illusion caused by the high visibility and eye-catching positions of the new female presenters, I conducted a similar meticulous counting of the presenters in the corresponding week in 1994 on DR-TV, which showed that 40 % of all presenters were women. Thus, the decrease from 1994 to 1995 was real.

In 1995, female presenters not only constituted a minority but were also qualitatively marginalized: Most female presenters were alternated and therefore rather anonymous, and/or presented short or ritualized programs without the possibility of standing out, *transmitters* as Holland calls them (Holland 1987). While female presenters were still used to catch the gaze when new programs or stations were launched, male presenters were mostly what could be called star-presenters, that is, they performed in positions where personality and humor were required, as permanent hosts in newsmagazines and entertainment.

The synchronous research from 1995 confirmed that commercial channels allow for more female presenters than the old public service station, about 40%. This might, however, be due to the young age of the new commercial stations as the old public service station still has several elderly male hosts on screen, who were hired when the station began its regular news programs in 1965. However, the snapshot further revealed the new commercial channels as pioneers, as they have female presenters, not only in formerly male bastions such as weather and sports, like DR-TV, but also in commercial high profile areas such as entertainment. Furthermore, the commercial channels present new formats which typically are hosted by women or male-female couples, such as lifestyle magazines. The commercial channels have thus opened up new possibilities for women. But in this process women are also trivialized. I have investigated trivialization from three different perspectives: Age difference, the construction of the presenter couple and new popular program formats. Female presenters are in general nine years younger than their male colleagues. While couples may constitute an entry into the area for women, this kind of presentation also often trivializes the female presenter by positioning her as the "other half" of a couple or as an assistant: a construction that may be named *Lolita* or *Trophé Wife*. Generally the new formats, such as daytime talk-shows, which typically are presented by female hosts are not of a high cultural status.

DR-TV doesn't trivialize women in the same way as the commercial stations do. In the research week in 1995 DR-TV did not make use of women as the other half of a couple or as assistants to a male host. This is one of the reasons for the low proportion of women on the public service channel in the research week. This is not to say that this construction is inconceivable in DR-TV: From the autumn season 1997 the calendar-(pin up) girl Tina Kjær has performed as co-host in the Saturday entertain-

ment program *Skattefri Lørdag* (Tax-free Saturday), a program which has been severely criticized for its populism. Also, the high proportion of female presenters in 1994 did not mean that women had conquered male bastions such as newsmagazines, traditional cultural programs or in the position as sole host in entertainment or gameshows. The new female presenters had made their entrance to DR-TV in the same types of programs typically presented by female presenters on the commercial channels, and as co-hosts and assistants.

In the research week DR-TV dissociates itself explicitly from some forms of trivialization of women by parodying female forms and positions in entertainment and youth programming. Male hosts perform in parodies of the typical female positions as younger female co-host or assistant, and make fun of the traditional women's genre, e.g. a correspondence column. Moreover, DR-TV further uses men to present traditional women's topics, such as cooking and consumer-programs. Thus, DR-TV counters gender stereotyping, but in a way that reduces the proportion of women on screen

DR-TV does, however, trivialize women in the sense that it uses much younger women as presenters. In fact, the age difference between the female presenters and their male colleagues is the same on the public service channel as in the commercial channel, nine years, although the average age in general is much higher in the old institution. This kind of gender stereotyping is, however, not inconsistent with the public service ideals. This I will discuss in the next section.

## **Femininity and the Public Sphere**

The idea of the bourgeois public sphere implies two conflicting discourses, which affect women. On the one hand women are entitled to equal opportunity in regard to democracy (though not automatically obtained, only won after political action) on the other hand they are relegated to the intimate sphere and associated with nature, body, irrationality and virtue. According to bourgeois logic, women are not excluded from the public sphere, rather they are allowed in on certain conditions to fulfil specific tasks.

The problems of the private sphere may be discussed in the public sphere, but in a disinterested and non-private way. This means that women are allowed to speak in the public sphere, but not from or about their specific intimate sphere-experiences as women. Also women might be brought into the cultural sphere as a guarantee of the humanity of the

male. As the intimate sphere is where the man is transformed from (capitalist) *bourgeois* into *l'homme*, which is the condition on which he can function as *citoyen* in the public sphere, the woman, who is responsible for the values of the intimate sphere, is allowed into the cultural sphere as the ornament of virtue and beauty.

To legitimize the seizure of political power the bourgeois class claimed moral superiority over the aristocracy. Placed in the intimate sphere, humanity is associated with the feminine, and "goodness" becomes a female quality. Also the association of the aesthetic with the feminine originates in the relationship between the bourgeois class and the aristocracy. As the bourgeois male wishes to dissociate himself from the alleged femininity of the aristocracy (that is, fondness of finery, laziness, decadence, snobbishness and open demonstration of class privileges in dress), he chooses sober attire without finery. J.C. Flugel, who has written about the class as well as the psychological aspect of this change in the male attire, talks about the "great masculine renunciation" of narcissistic and exhibitionistic desire. Ornament thus becomes a female domain, and the bourgeois male has to rely on his wife's attire if he wishes to flaunt his economic wealth (Silverman 1986, Pedersen 1995a).

The need for legitimacy in relation to the aristocracy ceases in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as the bourgeois class takes over political power (Habermas 1974, 162). From now on the concern of the bourgeois class is to dissociate itself from the masses. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century women thus are still considered aliens in the public sphere, but are now identified with the masses. Women are associated with the idea of the decline of the public sphere. In the split between high and mass culture femininity is identified with mass culture and thus denigrated, as pointed out by Huyssen. He demonstrates, how mass culture is characterized pejoratively in feminine terms in the 19<sup>th</sup> century – e.g., Feuilleton novels which "hitch up their skirts". Modernity is defined as male, against "old wives" and "kitchen personnel" – that is seduction, domesticity and consumption. Thus, it is no coincidence that the current Danish commercialized television is associated not only with a seductive woman, but also a seductive housewife. It is interesting to note that as the former top executive of DR-TV worries over the young female presenters as an emblem of populism, here Huyssen points to the absolutely low culture association of old women, an association which is also noted by Patricia Mellencamp, who

describes a link between old age, women and gossip (Mellencamp 1992, 177).

Thus, the bourgeois public sphere, and also its notion of femininity can be divided into two historical phases. First, the golden age, when women may be brought along into the public sphere as a guarantee of beauty and goodness. Second, modernity, when the low culture connotations of woman render her unwanted in the public sphere.

Huyssen optimistically expresses the hypothesis that this gendering of low culture as feminine belongs to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He suggests that the collapse of high and low in postmodernism will render the association invalid. But as Spigel and Joyrich have pointed out in relation to American commercial television the association is still alive, and it has proven useful again in the recent struggle for identity as the old public service stations is faced with competition from the new commercial channels. It is my intention to demonstrate this association in present day Danish TV.

### **Public Service TV and Female Presenters**

Public service TV is in accordance with the idea of the classical public sphere, as independent of the state as well as the market. Public service TV has defined itself as a safeguard against popular culture and bad taste, and has often been characterized as paternalistic. Female presenters are thus not altogether as alien to public service TV, as one might first expect, nor are they only allowed in for democratic reasons or commercial interests. They also fulfil precise tasks in regard to the public service function, i.e. they function as signs of virtue and beauty, as they deal with human interest topics and act as ornaments to male hosts. Thus, female presenters are allowed so long as they adjust to the idealization of women, characteristic of the classical bourgeois sphere. Therefore the use of young women as newsreaders and as ornaments together with older experienced male hosts in entertainment programs is not considered an unacceptable trivialization in public service television.

Female presenters become problematical, however, if they do not obey the rules of the public sphere: If they do not act disinterested, but advocate their particular, specific interests as women (as feminists), or if they speak about their experiences from life in the intimate sphere too openly or if they look too seductive and express emotion too directly (that is, express too much intimacy). To counteract

these potential dangers associated with using female presenters it is important how they are positioned. This is why the female presenters on DR-TV are not allowed positions in which they are too outspoken or are able to show an outstanding personality. They do not appear as star-presenters with their own news program, but rather work as alternating presenters. Too forceful and charismatic female presenters might break the rule of disinterest and mediation, and they might speak of and from their experiences in the intimate sphere. Thus casting and positioning women in the role of a neutral, somewhat insipid, anonymous alternating presenter is a way of making use of and containing femininity while at the same time avoiding potential low culture connotations for women. This would be problematical for the public service station, which defines itself as a safeguard against popular culture and bad taste.

Even in entertainment it is considered too problematic for the old public service station to allow a woman the position as main or sole host. I can think of two reasons for this: There is a danger that a female comedian could try to break the boundaries essential to the bourgeois public sphere. While the humor of the male presenters was often directed against commercialism and femininity, as mentioned, female comedian-presenters on the commercial channels typically make fun of the hierarchies of the public sphere, as I have discussed in relation to Bakhtin's theory of the carnival (Jf. Pedersen 1995a ). The second reason might be, that male hosts counteract the inherent populism of entertainment programming, which might be considered to be of a low cultural content with female hosts. On the other hand, positioned as the other half of a couple or as an assistant the female host does not go against the conventions of the public sphere, as she then functions as an ornament to the male host. <sup>6</sup>

The theory of the bourgeois public sphere also explains the fear of an alleged "invasion" of female presenters on public service television. If female presenters comprised the majority the news would look like an intimate sphere, "engulfed" by women. The theory also explains the significance of a woman's age. Female presenters on public service television should not be too old, because old women are associated with gossip and thus doubly with low culture. On the other hand, women should not be too young and sexy either, because this connotes lack of professionalism. My Finnish collaborator Tarja Savolainen made the interesting observation, that Finnish female presenters sometimes look older than they really are, because of their conventional make-up and attire. She proposes that young female

presenters dressed up as middle-aged women may act as a compromise, as they neither connote gossip nor showbiz.

Thus, the body-stocking and the seductive striping housewife are not just metaphors, but real and problematical figures in the old public service television: DR-TV shifts between applying them to catch the gaze and avoiding or parodying them. Thus it is obvious, that there is a connection between the metaphorical use of women's bodies as a scare image and an actual reduction in the proportion of female presenters. The commercial channels have no such scruples about employing female hosts alone, neither in entertainment programs, popular magazines, nor in typical women's programs, such as daytime talkshows. This is not to idealize the commercial channels, however, who are at the same time much less inhibited in their shameless use of young female assistants.

Although DR-TV cannot be said to offer women equal opportunities, as only 25% of all presenters are women, it should be mentioned that there is one area in which DR-TV does avoid trivialization, namely weather forecasts. Whereas the introduction of weatherwomen in the commercial channels has had to do with the fact that the new channels do not employ meteorologist at all, DR-TV first female presenter of the weather forecast was a meteorologist.

Because of the ambiguity towards all things feminine the so-called female styles of presentation, characterized by emotion and visuality, youth and freshness, which in the beginning of the 90s allowed for more women on the screen, is now considered to be best advocated by male presenters. To borrow a phrase from Mellencamp, male hosts "grant a patina of legitimacy" to denigrated "female" forms and topics. It can be expected, then, that the advent and slow movement towards equality that took place in the 70s, now is braked by a fear of women's low culture connotations. While in the beginning of the 90s it was interesting to observe the new female presenters, who were important in the process of innovation, now in the latter half of the decade male presenters incarnate the new tendencies in styles of presentation. The return of the male hosts is not a return to the neutral authorities which characterized the station before 1988.

### **The Return of Male Presenters**

Firstly, there is an increasing proportion of male presenters. After many years of hiring only new female newsreaders, DR-TV hired a new young male

newsreader in 1996. He was immediately proclaimed a sign of the *new generation*. None of the new young female newsreaders were ever designated as a sign of a generation shift, they were obviously merely considered to be ornaments of youth and beauty. On a second channel, DR2, launched by DR in 1996, the programs of one week in 1998 were presented by 19 male and only 7 female hosts (Knudsen 1998). This new DR-channel does not therefore seem to offer new opportunities for women. Of the total of 26 hosts, young men comprised more than half. The new channel is cable-transmitted and is aimed at a rather intellectual audience and special interest groups.

The currently fashionable testosterone looks are certainly not limited to television, but have been integrated into the visual style of the new channel: The male presenters at DR2 look distinctly masculine in their tight T-shirts and well groomed stubble. On the portrait of the earlier quoted head of entertainment, Fuglesang is wearing an open-neck shirt which shows off his hairy chest, and with his Yul Brunner-bald head he presents himself as the incarnated defence against the alleged invasion of female body-stockings.

There is, however, an interesting twist to this visual and exaggerated demonstration of masculin-

ity: The male presenter is no longer invisible as he used to be. There is now a dress code on Danish news programs. Male newsreaders on the main channel have been ordered to wear jacket and tie, to set them apart from the new, more relaxed T-shirt channel, DR2. Thus, male presenters are now visually incarnating their programs in a way similar to that of female presenters in the beginning of the decade.

Male presenters are also taking over other traits which were introduced in DR-TV by female hosts in the beginning of the decade, such as emotional presentation. In a call-in program *Nattevagten* (Night-watch) close-ups of the face of the male host reflect the emotion, like in a soap opera. The previously mentioned new young male newsreader provoked some viewers with his emotional style. He was even accused of flirtation with a male expert. Though exaggerated, this reaction from the public points to an abrupt change in the formerly neutral style of news presentation.

These changes in the visual style of the male presenters are hard to assess from a feminist point of view. On the one hand, male presenters are literally put up as guards against too much femininity – on the other hand this transformation and destabilization of masculinity holds interesting possibilities.<sup>7</sup>

## Notes

1. The ad referred to a concrete Italian program format with amateur strippers.
2. Peter Hertforth. DR-TV June 19th 1998.
3. The report from the Nordic project will be published by Institute for Nordic philology, autumn 1998. Pedersen 1998a is a shortened version. Collaborators have been Lela B. Abrahamsson, Kathrine Skretting and Tarja Savolainen.
4. Alice Vestergaard. She was already working at *TV-Avisen* as a journalist.
5. The cover of Volume 1: A group of proletarians reading newspapers, Volume 2: The previous social democratic Prime Minister Thorvald Stauning. It is further interesting, that the first two volumes have a significantly higher share of female contributors than the third volume.
6. Norwegian public service tv, NRK on the other hand has allowed for experimental female presenters also in weekend night entertainment as Wencke

Mühleisen has pointed out (Mühleisen 1998a og b). She characterizes Synnøve Svabø from *Baluba* as a postfeminist heroine.

7. I have discussed two new male entertainment-hosts from DR-TV in the light of carnival and naivism in Pedersen 1998a.

## References

- Holland, Patricia (1987) *When a Woman Reads the News*. In: Helen Bahr og Gillian Dyer: *Boxed In: Women and television*. Pandora.
- Huysen, Andreas (1986) *After the Great Divide*. Indiana U.P. Dansk oversættelse: Svane og Ørum (red.) *Køn og moderne tider*. Tiderne Skifter 1991.
- Joyrich, Lynne (1996) *Re-viewing Reception. Television, Gender and Postmodern Culture*. Indiana U.P.
- Knudsen, Birgitte (1998) *Hvem ser DR2?* Københavns Universitet, Institut for Nordisk Filologi, (unpublished Speciale).

---

An earlier version of this article was presented at the IAMCR conference in Glasgow July 1998, section: Gender and Communication. A version was presented in Danish at Center for kvinneforskning, Universitetet i Oslo, March 1998, and will be published by the center.

- Mellencamp, Patricia (1992) *High Anxiety*. Indiana University Press.
- Mühleisen, Wencke (1998a) Direkte Lykke! A Naivist Parody of Old Time TV Hosted by a Transgressive Woman.. *Nordicom Review* vol.19 no.1.
- Mühleisen, Wencke (1998b) Baluba – et underholdningsprogram med en postfeministisk heltinne. In *Ungdom, kjønn og medier*. Universitetet i Oslo, Senter for kvinneforskning (Arbejdsnotat 4/98).
- Pedersen, Vibeke (1993) Soap, Pin Up and Burlesque. *Nora 2* og *The Nordicom Review 2*.
- Pedersen, Vibeke (1994) Verdens bedste værter. *Politiken* 17.5.94.
- Pedersen, Vibeke (1995a) Daytime Talk and Carnival: Bad Girls in Bad Television. Paper presented at "Consoling Passions Conference" Seattle, University of Washington.
- Pedersen, Vibeke (1995b) Showbiz eller ligestilling - TV-nyhedsværter i USA. Paper på 12. Nordiske konference for massekommunikation, Helsingør.
- Pedersen, Vibeke (1995c) Kvinden som underholdning – Nyhedsværter i dansk og amerikansk tv. *Kvinder, køn og Forskning* no 3.
- Pedersen, Vibeke (1995d) Daytime Talkshows og karneval. [Daytime talkshows and carnival.] *Kvinneforskning* no 3.
- Pedersen, Vibeke (1996) Den virtuelle TV-værtinde. [The virtual TV-hostess.] *Forum for kvindeforskning* no 3.
- Pedersen, Vibeke (1997) Ruby Wax møder...den ny televisualitet [Ruby Wax meets ...the new televisualit.] *Øjeblikket #31*.
- Pedersen, Vibeke (1998a) Karnevalistiske og naivistiske kroppe. Parodiske tv-værter i senhalvfemserne. [Carnevalistic and naivistic bodies. Parodical television presenters in the late 90s.] In: Christa Lykke Christensen m.fl.(red.) *Krop. Billeder. Medier*. Borgen.
- Pedersen, Vibeke (1998b) Studieværten som fortæller. [The television presenter as narrator.] In: *Analysen af tv*. Jens F.Jensen (red.) Medusa. Under udgivelse.
- Pedersen, Vibeke (1998c) TV-værter og køn i Norden. En komparativ kvantitativ undersøgelse med fokus på forholdet mellem public service og reklamekanaler. [Television presenters and gender in Scandinavia.] *Nordicom-information* vol 20 no 4.
- Spigel, Lynn (1992) *Make Room for Television*. University of Chicago Press.