Chapter 8

Expressive Character Identity and Ideology: Shared Attitudes

This chapter deals with a further aspect of expressive identity: ideology. Whereas Chapters 6 and 7 were primarily concerned with resources of emotionality and evaluation, and how they *differentiate* characters from each other, this chapter looks primarily at (ideological) attitudes that are *shared* between characters. Even though Chapter 6 also showed similarities between characters in terms of emotive interjection usage (e.g. Lorelai and Sookie, Emily and Richard, Luke and Jess) we can say that both Chapters 6 and 7 were mainly concerned with the 'individual' aspect of expressive identity. In contrast, while this chapter also describes differences between characters it is mainly concerned with the 'social' aspect of expressive identity (in terms of shared values, attitudes and beliefs). In another case study of *Gilmore Girls*, corpus linguistic frequency and concordance analysis as well as some qualitative discourse analysis is used to show how characters that we are asked to identify with share particular mainstream normative values, in contrast to those that are portrayed negatively. The chapter also links the analysis to broader concerns about ideology and representation in fictional television.

1 Ideology and Expressive Identity

1.1 Ideology and television

The notion of ideology is one that has many definitions and that has been studied from many perspectives (see, for example, Williams 1983: 153–7, van Dijk 1998b, Eagleton 1991, Norval 2000, Scollon & Scollon 2001, Decker 2004). Eagleton (1991: 1–2) lists 16 definitions of ideology, and van Dijk argues that ideology 'is one of the most elusive notions in the social sciences' (van Dijk 1998a: 23). However, a considerable number of definitions see ideology as having to do with perspectives, values, attitudes, worldviews, tacit assumptions and belief systems that are shared by social agents or social groups (e.g. Fowler 1986: 130, Scollon & Scollon 2001: 108, Huisman 2005a: 172, Adolphs 2006: 84), that is, '*social belief systems*' (van Dijk 1998b: 29). For instance, ideology can be seen as encompassing 'the perspectives that a person takes up towards his or her *Umwelt,* the ethical values that seem unproblematic, unarguable, objectively "natural" in her or his world' (Huisman 2005a: 172). Van Dijk (1998b) notes that '[m]any authors would agree that an ideology is something like a shared framework of social beliefs that organize and coordinate the social interpretations and practices of groups and their members, and in particular also power and other relations between groups' (van Dijk 1998b: 8). And Scollon and Scollon (2001: 183) propose that ideology includes, *inter alia,* the worldview, beliefs and values of a group. Similarly, I want to talk about ideology in this chapter as encompassing the shared values and belief systems of characters. This is a working definition where the important notion of power, which is frequently connected to ideology, is at first put aside in an approach where we analyse shared values as such before deciding whether or not an analysis in terms of power is adequate. In this chapter, a discussion of ideology in terms of power will be deferred to Sections 2.4.3 and 3.1. Eagleton (1991) suggests that '[n]obody has yet come up with a single adequate definition of ideology' (Eagleton 1991: 1), and this is no doubt true also of the conception of ideology taken up here (see, for example, van Dijk 1998b: 3, 49 for criticism but Adolphs 2006: 81 for an endorsement). However, as a working definition it allows us to investigate a particular belief system or, in stylistic terminology, a certain *mind style*[1] (Fowler 1986) shared among characters in a television series (in the case study below: *Gilmore Girls* characters). For reasons outlined below I focus just on their attitudes towards 'meat-eating' excluding many other value and belief systems (e.g. towards/about marriage, gender roles, family structure, class, ethnicity).

In fact, much research in Media and Television studies has considered the relationship between television and ideology. Most researchers seem to argue that television genres can be seen to reflect and construe social change in terms of ideology:

> In the relationship between genre and ideology it can be argued that genres adapt to hegemonic changes – the way a dominant ideology secures consent to its world view, but has to keep on securing it in the face of oppositional forces. So if the dominant representation of the police force gets out of step with the consensual view of it, then the genre must adapt. At the industry level this is called giving the viewing public what it wants or what will be popular with audiences. At the level of ideology it is interpreted as helping to create a new consensus or dominant ideology. In this way, genres act to articulate, in a very powerful way, what Roland Barthes calls the 'myths' of society. (Dunn 2005:138)

Genre, as Hermes (2005: 41) suggests can also be a site for debating and negotiating cultural norms, for example, with respect to gender. The characters and events in television series reflect aspects of culture and occur 'against a backdrop of social and moral issues' (Quaglio 2009: 17). For example, the dramedy *Gilmore Girls* portrays a single, unmarried mother and her daughter as the 'nuclear family', as well as featuring singledom, break-ups, separations and divorce. This is in line with similar changes in the genre-related domestic sitcom that have been happening in the United States since the 1990s (Feuer 2001b, Huisman 2005a: 176, Mills 2005: 44). Feuer (2001b: 70) in fact argues that the sitcom is so successful and popular because of its 'ideological flexibility', allowing it to both illustrate contemporary ideological conflicts and provide simultaneous entertainment. The construal of character identity can also be part of the negotiation of cultural ideology (Pearson 2007: 48). It is interesting, too, to compare Paltridge's comments on the dramedy *Sex and the City* (HBO, 1998–2004; for a discussion of this show with respect to feminism see Creeber 2004):

> A further presupposition underlying the *Sex and the City* conversation is the issue of who will propose to whom; that is, the agency of the action being discussed in the conversation. It is a clear assumption here that the man will propose to the woman, not the other way round. As independent as Carrie and her friends are, it is less likely that they would propose to a man (or that they would refuse him, should he ask). (Paltridge 2006: 47)

Incidentally, *Gilmore Girls* contrasts with *Sex and the City* in featuring a woman (Lorelai) proposing to a man (Luke) with him subsequently accepting her proposal. At the same time the dramedy acknowledges and thematizes cultural assumptions about marriage proposals in character dialogue:

(1)
PATTY: Well, enough about us, honey. Come on, Luke, tell us, how'd you do it?
LUKE: Well, actually, I didn't . . . Lorelai proposed to me.
[Patty and Babette's expressions change.]
BABETTE and PATTY: Oh.
PATTY [disappointed]: You went modern.
[Luke nods.]
BABETTE: Well, that's still okay, sugar. The important thing is, you're getting married!
PATTY [monotone]: We're very happy for you, Luke.
[Babette elbows her.]
BABETTE: Yes, we are.
PATTY: Yeah.
LUKE: Uh-huh, thanks. Well, I-I've got some work to do. I'll talk to you guys later.
[He gets up and leaves them.]

PATTY: She proposed.
BABETTE: Yeah, well, thank god he's got a good ass.
(6.01, *New and improved Lorelai*)

As can also be seen in this dialogue, marriage is the only imaginable and desirable teleological endpoint for a relationship for the two characters of Babette and Patty (two rather elderly women): 'The important thing is, you're getting married!' (this attitude is also expressed by other characters, though not by all. A crucial point of conflict in the series is that Lorelai refused to marry her daughter's father, Christopher, when she became pregnant as a teenager.) As Williams has suggested, texts can include 'residual' discourse (older values that are still accepted by some), 'dominant' discourse (contemporary values that are accepted by most) and 'emergent' discourse (new values that are gradually accepted by society) (Williams 1977, cited in O'Shaughnessy & Stadler 2005: 180). The fictional TV show *Mad Men* (AMC, 2007–) portrays ideologies prevalent in the 1960s such as sexism, anti-Semitism and homophobia – hopefully only very marginal 'residual' discourse in contemporary society. An example of how scripted television dialogue changes over time, as society also changes, is described by Rey (2001), whose analysis of *Star Trek* (NBC/Paramount, 1966–1969, 1987–1994, 1993–1999) finds that 'traditional differences between female and male language . . . appear to be breaking down' (Rey 2001: 155), with more current series showing new linguistic behaviour and gender roles. Other examples of TV reflecting social change are the existence of series featuring gay protagonists (e.g. *Will & Grace* [NBC, 1998–2006], *Queer as Folk* [Channel 4, UK, 2000–2005], *The L-Word* [Showtime, 2004–2009]) and the increasing inclusion of gay and bisexual characters (at least in some episodes of) contemporary television series (e.g. *My So-called Life* [ABC, 1994–1995], *Dawson's Creek* [Warner Brothers, 1998–2003], *Grey's Anatomy* [ABC, 2005–], *House* [FOX, 2004–], *The Wire* [HBO, 2002–2008]). Concerning ethnicity, British soaps have been featuring central black or gay characters since the 1980s (Marshall & Werndly 2002: 9), while well-known US sitcoms featuring African-American characters include *The Cosby Show* (NBC, 1984–1992), *The Fresh Prince of Bel Air* (NBC, 1990–1996), and, more recently, *Everybody Hates Chris* (UPN/The CW, 2005–2009).[2] Much research in television and film studies considers social change (see Hermes 2005: 16, and Mills 2005: 8 for brief overviews), and characters in television series other than *Gilmore Girls* also explicitly thematize cultural assumptions, for instance with respect to gender. Consider this extract from *Ally McBeal* (FOX, 1997–2002):

(2)
Ally . . . because you know what?
One of the last vestiges of gender bias [is the dirty joke=]

Men can handle it,
[women can't we're we'er uh]
we're not tough enough.
we're we're too we're too (2.0) fragile.
(*Ally McBeal*, transcription from Bubel & Spitz 2006)

As an instance of the genre of dramedy (related to both sitcom and soap, see Chapter 3) and as a particular television series, *Gilmore Girls* can thus be seen as both reflecting, construing and negotiating different cultural ideologies (residual/dominant/emerging). Conflicting ideologies are represented by different characters (e.g. Lorelai and her mother, Emily Gilmore), and are the source of much conflict (Calvin 2008a: 14). This is a common feature of television programmes where characters are used to carry ideological oppositions between different lifestyles (Livingstone 1998, Feuer 2001b). For analyses of *Gilmore Girls* and cultural stereotypes or ideological positions, particularly with respect to gender see Westman (2007) and Calvin (2008b). The focus of my own analysis will be on shared attitudes towards food, in particular the eating of meat. On the one hand, we can consider this as part of a general research interest into whether and how mainstream attitudes/ideologies are reproduced in fictional television, where we zoom in on attitudes towards one particular aspect of contemporary society. On the other hand, the choice of analysing attitudes towards meat-eating, as a sub-category of the general ideology of food in *Gilmore Girls*, was inspired by several factors.

First, it was inspired by the relative neglect of the ideology of food in television, media studies and critical discourse analysis (CDA) where the majority of analyses of television and ideology/representation, identity and power seem to concentrate on more obviously significant notions such as gender, class, ethnicity, capitalism and institutional power. A similar focus is apparent in studies of ideology outside television and in studies of identity, but see, for example, Cook (2004, cited in Adolphs 2006) on ideology in the context of genetically modified food, Lakoff (2006) on food and identity in American society, Coupland (2007: 119–21) on identity, style and talk about food/dieting, and the many readings on food, identity and the body across disciplines.

Second, it was motivated by the important ethical dimensions involved in attitudes towards eating meat, where resulting eating practices have an impact on other living beings, on the environment and on developing nations. Food is not value-free. It is clear that our attitudes towards food and resulting practices have an obvious evaluative and ethical dimension (Singer & Mason 2007), with food choices impacting on the treatment and killing of animals and environmental damage. Eating only certain kinds of food can hence become 'an act of civic virtue' (Lakoff 2006: 152). However, note that I am not taking an explicit CDA stance in this chapter.

Third, even though not quite as apparent as gender, age, ethnicity etc., attitudes towards food play a crucial role in terms of identity: '"minor identities" like culinary preferences . . . contribute significantly to our sense of ourselves: who we are, how competent we are, who our friends are or should be, whom we admire or disdain' (Lakoff 2006: 165). We can thus relate attitudes towards eating meat both to the individual ('sense of ourselves: who we are') and to the social ('who our friends are or should be, whom we admire or disdain') aspects of expressive identity.

Fourth, food is an important aspect in *Gilmore Girls* – the series that will be used as case study – as outlined by Coleman (2008) and Haupt (2008), focusing, respectively, on narrative and gender roles. Coleman (2008) notes that 'the incidence of consumption and preparation of food occupies, in most instances, numerous points of an episode's running time' (Coleman 2008: 177), for example relating to dinners at Emily and Richard's, visits to Luke's diner, and conversations with chef Sookie, and concludes that 'food enjoys an unusual degree of narrative space' (Coleman 2008: 178) in this particular dramedy. Eating practices and attitudes towards food probably also play a big part in many other series that feature domestic settings and interactions, so that we can take the analysis of *Gilmore Girls* as a springboard for further analysis of other television series and serials.

1.2 The ideology of food and expressive identity

How does ideology relate to the notion of expressive identity? In Chapter 6 it was proposed to use the notion of *expressive character identity* to refer to a kind of scripted identity that encompasses expressive aspects such as emotions, emotional dispositions, values, attitudes, stances and evaluations. Ideology – referring to characters' values and attitudes – is thus but one part of expressive character identity. Ideology is also closely tied to individual and social identities in 'real' life:

> On the one hand, ideology is no mere set of abstract doctrines but the stuff which makes us uniquely what we are, constitutive of our very identities; on the other hand, it presents itself as an 'Everybody knows that', a kind of anonymous universal truth. (Eagleton 1991: 20)

The ideology of food, too, relates crucially to our identity. In Lakoff's (2006) words, 'we are what we eat', and in relation to expressive character identity, characters are partially construed by how they evaluate eating. Speaking with Eagleton, we can say that ideology 'is certainly subjective in the sense of being subject-centred: its utterances are to be deciphered as expressive of a speaker's attitudes or lived relations to the world' (Eagleton 1991: 19) so that ideological utterances about meat-eating are expressive of characters' attitudes towards and relations to meat-eating and thus part of their expressive identity.

According to Lakoff (2006) our feelings about food are an aspect of identity that is subtle and not likely to be problematized, while being linked to both individual and group identity (like expressive identity in general; see Chapter 6):

> What we can and cannot eat, what kinds of edibles carry prestige, how much we are expected to know about what we eat – all of these are aspects of individual and group identity that may remain stable in a society for long periods of time, or may go through abrupt shifts. In this arena, as in others, socially competent individuals learn to bring their self-presentation into conformity with the ethos of the group in which they live. Those who wish to maintain their standing as competent persons learn to change their behaviour with the times, in eating as in sexual or conversational style. Thus the attitudes and behaviours of individual both mirror those of the larger society, and create them in microcosm. (Lakoff 2006: 143)

In *Gilmore Girls*, shared and unshared attitudes towards food certainly contribute to bonding and the creation of solidarity between characters. Consider extracts 3 and 4 below:

(3)

EMILY:	The roast looks perfect. Oh, Jess, you eat meat, **I hope**. I forgot to ask.
JESS:	**I'm a carnivore**.
EMILY:	**Good. I don't see how anybody can resist eating meat.**
JESS:	**It's why we have teeth.**
EMILY:	**That's how I feel**. Dinner parties used to be simple. Now every time we give one, I have to run my menu down with every person on the list. It's tiring. This one [pointing with head at Rory] eats just about anything.

(3.14, *Swan song*, my bold)

(4)

LORELAI:	I smell meat, is that meat?
VALET:	Why, yes, miss, it is meat.
LORELAI:	Oh, he called me miss. There's meat and a miss, I'm happy.
RORY:	What's the occasion?
RICHARD:	Well, I thought we might like some appetizers with our cocktails tonight.
LORELAI:	Would we ever.
VALET:	The first batch is ready, sir.
RICHARD:	Wonderful, on the table please.
LORELAI:	Mm, **god it smells good**.

RORY:	**I love** a good steak on a stick.
RICHARD:	**Me, too**.
RORY:	*We should form a club.*
LORELAI:	*Steak-On-A-Stick club.*

(5.08, *The party's over*, my bold and italics)

In both examples (3) and (4) the characters share positive attitudes towards meat (in bold) – either towards the eating of meat in general (3) or towards particular types of meat (4), creating their own discursively construed in-groups, implicitly excluding Vegetarians and others. These are instances of what Knight (2010) calls 'communing affiliation' (Knight 2010: 49), where conversational participants commune around shared attitudes. This is also an example of how expressive identity (here: held attitudes/values) combines individual and social identity, and is both a way of expressing a character's unique identity and simultaneously aligning one character with other characters who share similar expressive identities (Chapter 6).

Vice versa, attitudes towards food can become a site for discord and conflict, as in example (5) below:

(5)

AURORA:	Here's your plate, sir. I hope it's not too hot . . . the plate, not the food. [very quietly; turns into unintelligible whispering]
RICHARD:	**Oh, well. It's fish again**.
EMILY:	It's sea bass.
RICHARD:	And sea bass is a fish . . . hence my comment **'surprise, surprise . . . it's fish again.'**
RORY:	It **tastes good**.
RICHARD:	**Tastes like fish**.
EMILY:	**I don't think it tastes fishy**. Sea bash is not a fishy fish. Mackerel is a fishy fish. Trout can be a fishy fish. But sea bass is not really a fishy fish.
RICHARD:	**I didn't say it tasted fishy. I said it tasted like fish**.
RORY:	I think it tastes **good**.
[4 turns]	
RICHARD:	This fish is **bland**.
EMILY:	Would you like some more lemon-dill sauce?
RICHARD:	No.
EMILY:	Okay.
LORELAI:	The sauce is **good**, mum.
EMILY:	It's **nice, isn't it**?
LORELAI:	**Tart, but not too tart**.
EMILY:	Stefan, the chef that we stole from the Lowells, is doing a **marvelous** job incorporating the dietary recommendations . . .

RICHARD: **Enough**. If **forced**, I may eat this fish, but I **absolutely refuse** to **waste my time** having a conversation about it.

(7.15, *I am kayak, hear me roar*, my bold)

In this extract, Richard consistently evaluates the served fish negatively as something undesirable and tasteless, creating a conflict between him and his wife Emily – note, for example, the negations (*don't think, didn't say, No*) and absolutes (*I absolutely refuse*) which commonly occur in conflict/disagreement (Lorenzo-Dus 2009: 106). Lorelai and Rory try to defuse this conflict by showing their appreciation of the dish, and sharing a positive evaluation with Emily (e.g. *The sauce is good/It's nice, isn't it*) with the joint goal of providing a 'remedy' to Emily's offended image (in Behn's 2009 terms, following Goffman 1967, 1971), thus mitigating her image loss and establishing harmony.

The language the participants use in the above examples to talk about food illustrates how 'the language people use in interaction can join them together – or, indeed, keep them apart – in particular social ways' (Day 1998: 151). The sharing and non-sharing of attitudes towards and evaluations of food thus contributes to the creation of bonding and solidarity between characters or put it at risk, and attitudes towards food are part of expressive character identity.

Section 2 below focuses predominantly on those attitudes towards meat-eating that occur repeatedly across *Gilmore Girls* and are thus shared by most characters, especially by the protagonists who are portrayed positively and who we as viewers are asked to identify with. First I will introduce the study of language and ideology, particularly using corpus linguistics.

2 The Ideology of Eating Meat in *Gilmore Girls*

2.1 Ideology and corpus linguistics

Considering the study of ideology, we can look at ideology from at least three perspectives: the social functions of ideologies; the cognitive structure of ideologies; and the expression of ideology in discourse (van Dijk 1998a: 23–4). The focus of this chapter is on the latter. While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss possible relations between language and ideology in detail, language has been connected to ideology in many approaches, for example, as playing a crucial part in both changing and reproducing ideology (Fowler 1986: 130). According to Foucault, discursive formations, which have much to do with the notion of ideology (see Note 1), 'are built bottom up from disparate micro-instances' (Mittell 2004: 174). Ideological strategies such as positive self- and negative other-presentation are implemented through language (van Dijk 1998b: 317–18). The media play a crucial role in this, as some argue (see also discussion below in Section 3), as ideological values are presumably circulated through social institutions like the media (Thornham & Purvis 2005: 74).

In novels, we can look for ideology in either the narrative voice or in the voice of characters (Fowler 1986: 13); similarly in fictional television we can look for ideology in the narrative voice as construed, for example, through camera techniques (see Chapter 2: Section 3.2.2) or in the dialogue of televisual characters. With respect to the latter – the focus of my analyses here – we need to consider also whether or not viewers are invited to bond with characters or not. Arguably, if a sympathetic character, a protagonist who is clearly portrayed positively and invites identification, embodies a certain ideology we can assume that we are also invited to share this particular ideology (but see Section 3.2 below). On the other hand, if a character is portrayed negatively and embodies a certain ideology we can assume that we are not invited to share this ideology. One way of studying ideology in dramedy, then, is through an analysis of the ideology expressed by characters that are portrayed positively/negatively. Another way of studying ideology in dramedy is through an analysis of the ideologies that are shared by many characters and are spread throughout the text. Both ways of studying ideology will play a role in the analyses of this chapter, and quantitative (frequency and concordance) as well as qualitative (discourse) analysis will be used in this endeavour using corpus linguistic concordance analysis.

Baker (2006) and Adolphs (2006) as well as other corpus-based discourse analysts have convincingly demonstrated that analysing frequency and patterns of meaning around particular lexical items with the help of a concordance analysis can reveal ideology as discursively construed attitudes for example towards refugees (Baker 2006) or towards Europe (Mautner 2000). A corpus analysis is powerful in the way in which it allows us to see all instances at the same time and to 'uncover hidden patterns of language' (Baker 2006: 19) of which we may not necessarily be aware. However, studying ideology using large corpora and corpus linguistic methodology is still very much in its infancy (Adolphs 2006: 81) as are corpus-based discourse analyses in general (Baker 2006: 6, but see Partington et al. 2004). At the same time, a corpus analysis that focuses on repeated patterns allows the researcher to get at the 'stable', 'sedimented' and 'decontested' nature of ideologies (Norval 2000: 316).

In this chapter I analyse frequencies of and concordances for lexical items concerning meat-eating such as *Vegetarian, meat, burger.* Unlike Chapter 6 where the expressive resource analysed was formally definable (emotive interjections), what is formally definable here are the entities (lexical items concerning meat-eating) towards which attitudes are taken. The concordances were produced using corpus linguistic software, in my case Wordsmith (Scott 2004). Wordsmith's Concord programme produces lists of all instances of a search term in the corpus, including its co-text (words occurring to the right or to the left of it). Baker (2006) gives a very accessible overview of using concordances in discourse analysis. By way of exemplification Figure 8.1 below shows concordances for *Vegetarian** displayed in the KWIC format where the search term is presented with its immediate co-text to the right and to the left.

N	Concordance
1	I've never eaten this healthy. So, "vegan" doesn't just mean "vegetarian." SUSAN: No -- no animal products of any kind. No
2	Did you not get it? He's having the chicken? The Dalai Lama's a vegetarian, so obviously he's not having the chicken. Sorry.
3	EMILY: Roast beef. Oh, I hope Logan's not some kind of vegetarian. RICHARD: Well, his grandfather owned ten thousand
4	EMILY: Lorelai, it's your mother, I – SOOKIE: Hey, we've got vegetarians in April! What, were you hiding them? LORELAI: Yes,
5	it every day. I mean, one minute you could be. . .oh, let's say a vegetarian, and the next minute you could accidentally have a bite
6	eight o'clock. SOOKIE: I thought you said you weren't gonna let vegetarians in here anymore. LORELAI: No, you said you weren't
7	And we're off. SOOKIE: Okay, I just got a message that a vegetarian menu was requested for tonight. LORELAI: Yeah,
8	in here anymore. LORELAI: No, you said you weren't gonna let vegetarians in here anymore. SOOKIE: But I'm making my baked
9	then we will never again be able to get any produce and all our vegetarian clients will die. SOOKIE: I'm scared. LORELAI: I know.

co-text search term co-text

Figure 8.1 Concordances for *Vegetarian**

The star (*) is used as a 'wildcard' so this includes occurrences for *Vegetarians* as well as *Vegetarian*.

Looking at concordances in this format allows us to see repeated co-textual patterns for selected search terms such as *Vegetarian**. It allows us to see exactly in what co-text and how these search terms are used, for example whether or not a selected term is surrounded by positive or negative evaluation – a phenomenon variously called semantic prosody, semantic preference or semantic association (see Bednarek 2008e for an overview of research in this area). We can also see other patterns of usage, which may be phraseological and/or semantic-pragmatic and need not necessarily include explicitly evaluative language in order to express attitudes towards meat-eating. In fact, even though the main focus below is on explicitly evaluative language we will also see examples where linguistic features that do not carry any explicit evaluative meaning function as expressive resource (compare Chapter 6).

An analysis of concordances goes beyond the kind of more quantitative information apparent in frequency lists or automatic collocation analysis in allowing us to view semantic/pragmatic meanings such as evaluation. However, many search terms have no clear evaluations surrounding them within a span of a few words, and if we only considered their immediate co-text (as shown in Figure 8.1) we would miss much about the discursive construal of ideology:

> Analysing individual concordance lines without reference to the text from which they originate, or indeed, the particular passage of text that surrounds them, may affect our analysis in a way that makes it difficult to make statements about traces of ideology in a language. (Adolphs 2006: 81)

It thus makes sense to either 'grow' the co-text so that we can see more of the text surrounding the search term, or to directly access the text. Both options are available with Concord and were frequently made use of in my analyses. There are at least two advantages of doing a concordance analysis that takes into account the wider co-text: looking at concordances allows the researcher to identify patterns that are not formally identifiable such as evaluative or

Table 8.1 Within turn and across turn evaluations in *Gilmore Girls*

Evaluation	Examples (bold face mine in all)
Within turn	I **love** lamb chops with Sicilian olives, rosemary and garlic, and a warm potato and chorizo salad. (3.11, *I solemnly swear*) **Who the hell** made chicken and dumplings? (6.09, *The prodigal daughter returns)* This roast beef is **delicious**. (2.20, *Help wanted*)
Across turns	RORY: Thanks, Caesar. Since we were short on time, I had them make us something to go. My Yale **special**. LORELAI: Oh, share, share. RORY: Sausage wrapped in a pancake tied together with bacon. (4.02, *The Lorelais' first day at Yale*)
	LUKE: Lamb and artichoke stew, penne with pesto and potatoes, roasted garlic with rosemary focaccia, tomatoes stuffed with bread crumbs and goat cheese, and ricotta cheesecake with amaretto cookies to go with your coffee. LORELAI: **You're the perfect man**. (5.08, *The party's over*)
	LORELAI: Okay. Peas are out. What smells **so good**? LUKE: Fried chicken. LORELAI: Luke, **will you marry me**? (6.07, *Twenty-one is the loneliest number*)
	LUKE: So, I see you had the pot roast. JASON: Yeah. LUKE: **Good**, huh? JASON: Yeah, **very good.** (4.22, *Raincoats and recipes*)

ideological patterns, which automatic collocation analysis may miss, and looking at the wider co-text allows the analysis of patterns that stretch across turns and are complex. This is particularly important with respect to evaluation in spoken discourse, as evaluation can both occur within and across turns, as exemplified in Table 8.1.

For instance, what evaluations refer to sometimes only become apparent when looking at several turns, as in example (6):

(6)

(6a) Concordance in KWIC format

N	Concordance
13	and spend some time apart. RORY: May I have some more roast, please, Grandma? EMILY: Of course you may.

(6b) Occurrence in text

RORY: May I have some more **roast**, please, Grandma?

EMILY: Of course you may.
LORELAI: It's really **good** tonight, Mom.
(4.09, *Ted Koppel's big night out*)

Here we need to either 'grow' the view or go directly to the text in order to see that the evaluation that Lorelai expresses in (6b) relates to the roast that the characters are eating and that is mentioned by Rory – in other words, the *it* carries both endophoric (anaphoric) and exophoric reference. Evaluation has a textual (Bednarek 2006a: 8) and prosodic nature (Martin & White 2005), and frequently works retro- or prospectively across clauses or sentences (Lemke 1998), as indicated in the following examples (search term in **bold**, evaluation underlined):

- Oh, suddenly <u>life's fun</u>, suddenly there's <u>a reason to get up in the morning</u> – it's called **bacon**! (3.02, *Haunted leg*);
- **Pork** is bred <u>leaner</u> these days. It has <u>a different taste</u>. Less fat equals <u>less flavor</u>. (3.05, *Eight o'clock at the oasis*);
- I need <u>real</u> food, peasant food. Hearty bread, **meat**, cheese, a little pickle chips, a sauce, a special sauce. This is <u>the food that sustains me</u> . . . (2.20, *Help wanted*);
- **Meat** loaf, mashed potatoes, stuffing. <u>Comfort food</u>, huh? (2.08, *The ins and outs of inns*);
- It should be <u>fun</u>. There'll be **turkey** legs. (4.20, *Luke can see her face*);
- You, me, and raw **fish**? Is that <u>safe</u>? (7.02, *That's what you get folks, for makin' whoopee*).

The manual examination of concordance lines is also necessitated by the fact that evaluation can be implied very indirectly:

(7)
SOOKIE: I mean, one minute you could be oh, let's say a vegetarian, and the next minute you could accidentally have a bite of a stuffed **pork** chop that changes your entire way of thinking.
Implied evaluation → the stuffed pork chop is so good it makes vegetarians not be vegetarian any more
(3.02, *Haunted leg*)

(8)
BABETTE: Patty, you wanna try my fish?
MISS PATTY: Fish has too much mercury
BABETTE: For this **fish**, you'll eat the mercury

Implied evaluation → the fish is so good you don't care about the mercury
(4.22, *Raincoats and recipes*)

(9)
LORELAI: It's raw **fish**. Dip it in Soya sauce and swallow it real quick.
Implied evaluation → the fish tastes so bad you have to eat it quickly
(6.07, *Twenty-one is the loneliest number*)

(10)
CHRISTOPHER: Then once we've been treated for frostbite and had our stomachs pumped of reindeer **meat**, we'll go defrost on a beach somewhere.
Implied evaluation → reindeer meat is so terrible you have to have your stomach pumped
(7.05, *The great stink*)

In Sections 2.3–2.4 below I describe evaluative or ideological patterns concerning the eating of meat and Vegetarianism. Hence, I do not list phraseological patterns per se (such as *side of bacon*, *piece of chicken*) but rather discuss patterns that are ideologically significant in terms of expressing attitudes towards (the eating of) meat. So rather than studying the *phraseology* of eating meat, I study the *ideology* of eating meat. The discussion of evaluations of food in this chapter will be limited to ideology, and I will proceeded via 'making strange the otherwise too-familiar' (Burton 1980: 102), in this case the naturalization of eating meat. This, however, means, that I am disregarding the actual discourse functions of such evaluations, for example, their use in the ordering of food, in commenting on food, in praising the cook etc. (see Wiggins & Potter 2003 on uses of evaluations of food during family mealtimes). Neither will I look at evaluations of food in terms of status, power or solidarity, for example, who evaluates whose food and how, how is this responded to, what is the effect in terms of negotiating power, solidarity and face/image and so on. The focus is on showing how the use of language around the respective search terms construes character attitudes towards meat-eating, Veganism, and Vegetarianism, and to relate this to expressive character identity. Sections 2.3–2.4 below describe the results of analysing the frequency and co-textual patterning of the search terms *vegetarian**, *vegan**, *veggie*,[3] *vegetable**, *tofu**, *soy*, *meat*, *roast*, *turkey*, *beef*, *pork*, *lamb*, *veal*, *chicken*, and *burger**. This analysis will be complemented by qualitative studies of relevant scenes and characters. The corpus linguistic methodology made use of in this chapter can be regarded as an alternative methodology complementary to those widely used in Media and Television studies at present (such as content and framing analysis; see Entman 1993, Bonfiglioli et al. 2007).

2.2 Results I: Frequency

First, consider the raw frequency with which the respective search terms occur (Table 8.2).[4]

Table 8.2 Raw frequency of search terms in *Gilmore Girls*

Search term	Raw frequency
*burger**	98
chicken	82
fish	65 (but 16 in one episode; 10 in another)
*vegetable**	46
meat	40
bacon	39
turkey	39 (but 11 in one episode)
roast	38
lamb	32
beef	27
pork	25
*tofu**	13 (but 7 in one episode)
*vegetarian**	9
soy	8
veal	5 (but 3 in one episode)
*vegan**	2
veggie	1

We can compare these frequencies to the 'real world' consumption of meat in the United States. Figures for 2005 show that red meat (beef, veal, lamb, mutton, pork) is consumed ahead of poultry (chicken, turkey) and fish, as listed in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3 Per capita consumption of meat in US

Per Capita Consumption in US in 2005	
Red meat, poultry, fish	201.8 pounds per person (= 100%)
Red meat (beef, veal, lamb, mutton, pork)	54% of 201.8 ppp
Poultry	36.8% of 201.8 ppp
Fish	8.1% of 201.8 ppp

Source: Figures listed in American Meat Institute 2007

Comparing Table 8.3 with mentions relating to red meat, poultry and fish, we can see that while the exact figures are not reproduced, the proportions of mention in *Gilmore Girls* are similar to the proportions of consumption in the United States (Table 8.4).[5]

Table 8.4 Mentions of meat in *Gilmore Girls*

Mentions of meat in *Gilmore Girls*		
Total instances	490	100%
beef, veal, lamb, pork, burger, bacon, meat, roast*	304	62%
chicken, turkey	121	24.7%
fish	65	13.3%

In other words, the dramedy seems to reflect or reproduce current meat consumption practices in the United States, at least to a certain extent. Whether or not this also serves to reinforce these practices will be discussed in more detail in Section 3 below. Other comments can also be made concerning the raw frequency of search times. As a reminder and to facilitate interpretation let us look at the respective frequencies again, represented as graph in Figure 8.3.

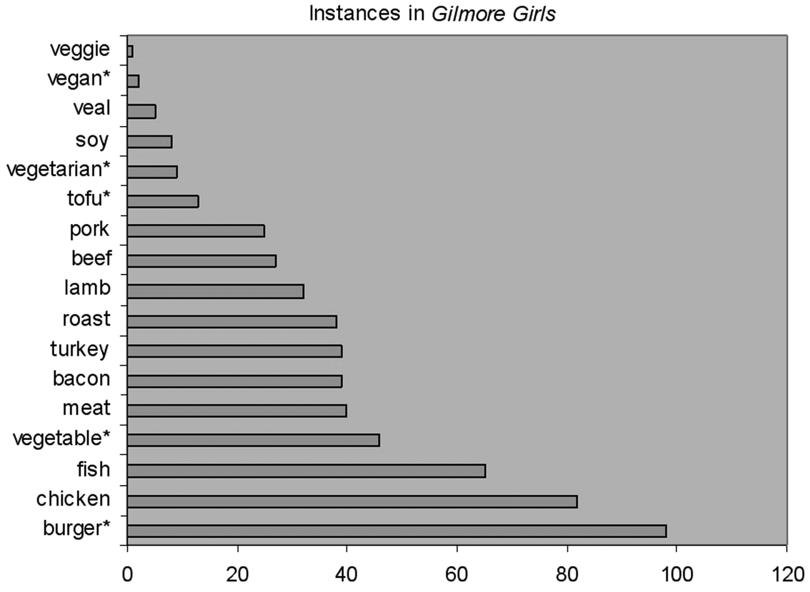

Figure 8.3 Instances of meat-related search terms in *Gilmore Girls*

First, the occurrences for search terms relating to the eating of meat are by far more frequent than occurrences for search terms relating to Vegetarians and Vegetarian eating practices, with the exception of *vegetable**, which, however, is not as strongly associated with Vegetarian eating as are *soy* and *tofu* and is often part of a 'meat 'n veg' dish as well. The other exception is *veal* which is less frequent than *soy*, *tofu* and *vegetarian**. In fact, eating veal is much less accepted in the United States and other countries than the eating of other animals, because of the widely publicized inhumane raising conditions of calves (using veal and gestation crates is banned by the European Union) and campaigns by organizations such as The Humane Society of the United States. Several states in the United States (Florida, Arizona, Oregon, Colorado, California) have banned either gestation crates and/or veal crates (www.hsus.org/farm/camp/totc/, accessed 1 April 2009).

Nevertheless, in terms of frequency we can arguably detect a tendency of silencing the Other (the Vegetarian/Vegan), and a tendency to naturalize the eating of meat. There are only two occurrences of *Vegan** and only nine of *Vegetarian**: in general, Vegans/Vegetarians are not mentioned, not talked about, not discussed; they are not part of the *Gilmore Girls* universe, are invisible, more or less written out of existence (apart from Mrs Kim, see below).[6] However, it might be argued that 'meat-eaters' are even more invisible; they are not talked about and not discussed either. In fact, there is not even a word for them – we can only 'creatively' call them *meat-eaters* or *non-Vegetarians* or, humorously, *carnivores*. But there is no doubt that almost all characters in *Gilmore Girls* are in fact meat-eaters. However, there is a crucial difference in that the 'meat-eaters' are the unmarked, 'normal' case, so we would not expect a particular term referring to them or an at-length discussion of why someone chooses to eat meat (rather, Vegetarians usually encounter questions concerning their reasons for *not* eating meat). Meat-eaters and meat-eating is the US norm, similar to heterosexuals, and female nurses/male detectives. In other words, we do not expect people to specify that someone is *hetero*sexual, a *female* nurse or a *male* detective, but we do except people to specify that someone is not heterosexual, a male nurse or a female detective. Similarly, if Vegetarians existed in the universe of *Gilmore Girls* we would expect this to be mentioned because they would be the marked case.

2.3 Results II: Concordance analysis

Moving on to the co-textual analysis of the search terms, the discussion below is limited to repeated patterns that can be considered as typical and general tendencies; I will generally not discuss one-off occurrences or occurrences that cannot be grouped into a more general repeated pattern.

2.3.1 Vegetarian/Vegan eating practices

The discussion will start with the patterns for *vegetarian** and *vegan**. Considering the nine occurrences of *vegetarian**, several of these occur in the co-text of negative attitudes towards vegetarians. This is particularly the case with chef Sookie as demonstrated by extract (11).

(11)

SOOKIE:	Okay, I just got a message that a **vegetarian** menu was requested for tonight.
LORELAI:	Yeah, Lasanos, party of five at eight o'clock.
SOOKIE:	I thought you said you weren't gonna let **vegetarians** in here anymore.
LORELAI:	[laughs] No, you said you weren't gonna let **vegetarians** in here anymore.
SOOKIE:	But I'm making my baked stuffed pork chops for tonight.
LORELAI:	Well, make 'em for the other guests and make something else for the Lasanos.
SOOKIE:	Like what?
LORELAI:	I don't know. Pasta, you make great pasta.
SOOKIE:	But that's boring, anyone can make pasta. I'm an artist. You don't dictate to an artist, you don't tell him what to do. I mean, no one ever walked up to Degas and said, 'Hey, pal, easy with the dancers, enough already. Draw a nice fruit bowl once in awhile, will ya?'
LORELAI:	A great artist can make art out of anything, including pasta.
SOOKIE:	Fine, pasta, whoo.
[13 turns]	
SOOKIE:	People change, you know. They do it every day. I mean, one minute you could be oh, let's say a **vegetarian**, and the next minute you could accidentally have a bite of a stuffed pork chop that changes your entire way of thinking.
LORELAI:	Sookie.
SOOKIE:	Oh, suddenly life's fun, suddenly there's a reason to get up in the morning – it's called bacon!
LORELAI:	Forget it.
SOOKIE:	Come on!
LORELAI:	Pasta.
SOOKIE:	Let the people grow, dammit!

(3.02, *Haunted Leg*)

It becomes apparent, then, that one of the main characters in *Gilmore Girls*, Lorelai's best friend and business partner Sookie, exhibits a clearly negative attitude towards Vegetarians. This is quite obviously the case in this extract, but occurs again in another episode (SOOKIE: *Hey, we've got vegetarians in April! What, were you hiding them*? LORELAI: *Yes, I'm evil that way.*) Here negative evaluation seems mainly based on the assumption that Vegetarian cooking is not as sophisticated or exciting as non-Vegetarian cooking and consequently does not allow Sookie the same way of expressing her talent as chef. Lorelai's attitude in this extract is less clear. As a professional, she treats Vegetarians as guests whose wishes have to be respected, just as you have to put up with other clients' special desires. This is also confirmed by Lorelai's words in another episode, where Sookie is about to go on a date with her 'produce guy', Jackson, and is scared that if it goes wrong he won't sell her any vegetables anymore. Lorelai then counters with 'And since all the produce in the entire world is in his possession and all the produce that will be grown in the future will be in his possession, then we will never again be able to get any produce and all our **vegetarian clients** will die' (1.12, *Double date*).

Emily, Lorelai's mother, is another character who evaluates Vegetarians and not eating meat negatively, as already apparent in example 3 above, and again apparent in her exclamation (concerning Rory's boyfriend) *Oh, I hope Logan's not some kind of vegetarian.* In the remaining occurrences of *vegetarian**, attitudes are not expressed clearly: both occur in the context of explanations with one being used metalinguistically (*The Dalai Lama's a vegetarian, so obviously he's not having the chicken; So, 'vegan' doesn't just mean 'vegetarian'*). Summing up, both Emily and Sookie are protagonists that repeatedly express a negative evaluation of Vegetarians – whether or not we are asked to share this evaluation is ambiguous: Emily is clearly not construed as positive in the series, whereas Sookie is likeable but does not invite identification to the same extent as Lorelai, whose attitude towards Vegetarianism is one of 'professional tolerance' if you will.

Turning now to *vegan**, there are only two occurrences, and both occur in season 7, episode 6, which features Luke on a date with a Vegan, Susan. It is thus interesting to consider this episode more qualitatively.

(12)
RESTAURANT
[Luke and Susan enter]

HOSTESS:	Hello. Two? Okay, right this way. There you go. Your waitress will be right with you.
SUSAN:	Thank you. [To Luke] Oh, no. Come sit with me.
LUKE:	There?
SUSAN:	Yeah. It's cozier.
LUKE:	Oh. Okay.
SUSAN:	I hate being so far away.
LUKE:	[Chuckles, then clears his throat. Looks at the menu] Wow!

SUSAN:	I know, right? It's my favorite restaurant. And you said you liked to eat healthy, so . . .
LUKE:	Yeah. Huh. I've never eaten <u>this</u> healthy. So, 'vegan' doesn't just mean 'vegetarian.'
SUSAN:	No . . . no animal products of any kind. No eggs, no milk, no cheese.
LUKE:	Just soy everything.
SUSAN:	Soy steak is scrumptious. I swear you totally can't tell the difference.
LUKE:	Oh, I bet I can.
SUSAN:	So, Luke, let me ask you a question.
LUKE:	Okay.
SUSAN:	Who would play you in the Luke Danes movie?
LUKE:	Huh?
SUSAN:	Alive or dead.
LUKE:	Uh . . . I-I never really thought about that.
SUSAN:	Take your time. Do you wanna know mine?
LUKE:	Sure.
SUSAN:	[Laughs] Marlene Dietrich.
LUKE:	Oh.
SUSAN:	Right!
LUKE:	I don't know who that is.
SUSAN:	Sure you do.
LUKE:	No, I don't.
SUSAN:	Yes, you do. Think.
LUKE:	I don't.
SUSAN:	'Touch of Evil,' um 'The Lady is Willing,' 'Destry Rides Again.' 'Your husband would rather be cheated by me than married to you.' [last quote spoken with accent]
LUKE:	Oh, yeah, sure.
SUSAN:	My last boyfriend . . . 'the ex' . . . he was always calling me [shouting] 'Marlene!' Oh, you know what? I think you might know him. Bob McCullough, Laura's father?
LUKE:	No, I don't think I do.
SUSAN:	We lived together for four months, and then he just went totally psycho. [shouting] Psycho! [Luke looks shocked and a little scared] I swore I wasn't gonna date any more single dads after that, but here I am.
LUKE:	[Chuckles nervously]
SUSAN:	You hooked me.
LUKE:	Hmm.
SUSAN:	Well, you know what they say . . . third time's a charm.
WAITRESS:	Can I get anybody a drink?

LUKE: Yes, please.
(7.06, *Go, bulldogs*; online at www.youtube.com/watch?v=EAlqUcy-dGI, last accessed 23 October 2009)

Considering this episode, and especially this scene, it is very likely that the Vegan's (Susan) behaviour would lead the audience to evaluate her negatively, as some kind of 'weirdo'. She repeatedly breaks normative expectations with respect to appropriate behaviour on a first date and in general. Her behaviour comes across as pushy, inappropriate, strange. For instance, she asks Luke to sit right next to her at the table (a somewhat strange set-up in this situation) and also assumes too much emotional intimacy verbally (*I hate being so far away*; *You hooked me*). She directly contradicts Luke and presumes to know something about his internal state of mind (*LUKE: I don't know who that is./SUSAN: Sure you do./LUKE: No, I don't./SUSAN: Yes, you do.*) and orders him to 'think'. She is also relatively immature in terms of her linguistic style (*I swear you totally* . . .) and the kind of questions she asks (*Who would play you in the Luke Danes movie*?) are pretty 'stupid', with Luke being presented as not knowing what she is talking about. Susan also refers to her ex-boy-friend and starts shouting inappropriately – it is clear here that the impression is that it is not her ex-boy-friend who's the 'psycho' but Susan herself (consider also the titles of the films she lists). This is also reinforced by her tone of voice, facial expression, intonation and other multimodal performance features: the impression viewers get is of her being 'intense' (e.g. 'mad' eyes, intonation shifts, changes in loudness), and strongly coming on to Luke, trying to be 'sexy'. She also has a childish, high-pitched voice, wears girlish (pink) make-up, has styled short hair, and wears relatively old-fashioned clothes. (For a more technical, less impressionistic, description of multimodality, albeit in a different scene, see Chapter 7). In contrast, Luke is clearly uncomfortable throughout, as evidenced by his verbal (frequent interjections and hesitation markers, for example, *oh, wow, huh, uh, oh*) and nonverbal behaviour (chuckling, clearing his throat, looking shocked, scared, nervous and desperately needing a drink).

In a follow-up scene after the date (not reproduced here), the incompatibility of Luke and Susan becomes clear again. Although Luke behaves very 'gentleman-like', in telling his daughter that the date was 'nice' and in not explicitly evaluating Susan negatively, he agrees he did not like the 'vegan food' and that 'she [Susan]'ll just remain "coach Bennett" to me'. He is then portrayed as being made happy through eating pizza with 'real cheese' and sticky buns – again contributing to the overall negative portrayal of both Vegans and Vegan eating practices. As argued above, ideologies carried by unlikeable characters (here: Susan) are unlikely to be invited to be shared by audiences, whereas ideologies carried by likeable characters (here: Luke) are likely to be asked to be shared by audiences. Cohen (1999) hypothesizes that 'viewers are more involved with their favourite characters, remember more about them, and are more likely to be affected by them' (Cohen 1999: 343). In any case, this episode seems to position the audience with 'us' (Luke, meat-eaters, non-Vegans) against the 'other' (Susan, Vegan) and concomitant eating practices.

It may be argued that one positive thing (from the point of view of a Vegan) would be the educational effect of this exchange between Luke and Susan, where Susan offers an explanation of what 'vegan' means:

(12a)

SUSAN:	. . . And you said you liked to eat healthy, so . . .
LUKE:	Yeah. Huh. I've never eaten <u>this</u> healthy. **So, 'vegan' doesn't just mean 'vegetarian.'**
SUSAN:	**No . . . no animal products of any kind. No eggs, no milk, no cheese.**
LUKE:	Just soy everything.
SUSAN:	Soy steak is scrumptious. I swear you totally can't tell the difference.
LUKE:	Oh, I bet I can.

However, Luke then evaluates Susan's answer negatively, assuming Vegan eating means 'just soy everything'. Rather than disagreeing, Susan simply proceeds to evaluate soy steak as positive in terms of taste but also as 'no different' to meat. In so doing she reproduces assumptions that Vegan cooking is not very varied and reinforces the positive evaluation of 'real' steak. Further, Luke disagrees, with his *Oh, I bet I can* additionally implying negative evaluation of the soy 'ersatz'. The potential positive evaluation of Vegan eating practices as healthy offered by Susan (*you said you liked to eat healthy*) is also neutralized by Luke's *I've never eaten <u>this</u> healthy*, implying both that Veganism exaggerates healthy eating and implying negative evaluation (healthy can carry connotations of 'not tasty'). So in this episode Vegans and Vegan eating practices are associated with an unlikeable character (an Other) and evaluated negatively by a likeable character (one of 'us').

The same association of Vegetarian/Vegan practices with an Other becomes apparent when looking at patterns for *tofu**, *soy* and *veggie*. Both *tofu** and *soy* are very strongly associated with Lane's mother, Mrs Kim. All but one occurrence of tofu* are associated with her as well as three of eight occurrences of *soy*, as illustrated by examples (13) to (18):

(13)

LANE:	I'm sorry, but she [Mrs Kim] found a web site that sells **Tofu** in bulk.
LORELAI:	Oh, you're kidding, right?

(1.02, *The Lorelais' first day at Chilton*)

(14)
MRS. KIM: Try the **tofu**rkey. Turkey made from **tofu**.
(3.09, *A deep-fried Korean thanksgiving*)

(15)
ZACH: . . . What else did we get? Squash, zucchini, **tofu**.
MRS KIM: Special calcium-fortified **tofu**.
(7.11, *Santa's secret stuff*)

(16)
LANE: Stash this for me at Miss Patty's, okay?
RORY: Don't you need this for David to bid on?
LANE: Oh no, my mom packed that one. You know, homemade granola, wheat grass juice, **soy** chicken taco.
LORELAI: Suddenly our lunches are looking pretty good.
(2.13, *A-tisket, A-tasket*)

(17)
LANE: Mama, do you need any help?
MRS. KIM: No, thank you.
LANE: I could get out the **soy** scones.
MRS. KIM: If you like.
LANE: **Tofu**tter?
MRS. KIM: Fine.
(3.20, *Say goodnight, Gracie*)

(18)
LANE: Hi, Mama.
MRS. KIM: Hello, Lane. Thank you for having me.
LANE: Did you find the place okay?
MRS. KIM: Yes. Here [passing bowl to Lane]. Multi-grain **soy** pudding. Extra chunky, the way you like it.
(4.21, *Last week fights, this week tights*)

In other words, Vegetarian cooking is strongly associated with an Other, Mrs. Kim, Rory's friend Lane's mother, a Korean immigrant whose 'bizarre vegetarian cooking' (Haupt 2008: 124) is just one aspect of her character that is predominantly portrayed negatively and evaluated negatively by likeable characters such as Lorelai and Rory. While she may have some redeeming features, she is also 'a devout Seventh Day Adventist so rigid in her beliefs and outside the cultural mainstream as to be absurd' (Haupt 2008: 124). Haupt concludes that 'there is no other way to read her than as a narrow-minded and inflexible mother who is seemingly unfamiliar with the concept of nurturance'

(Haupt 2008: 124). Her vegetarian food (such as tofurkey, gluten patties, wheat balls, calcium-fortified tofu) 'mark Mrs. Kim as irretrievably Other', with 'unappetizing food choices' (Haupt 2008: 125). Consequently, this portrayal may invite the audience to share a negative evaluation of such Vegetarian eating practices, and marks it and Vegetarians as not associated with 'Us'.

Of the remaining occurrences of *tofu** and *soy* and the one occurrence of *veggie* a few occur in the context of negative attitudes expressed by particular characters (Emily: *They certainly do like their tofu here, don't they?* where it is clear that she doesn't like it; Lorelai: *So what happens when you guys get serious, the whole place goes soy?* where Luke changes the menu because of his girl-friend and this is evaluated negatively by Rory and Lorelai; Luke's *Just soy everything* as mentioned above; Lorelai's *He'll* ***make me*** *eat a veggie burger!*). There are a few neutral/positive instances of *soy*, but these involve more accepted derivatives of *soy* (*soy milk*, *soy sauce*), and one of them is uttered by Vegan Susan (as mentioned above):

- Here is your decaf with **soy milk** (1.18, *The third Lorelai*);
- This bowl of rice is all a Burmese prisoner gets to eat in a day. One bowl- that's it. No butter or **soy sauce** . . . (4.17, *Girls in bikinis, boys doin' the twist, aka Gilmore Girls gone wild*);
- **Soy steak** is scrumptious (7.06, *Go, bulldogs*).

With respect to vegetables, a food group not as strongly associated with Vegetarian/Vegan eating practices, only two main discursive patterns can be found. On the one hand, many instances are simply tied to the character of Jackson, Sookie's 'vegetable guy' (and later partner):

- Jackson's vegetables are top-of-the-line, first-rate (7.06, *Go, bulldogs*);
- Jackson invented a new vegetable again (1.11, *Paris is burning*);
- Jackson sells his vegetables all over town (7.06, *Go, bulldogs*).

This pattern contributes to construing Jackson as a character and the relationship between him and chef Sookie. For a discussion of food and the Sookie–Jackson relationship see Coleman (2008: 179–82).

The other pattern is one that is tied to Lorelai's (in particular) and Rory's negative attitude towards vegetables, which is part of their general negative attitude towards healthy food; they famously have 'junk' food, fast food, take away, sweets and lots and lots of coffee most of the time. Here are four examples:

(19)
LORELAI: I swear I would eat my **vegetables** if only they were fizzy.
(7.05, *The great stink*)

(20)

LORELAI:	So, what about dinner?
RORY:	It should probably be something healthy since we've been eating junk the whole trip.
LORELAI:	We had lettuce on our burgers last night.
RORY:	You picked it off.
LORELAI:	But it left its essence.
RORY:	There was lettuce essence on our burgers?
LORELAI:	Definitely.
RORY:	And that satisfied our **vegetable** requirement?
LORELAI:	For the week.
RORY:	We can't argue with cold hard facts.

(2.04, *The road trip to Harvard*)

(21)

EMILY:	The government says you should have nine servings of fruit and **vegetables** per day.
LORELAI:	Imperialist propaganda.
RORY:	I think Noam Chomsky would agree.

(5.21, *Blame booze and Melville*)

(22)

CHRISTOPHER:	Which one do we get again?
LORELAI:	Avoid the words 'made with real **vegetables**'.

(7.10, *Merry fisticuffs*)

This is contrasted with Luke's belief in healthy food, with Luke frequently urging them to eat more healthily, illustrated in example (23).

(23)

[Luke brings their food]

LUKE:	All right, pancakes, one fried egg, side of bacon. Chicken noodle soup, side of mashed potatoes.
RORY:	Thanks, Luke.
LORELAI:	Thanks.
LUKE:	How's the cold coming?
LORELAI:	It's fine.
LUKE:	Any better?
LORELAI:	It's fine.
LUKE:	It's the third day in a row you've ordered soup for breakfast.
LORELAI:	Oh, thanks for the tally.
LUKE:	You know what helps get rid of a cold?
LORELAI:	Endless vague questioning first thing in the morning?
LUKE:	A healthy immune system.

LORELAI:	My second guess.
LUKE:	And you know how you get a healthy immune system?
LORELAI:	Remember when you hated me? That was fun, wasn't it?
LUKE:	Is it eating nothing but crap all day and blowing out your brain cells with coffee?
RORY:	No.
LUKE:	That's right, no.
LORELAI:	Why are you helping him?
RORY:	No seemed like the right answer.
LUKE:	Eat a **vegetable** now and then, maybe some high fiber cereal in the morning.
LORELAI:	Listen, Grandpa, my soup's getting cold.
LUKE:	At least eat the carrots in the soup this time, not just the noodles.
LORELAI:	I promise.

[Luke walks away; Lorelai holds her bowl of soup toward Rory]

LORELAI:	Eat my carrots.
RORY:	Apparently, maturity is extremely overrated in your universe.

(3.02, *Haunted leg*)

Concerning other instances of *vegetable** no clear patterns become apparent indicating a prevailing positive or negative attitude, with many neutral instances and often relating to specific vegetables/cooking (e.g. *I didn't notice the vegetables*; *I was just ordering a ton of extra, you know, vegetables and stuff*; *Fred, why don't you let the vegetables simmer for a while*), some negative ones (e.g. *Well, I christen these vegetables sucky*) and a few that may be classified as positive (*You know what? There is another soup kitchen down on Hadley, and they serve more vegetables than you do. So I would rather work there anyhow*; *Wasting vegetables is wrong*). Vegetables, in contrast to soy, tofu and Veggie products are clearly part of the *Gilmore Girls* universe even if Lorelai and Rory do not particularly like to eat healthy. Whether or not we are asked to share Lorelai/Rory's or Luke's attitude towards vegetables is another matter, as all three are protagonists and likeable characters (compare also the discussion in Section 3.2).

2.3.2 Meat-eating practices

Let us now move on to search terms relating to meat. On account of the predominantly low frequencies for search terms related to Vegetarian/Vegan eating, the discussion was quite detailed. In contrast, because there are more instances for these search terms, I will focus on main discernible tendencies, rather than discussing each search term individually.

First, the vast majority of occurrences for the various search terms does not exhibit an either positive or negative semantic association. Rather, the majority of occurrences are 'neutral' and refer just to what people order/eat (often at Luke's diner or at the Friday dinner with the parents). This cuts across types of meat. Here are just a few examples:

- Scrambled eggs with cheddar cheese and half **bacon**, half sausage. (5.03, *Written in the stars*);
- Ah, here's the **lamb**. (7.05, *The great stink*);
- Uh, six **burgers**, three cheese . . . two cheddar, one Swiss. Two plain **burgers**, one chilli **burger** with cheese and onions on the side. (3.13, *Dear Emily and Richard*);
- We'll make a **fish**-cheese combo course just to be sure. (4.06, *An affair to remember*);
- You can stay for dinner, my mom's making a **roast**. (2.20, *Help wanted*);
- But I'm making my baked stuffed **pork** chops for tonight. (3.02, *Haunted leg*);
- I was just treating Logan to his first Branford dining hall **meat** loaf. (7.10, *Merry fisticuffs*);
- No, that's two orders of garlic gnon, three simosas, and a **chicken** vindiloo. (2.16, *There's the rub*);
- **Chicken** noodle soup, side of mashed potatoes. (3.02, *Haunted leg*);
- I'll have a **turkey** sandwich on wheat and a glass of chardonnay. (7.17, *Gilmore Girls only*).

These can be classified as neutral, but the implication is that people order what they want and like. It is also possible to argue that while these instances are 'neutral', meat-eating is very much naturalized through them, as it becomes part of normal, familiar, commonsense, uncontested behaviour practiced by the majority of characters. They are also an example of how language can encode a particular commonsense world-view making it seem natural rather than socially construed (Fowler 1986: 29). There is an on-going debate between Vegetarians/Vegans and meat-eaters whether or not it is 'natural' for humans to consume animal meat. (Historically speaking, humans were first vegetarians before they switched to meat-eating, although this happened at least 2.5 million years ago [Mayell 2005].) These instances also refer to meat eating without reference to animals, thereby alienating the 'product' from the process of 'producing' it, that is, the (sometimes mis-)treatment of and killing of animals. There are only a few exceptions where explicit reference is made to this:[7]

(24)

JASON: Here, you want bacon?

LORELAI: You went out and **slaughtered a pig** between the running and the French toast?

(4.17, *Girls in bikinis, boys doin' the twist, aka Gilmore Girls gone wild*)

(25)

EMILY:	Very nice. We'll have lamb.
RORY:	So, it will be nice for everybody? Everybody will be nice to everybody? The key word being nice.
EMILY:	Yes, very nice.
RORY:	Really, really nice?
EMILY:	Of course it'll be nice. That's what I just said.
RORY:	Good. Nice would be nice.
EMILY:	And a nice night it'll be.
LORELAI:	Well, **not so nice for the lamb**.

(3.14, *Swan song*)

(26)

TJ:	Well then, you could turn it into a weight room. Or a workshop. Or, hey, a pork smoker room! My uncle had a pork smoker room! Big sides of pork hanging all over the place! We called it the **Dead Pig** Room.

(6.03, *The ungraduate*)

(27)

GUY:	I had an older brother that got me into them, and when my friends were listening to Hootie and the Blowfish, I was memorizing '**Meat is Murder.'**
RORY:	Well, I have a mom who's pretty much cooler than anyone you'd meet, and she did the same thing.

(4.05, *The fundamental things apply*)

(28)

LORELAI:	'For deep water fishing, an angler' – me, again – 'can choose a wire line using a downrigger or a vertical jig. Whatever your technique, the other successful clue to attracting **fish** is the appropriate lure.' Ooh, what about the sequined top I wore to the Christmas party?

(3.12, *Lorelai out of water*)

(29)

RORY:	Hey. Oh, no.
LORELAI:	Isn't she cute?
RORY:	What happened?
LORELAI:	The **cork fell off my hook** and Jayne Mansfield over here bit.
RORY:	Jayne Mansfield.
LORELAI:	Not the brightest fish in the pond, but she's awfully pretty.

RORY: You caught a **fish**.
LORELAI: Yes.
RORY: And you brought it home.
LORELAI: Yes.
RORY: How are you gonna take a bath?
LORELAI: I don't know.
RORY: How long is it gonna live?
LORELAI: Hard to say.
RORY: What are you gonna feed it?
LORELAI: See, this is why I don't fish.
RORY: She is kinda cute.
LORELAI: And she has a great tail swish.
[12 turns]
RORY: Good. So do you think maybe we should try to rehabilitate her and send her back into the wild?
LORELAI: Unfortunately, I think she's already domesticated. Baths and scented candles.
RORY: We'll just have to keep her.
LORELAI: Maybe we can train her to do tricks.
RORY: Tomorrow. Night Jayne.
LORELAI: Night Jayne.
(3.12, *Lorelai out of water*)

For example, in episode 3.12, from which examples (28) and (29) are taken, Lorelai clearly does not want to kill a fish – she has a cork on her hook when fishing and keeps the fish she accidentally catches in a bathtub. Here, hunting and killing animals are not evaluated as desirable by a very likeable character, Lorelai. As said, though, these are exceptions, and it must be pointed out that all of these instances are jokey and not to be taken as serious or as behaviour to be imitated – in example (27), for instance, the memorizing of 'Meat is Murder' is clearly classified as 'uncool'.

There are also a few instances where positive and negative evaluation occurs, which I will discuss only briefly here. Although positive evaluation is by far not as frequent as naturalized, 'neutral' instances, it is more frequent than negative evaluation. From the point of view of how evaluation is expressed in *Gilmore Girls* there are very different ways of evaluating meat, which can be combined (e.g. evaluative adjective plus emotive interjection in *A **nice** burger from Luke's and an ice cream soda, **yum**!*). Table 8.6 below gives a classification of the main evaluative means used to evaluate (the eating of) meat in *Gilmore Girls* in order to show the various ways in which evaluation can be expressed more or less explicitly as well as how it was analysed and classified as positive/negative (valence).[8]

Table 8.6 Expressing evaluation in Gilmore Girls

Evaluator	Example (episode no in brackets)	Valence
Emotion verb	. . . I **love** the bacon. (3.01)	+
	I **like** bacon (2.18)	
	I **love** a good steak on a stick. (5.08)	
	I **love** a lamb shank when it's braised (3.02)	
	. . . people who **love** fish (7.13)	
	I do [**like** lamb] (7.05)	
	I **like** the chicken (3.07)	
	Um, yeah, I **like** roast. (2.20)	
	. . . it was this burger that he seemed to **enjoy** the most. (7.14)	
	Who **doesn't like** a good roast? (5.20)	
	I'm **tired of** it [pork]. (5.15)	–
	Well, I'm **sick of** burgers (3.14)	
	. . . if Oprah decides to **get mad at** beef again. (5.16)	
Expletive	**Who the hell** made chicken and dumplings? (6.09)	–
Interjection	**Ooh, man**, it smells great in here. (4.22)	+
	A nice burger from Luke's and an ice cream soda, **yum**! (3.03)	
	LORELAI: Yes, yes, look. We got, uh, turkey sausage, extra spicy like you wanted - SOOKIE: **Yuck.** (5.09)	–
	Hey, that burger may be a disgusting burger but at least it considers me its equal. **Ugh**. (2.20)	
(intensified) evaluative adjective	This roast beef is **delicious**. (2.20)	+
	His lamb chops. They're **amazing**…(5.19)	
	. . . any of that **really great** braised lamb risotto thing (5.16)	
	It [the lamb]'s **good** (1.01)	
	No, it [the lamb]'s **perfect** (1.01)	
	. . . it [pork chops soaked in saltwater bourbon]'s actually **unbelievably good**. (5.09)	
	I hear the meat loaf is **excellent** here. (4.06)	
	The roast looks **perfect.** (3.14)	
	Mm, god it [meat] smells **good.** (5.08)	
	That lamb was **terrific** (7.15)	
	A **fabulous** leg of lamb (1.20)	
	You're getting my **famous** chicken today (3.03)	
	Seriously good fried chicken. (5.09)	
	This is **amazing** chicken, Mom. I mean it, **really great**. (3.07)	
	This roast beef is **delicious**. It's **lean**, it's **tender**. (2.20)	
	Roast. Sounds **good**. (5.20)	
	It [the roast]'s **really good** tonight, Mom. (4.09)	
	They have **the most delicious** pot roast you've ever tasted. (3.08)	
	It [fish] tastes **good**. (7.15)	
	My **beautiful, expensive**, organically grown turkey. (3.09)	
	It [salmon]'s **marvelous** for you (7.13)	
	Ah well, fish is **good**. (7.13)	

(Continued)

Table 8.6 Cont'd

Evaluator	Example (episode no in brackets)	Valence
	Ooh, man, it smells **great** in here [cooking fish]. (4.22) He does make a **damn fine** burger though. (1.05) The burgers are **delicious**, Luke. (6.09) His burgers are **better**. (6.09)	
	I don't mind paying for my **mushy** meat. (7.10) . . . **unclean** meat fried in unclean oil. (7.16) That **pale misshapen** thing, is that a sandwich or a piece of chicken. (7.13) Ah, we have a **battered** chicken salad (5.08) His turkey burgers are **very dry**. (2.08) This fish is **bland**. (7.15) . . . is it some sort of **precious** fish dish? 'Cause I'm dying for a steak. (5.19) **Disgusting** food [raw fish]. (6.07) . . . that burger may be a **disgusting** burger (2.20)	–
(intensified) evaluative noun	The distinct charred flavor of this meat is like **a delicacy**. (5.16) I hear pot roast is your **favorite**, too. (6.07)	+
	That [coming to the restaurant] was **a total waste** because he couldn't eat dairy, or salt, or meat, so he basically just came in every week for a salad, with no oil, and no mushrooms. (4.11)	–
Negation [implied non-desirability]	**No more** red meat, heavy desserts and you're going to have to exercise regularly. (1.10) If you can travel back in time and make me **not make the veal and ham pate**, I'd appreciate it. **Talk me out of** these things in the future, guys. (6.10)	–
Why-Question [incompre-hensibility]	**Why** would anyone ever order that [foie gras with chicken and green shamrock frosting]? (2.17)	–
Verb implying (non-) desirability	And I **promise** you, there won't be any chicken.[9] (5.08)	+
	If **forced**, I may eat this fish, but I absolutely refuse to waste my time having a conversation about it. (7.15) I **don't want** a burger. (5.08)	–
Reference to pos/neg effects (usually health)	. . . and it [salmon] **makes your skin positively glow**. (7.13) . . . fish has been shown **to prevent heart attacks and stroke and has innumerable other health benefits** (7.13)	+
	Red meat can **kill** you. (1.01)	–

In terms of evaluative parameters (see Chapter 3: Section 2.2) then, Table 8.6 shows that I have considered both AFFECT and EMOTIVITY in terms of positive or negative attitudes towards (the eating of) meat. Looking at this with respect to valence (pos/neg evaluation), and taking up Wiggins and Potter's (2003) distinction between *category evaluation* and *item evaluation*,[10] the negative evaluation that does occur is often of specific combinations of food, specific ways of preparing or having food, or food tied to specific locations (school, hospital, work) or is evaluated negatively because a character had too much of it lately, rather than a general evaluation of meat.

(30)
[inappropriate to cultural habits]
LORELAI: Plus you have to eat **fish for breakfast** and you have to eat whales and then polar bears and penguins and Santa Claus . . .
(4.13, *Nag Hammadi is where they found the gnostic gospels*)

(31)
[specific combinations]
LORELAI: You made me **a Santa burger.**
[2 turns]
LUKE: Yeah, I just cut a piece of wonder bread, you know, poured a little ketchup, piped on a little cream cheese.
LORELAI: No one has ever made me something **quite this disgusting** before. I thank you.
LUKE: You're welcome.
(1.10, *Forgiveness and stuff*)

(32)
[specific type]
LORELAI: It's **raw** fish. Dip it in Soya sauce and **swallow it real quick**.
(6.07, *Twenty-one is the loneliest number*)

(33)
[prepared by specific person]
RORY: **Jojo's burgers** could travel to China, and they'd still be just as good.
DEAN: Because they start off **bad**.
(5.05, *We got us a Pippi virgin*)

(34)
[bred specifically]
RICHARD: Pork is bred leaner these days. It has a different taste. Less fat equals less flavor. Yet another example of the great advances man has made, **flavorless pork**. Hurrah for the opposable thumbs.
(3.05, *Eight o'clock at the oasis*)

(35)
[prepared at specific location; hospital food]
EMILY: I hardly know what anything is. That **pale misshapen** thing, is that a sandwich or a piece of chicken.
(7.13, *I'd rather be in Philadelphia*)

(36)
[too much of the same]
BRIAN: Well, **I'm sick of burgers**, so if it could be a place that has more than burgers –
(3.14, *Swan song*)

With respect to the more frequent positive evaluation both seem to occur – evaluation of specific meat cooked at a specific time (*This is amazing chicken*), and evaluation of meat in general (*I like bacon*).[11]

2.3.3 The ideology of eating meat in Gilmore Girls

Summing up the previous sections, we have seen that attitudes towards food can be related to expressive character identity, with different characters exhibiting different attitudes towards food, for instance Luke (non-Vegan) vs. Susan (Vegan), Lorelai/Rory (unhealthy meat-eaters) vs. Luke (healthy meat-eater), Sookie's and Emily's dislike of Vegetarianism. These more or less concern the individual aspect of expressive identity. Many more examples could be found such as the differences in the eating practices between Lorelai/Rory and Richard/Emily, whom Rory has to 'teach' how to eat frozen pizza in one episode. At the same time, many of the characters in *Gilmore Girls* seem to share a set of beliefs about (the eating of) meat, which can be related to ideology as a set of shared values and to the social aspect of expressive identity. We can perhaps talk about this in terms of a 'community of ideology', in analogy to the concept of communities of practice (Wenger 2007). As in Chapters 5 and 6, this analysis can be related to the model for expressive identity introduced in Chapter 6 (Table 8.7).

Table 8.7 Expressive identity: ideology

Macro	stable (repeated) expressive identity: ideology (shared/social expressive identity)	Gilmore Girls main characters: 'meat lovers'
Meso	expressive strategies/actions	Naturalizing meat-eating Positively evaluating meat (eating) Concealing process of production
Micro	expressive features (verbal)	Explicitly evaluative language Implicit evaluations Neutral references to meat

The quantitative and qualitative analyses have uncovered both explicit '*announcements* of beliefs' (Fowler 1986: 132) by characters, such as direct evaluations (e.g. *I don't see how anybody can resist eating meat*) and instances that are more '*symptomatic* of world-view' (Fowler 1986: 132), such as the many 'neutral' references by characters to the eating and ordering of meat.

We can also see that Vegans are made invisible or are portrayed as weird, and Vegetarian food is associated with a negative Other in the series as a whole. The main tendencies in this particular dramedy are the creation of what van Dijk (1998a, b) calls *'ideological polarization'* (van Dijk 1998b: 317). He elaborates: 'many group ideologies involve the representation of Self and Others, Us and Them. Many therefore seem to be *polarized* – We are Good and They are Bad' (van Dijk 1998a: 25). This is usually implemented through positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation expressed through various linguistic meanings and forms (van Dijk 1998b: 317). In the context of *Gilmore Girls*, We are the 'good' meat-eaters, and They are the 'bad' Vegetarians/Vegans. More specifically, Vegetarians are excluded, derogated or tolerated at best, and both Vegans and Vegetarians are associated with a negatively evaluated Other. In contrast, the consumption of meat is naturalized, part of the normal behaviour of 'us', the in-group, more frequently evaluated positively than negatively and separated or alienated from the process of 'production'. Such stereotyping presumably has the purpose 'to make the audience feel part of a cohesive social group, an "us" [here: meat-eaters] that "they" [here: Vegetarians and Vegans], as a "minority" group, are outside of' (Selby & Cowdery 1995: 110). In analogy to the concept of 'heteronormativity' (e.g. Cameron 2005), we can speak of a 'carniverous normativity' which the television series both *legitimizes* and *habitualizes* in Fowler's (1986: 29–33) terms. That is, in giving voice to these meanings, the media as official institution legitimizes them to a certain extent, while at the same time viewers are habitualized to them through recurrent exposure. Although television does not dictate who/what we are supposed to be, it can put pressure on us by showing certain things and not others (Hermes 2005: 103). As one Vegetarian wonders in her blog:

> I wish there were more prominent vegetarian characters on television. I think that would help a lot in showing vegetarianism as a more mainstream lifestyle choice. I believe that when people are exposed to something on TV on a weekly basis, it can help educate them and make them more comfortable with it in real life – as long as it's portrayed positively or neutrally and not as an object of ridicule.
>
> . . . Do you think TV does a good job of portraying vegetarianism? Or is it still portrayed as a 'radical' lifestyle choice? (Sherill 2008)

With respect to *Gilmore Girls*, the answer to these questions, from a Vegetarian point of view, would be 'no, it does not do a good job of portraying Vegetarianism'.

It is not surprising that *Gilmore Girls* portrays the eating of meat so positively because most of its target audience arguably would too, and

> [t]elevision exists, on the whole, to offend as few people as possible. Because of the mass nature of the medium, it is likely that ideologies which are seen to be representative of the majority of viewers are those which are most common. (Mills 2005: 146)

The kinds of ideologies represented in television may be there because of imagined consumer's ideologies, established television practices, and regulation (see below). So the tendencies emerging from the popular television series *Gilmore Girls* may be quite wide-spread in television and popular culture in general. An interesting study on US American popular culture on animated characters also found that '[c]haracters with strongly positive actions and motivations are overwhelmingly speakers of socially mainstream varieties of English. Conversely, characters with strongly negative actions and motivations often speak varieties of English linked to specific geographical regions and marginalized social groups' (Lippi-Green 1997: 101, quoted in Coupland 2007: 87–8). For further discussion of this issue see Section 3.1 below, which looks more broadly at television, ideology and the audience.

3 Ideology and the Audience

Taking the above analyses of *Gilmore Girls* as a springboard for elaboration, this section discusses more generally the relation between ideologies on fictional television and the television audience. While Section 3.1 briefly takes us into a general discussion of television and ideology, because it is such an important topic in relevant research, Section 3.2 brings us back to characterization in discussing relations between fictional characters and the audience in terms of ideology.

3.1 Viewing ideologies on television

Ideology was defined above rather broadly as a set of beliefs or attitudes, and I have demonstrated how it can be analysed in television dramedy with respect to characters' shared attitudes towards the eating of meat. However, it may still be interesting to look at this more closely in terms of power relations between different social groups. In other words, does *ideology* mean 'any set of beliefs' or 'the dominant forms of thought in a society' (Eagleton 1991: 2)? In the case of attitudes towards eating meat in *Gilmore Girls*, the set of attitudes and beliefs at stake is certainly the dominant, or 'hegemonic' one in US American society.

According to a 2006 poll, only 2.3% of adults (18 and older) are Vegetarian, and 1.4% are Vegan (www.vrg.org/journal/vj2006issue4/vj2006issue4poll.htm, accessed 4 March 2009), with about 1 in 200 children and teenagers in the US being Vegetarian (www.msnbc.msn.com/id/28543713/, accessed 4 March 2009). Can one therefore argue that this kind of representation is appropriate because it mirrors (US-American) 'reality' and the views of most (US-American) viewers? No, because on the one hand, we are concerned with ethical issues not with issues of proportional representation. There can be no automatic assumption that something is right because the majority of the population believes in it. On the other hand, even if we were concerned with issues of proportional representation, the question is whether or not television should just reproduce 'reality' even if it is, for instance, unjust? If most members of a particular minority group work in menial jobs, should fictional television series only show members of minority groups in menial jobs rather than as elite professionals? The argument of 'realism' is questionable at the very least in this particular context. In any case, what the above figures show is that the majority of the population (the dominant social group in terms of mass at least) are not Vegetarian and that the shared expressive identity of *Gilmore Girls* in terms of meat-eating is similar to the ideology of the mainstream. This appears to confirm the assumption that '[t]he world of the popular series is . . . the world of the dominant ideology, and its hegemonic [in Gramsci's terms] project is to organise consensus around . . . dominant ideological conceptions' (Thornham & Purvis 2005: 80). Eagleton (1991) notes six strategies of legitimating the power of a dominant social group, and arguably, the corpus-based analysis of *Gilmore Girls* has found that several occur in the context of representing Vegetarianism/Veganism:

> A dominant power may legitimate itself by *promoting* beliefs and values congenial to it; *naturalizing* and *universalizing* such beliefs so as to render them self-evident and apparently inevitable; *denigrating* ideas which might challenge it: *excluding* rival forms of thought, perhaps by some unspoken but systematic logic; and *obscuring* social reality in ways convenient to itself (Eagleton 1991: 5–6, italics in original).

Van Leeuwen's (2008) categories of legitimation (authorization, moral evaluation, rationalization, mythopoesis) are also partially relevant. For instance, we could consider chef Sookie as an 'expert authority' (Van Leeuwen 2008: 107) on food (*authorization*), and we have also seen the role evaluative language plays as well as the naturalization of meat-eating (*moral evaluation*), and the presence of 'instrumental' (van Leeuwen 2008: 113) rationalization (eating fish is good for you).

The fact that positive attitudes towards meat-eating are at present a mainstream ideology in the US has to do with cultural, religious, political and economic factors. While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to offer a detailed discussion, it is clear that powerful economic interests are at stake:

> The meat and poultry industry is the largest segment of United States agriculture. Total meat and poultry production in 2003 reached more than 85 billion pounds. Annual sales for 2002 . . . are estimated at more than $119 billion among the meat packing, meat processing and poultry processing industries. . . . Meat and poultry products represent America's top agricultural export and account for 9.5 percent of the total US meat production. Meat and poultry production and consumption statistics illustrate the impressive size and scope of the industry.
> (American Meat Institute 2007)

Wherever the current mainstream ideology and the representation of Vegetarianism in *Gilmore Girls* stems from, what is the effect of reproducing the mainstream ideology of eating meat in a particular television series? Does it work to perpetuate the meat industry, validate its ideology, the naturalization of eating meat, shaping the audience's thought, construing and framing our social and individual attitudes towards it? Does the fact that Vegetarianism is portrayed as non-mainstream mean that the audience will only be able to see it that way? One view of media and ideology would argue that the media do have a crucial role in reinforcing and maintaining ideologies and shaping thought (van Dijk 1998b: 316, Decker 2004: 11–12, Thornham & Purvis 2005: 28, Beeman 2007: 693). In Althusser's view, the media are an ideological state apparatus. The ideological power of media texts, researchers have argued, lies in their fictional status: 'they allow us to laugh at them, or to dismiss them as unreal, while at the same time getting their message across' (Machin & van Leeuwen 2007: 27). Popular culture hides the fact that it is a field of ideological struggle, by suggesting that it is just there for our entertainment and pleasure (Hermes 2005: 11), but plays a more complex role in our lives. For instance, with respect to her analysis of the television series *The West Wing* (NBC, 1999–2006), Wodak (2009) argues that

> the **representation of everyday politics in the media fulfils important functions, constructing and reinforcing *myths* about 'doing politics', reassuring the public of the rational and good intentions underlying political decisions; which in turn should convey feelings of security and of being protected** (in a necessarily broad sense); in sum, of being able to trust wise *men* to make adequate decisions (Wodak 2009: 26; bold face and italics in original).

However, another strand of media studies research points out that the audience does not necessarily have to accept the ideological positions set up in television texts, as different audiences react differently to them (Decker 2004:

13). Olson (2004) for instance, mentions various studies that have shown that the local consumption of American television broadcasts (e.g. in India, Taiwan, Japan, Nigeria) is very complex, rather than the audience simply taking on 'American' attitudes and beliefs. With respect to hiphop, Pennycook introduces the concept of *transcultural flows* to investigate the 'cultural implications of globalization, the ways in which cultural forms spread and change' (Pennycook 2007: 6), showing how they are localized, appropriated and taken-up in diverse contexts. Other audience studies have put negative claims about television series and their effects on audiences in doubt, having shown 'the complex and personal ways in which audiences function' (Mills 2005: 139). Even fans 'oscillate between consumerism and "resistance"' (de Kloet & van Zoonen 2007: 329). From a socio-cognitive point of view, Van Dijk (1998a, b) makes the point that mental representations have to be taken into account when analysing discourse and ideology (see also Toolan 2001: 87 on the factual and ideological knowledge that readers bring to texts). He argues that we need to consider both social context and 'existing ideologies, attitudes, knowledge, models of experience, current goals and personal interests and so on. This means that ideological influence may not always have the intended effects' (van Dijk 1998b: 318). For instance, Vegetarians will view the representation of Vegetarians and Vegans differently than non-Vegetarians. In media studies, Hall's (1994: 209) three positions for decoding television discourse have been more influential than socio-cognitive theories of mental representations. These three positions are:

1. The **dominant-hegemonic** position: here 'the viewer takes the connoted meaning . . , full and straight, and decodes the message in terms of the reference code in which it has been encoded, . . . is *operating inside the dominant code*' (Hall 1994: 209).
2. The **negotiated** position: here decoders adopt a negotiated code which 'acknowledges the legitimacy of the hegemonic definitions to make the grand significations (abstract), while, at a more restricted, situational (situated) level, it makes its own ground rules – it operates with exceptions to the rule' (Hall 1994: 210). That is, the preferred reading is accepted at an abstract level, but rejected at a more personal level (e.g. when a worker agrees to the hegemonic definition that strike is against the national interest, but is still willing to go on strike) (see Hall 1994: 210f for this example).
3. The **oppositional** position: here viewers decode the message 'in a *globally* contrary way' (Hall 1994: 211, original emphasis) to the hegemonic discourse, and use their own framework of interpretation. For instance, a viewer who '"reads" every mention of the "national interest" as "class interest"' (Hall 1994: 211).[12]

For example, with respect to Vegetarianism in *Gilmore Girls*, viewing it from a dominant-hegemonic position could mean agreeing with the 'carnivorous normativity' completely, both on a theoretical and on a practical level; viewing it from a negotiated position could mean agreeing with carnivorous normativity in general but practising Vegetarianism for personal reasons, and viewing it from an oppositional position could mean viewing the portrayal of Vegetarianism in *Gilmore Girls* critically as hegemonic ideology and advocating Vegetarianism as a mainstream eating practice.

With respect to the ideologies expressed in one particular series such as *Gilmore Girls*, it must also be pointed out that there are always other texts and discourses that audiences have access to, including both personal, private ones (e.g. conversations with Vegetarian/Vegan friends), and public media texts such as television programmes. There are differing representations of Vegetarians and Vegetarianism on television, which may contradict each other. The website www.tvacres.com/vegetarians.htm lists fictional Vegetarians on television (accessed 31 March 2009) and the website www.moveleft.com/moveleft_vegontv_main.html (accessed 31 March 2009) offers descriptions of Vegetarians in 40 sitcoms and dramas. In general, it does appear as if the portrayal of Vegetarianism and Vegetarians on television has some impact on viewers, with a recent study finding that *The Simpsons* (FOX, 1989–) episode where Lisa becomes a Vegetarian ('Lisa the Vegetarian') influenced 9- to 12-year-olds' knowledge and beliefs about vegetarianism (Byrd-Bredbenner et al. 2004).

In view of these issues, it seems reasonable to assume that ideologies on television do have some impact on viewers, but that the relation between media texts, ideology and viewers is extremely complex, and that much more research is needed in this area. On the one hand, this relates to representation in that it is important not just how many characters are, say, Vegetarian, but also how they are portrayed, how other characters evaluate them; what kinds of characters express what kinds of evaluations towards other characters' way of life/ideologies; whether or not we as viewers are invited to share these evaluations and so on. On the other hand, it also relates to viewing/reading, in terms of the audience engaging differently with media texts, mediating their interpretation with mental representations, and engaging with many other texts and discourses. So a textual or linguistic analysis would ideally be complemented by looking at its 'social (post-textual) take-up' (Pennycook 2007: 84). There may also be more than the three reading positions outlined by Hall, with representations on television programmes being able to also be viewed 'ironically'. Indeed, McNair (1999) suggests: 'The effects issue is one of the most difficult and contentious in media studies, despite the vast resources and energies which have been expended in trying to resolve it' (McNair 1999: 26). Regarding journalism, he argues that no matter what the actual effect of the media on the audience is, what is significant is that social actors *assume* that the media has the power to 'manipulate' people. McNair continues, 'From this perspective, the important thing is not the effect of journalistic output on individual attitudes and ideas, but the effect of the widespread perception of journalism's importance on the social process as a whole' (McNair 1999: 26). With respect to entertainment media and fictional television, too, it is clear that there is a widespread view that television has a considerable extent of power and influence concerning social values: The sitcoms *Murphy Brown* (CBS, 1988–1998) and *Ellen* (ABC, 1994–1998) sparked extensive media discussion and public debate about parenthood, family, gay and lesbian issues – for instance, then US Vice President Dan Quayle derogated *Murphy Brown* for advocating single parenthood rather than 'family values'. Another prime example is the controversy caused by *Ellen* when the title character, Ellen, came out in an episode and lesbian issues became a key narrative aspect of the show. In other words, ideologies on fictional television also have an effect on creating numerous additional discourses – whether in public political debate, in the media, or in fan forums and dedicated internet websites. Significantly, then, even if ideologies do not have an immediate impacts on viewers' own beliefs, they still frequently have a *discursive* impact.

However, if we accept for the moment that television has some impact on audiences and that this can be negative in certain cases, one solution would be to argue for regulation in terms of more diversity and variety and less stereotyping on television, for instance in including a relevant principle in a code of ethics. While the Statement of Principles Of Radio and Television Broadcasters adopted in the US (National Association of Broadcasters 1990) already includes the recommendation that

> Each broadcaster should exercise responsible and careful judgment in the selection of material for broadcast. . . . In selecting program subjects and themes of particular sensitivity, great care should be paid to treatment and presentation, so as to avoid presentations purely for the purpose of sensationalism or to appeal to prurient interest or morbid curiosity.

This statement is only advisory and none of the recommended principles are enforced, as they are taken to 'reflect generally-accepted practices of America's radio and television programmers' and '[s]pecific standards and their applications and interpretations remain within the sole discretion of the individual television or radio licensee' (National Association of Broadcasters 1990). Currently, there is also the option of filing complaints with the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), a United States government agency responsible for regulating television as well as other media (www.fcc.gov/aboutus.html). There is one complaint category concerning stereotyping or inappropriate representation labelled 'unauthorized, unfair, biased, illegal broadcasts' but the FCC has been criticized in the past by minority groups for not paying sufficient attention to diversity (National Hispanic Media Coalition 2008). Further, Mills (2005: 105) emphasizes that it takes the regulatory bodies months to investigate complaints and that adjudication won't reach an audience as large as the original media text.

So one argument would be that 'certain kinds of representations, which currently don't exist, should' (Mills 2005: 147), and vice versa, that certain kinds of representation which currently do exist, shouldn't exist. It would follow that some kind of better regulation is needed to ensure this. However, there are a number of significant problematic issues attached to this (see Mills 2005: 146–55 for a discussion relating to sitcom). With respect to dramedy, for instance, would anyone be interested in watching 'politically correct' dramedies? Do we want strict regulation of creativity? How can we preserve elements of comedy in dramedy if it is regulated too strictly?[13] Considering a controversy surrounding a skit about dying children in episode 2 of season 3 of the Australian comedy series *The Chaser's War on Everything* (ABC, Australia, 2006–2009) Jonathan Holmes asks:

> Will the ABC try to lay down what should be the subject of satire, and what shouldn't? Will all satire have to be referred up to Managing Director? The danger is that by changing the processes, we'll end up with comedy that's less edgy and less satirical. (Holmes 2009)

A solution other than regulation would be more media literacy education at all levels, although it is currently by no means clear how televisual literacy can be made an educational goal (Allen 2004: 7). With respect to the United States in particular, Kubey (2003) emphasizes that it 'finds itself in the ironic position of being the world's leading exporter of media products while simultaneously lagging behind every other major English-speaking country in the formal delivery of media education in its schools' (Kubey 2003: 352). This is the solution I would primarily argue for – if we teach media literacy we equip viewers with critical tools to question representations and to understand the rationale behind them no matter what television throws at us. Including television series in the curriculum can also provide motivation and the inclusion of student culture as well as providing texts that can be used in awareness raising (compare Pennycook 2007: 15 on hip-hop in the classroom). In Esslin's view, '*[t]elevision criticism* . . . should become a basic subject of instruction in schools from the earliest grades' (Esslin 2002: 119, italics in original).

3.2 Ideology and bonding/identification

Character, as Toolan (2001) says, 'is often what most powerfully attracts readers to novels and stories' (Toolan 2001: 80), and no doubt it is also important in attracting viewers to television narratives. It is thus worthwhile to briefly consider relations between characters and the audience with respect to ideology.

First, I suggested earlier on that we are invited to share the ideologies or values of likeable characters. However, there may be many ideologies/values that a certain character stands for – are we invited to share each and every one of them? I would argue that characters are more complex than that, and that television characters often have flaws or values that the target audience will not share. Interestingly, audiences can both identify positively and negatively with characters in televisual drama genres, with 'heroines' not entirely flawless and 'antagonists' not entirely 'evil' (Thornham & Purvis 2005: 47). Comic characters in particular are often characterized by both flaws and positive traits (Vorhaus 1994: 30–3). Perhaps we can reason that the more mainstream a character's values are, the more likely it is that we are invited to share them – if characters break communally accepted norms of social behaviour or have values that are not communally accepted by the majority or that go against common sense knowledge, we are not necessarily invited to share them. That does not mean that we do not like to see such characters on television; in fact both adults and teenagers frequently like 'anti-social' characters better than 'pro-social' characters (Cohen 1999: 341). As Cohen notes, it 'remains unclear whether favourite characters are the ones we admire most, feel similar to, identify with, or hold in high esteem' (Cohen 1999: 343). The notion of a 'favourite' character, however, is not necessarily identical with a character that we identify or bond with.

Secondly, I suggest that we identify with, bond with, affiliate with characters whose values, emotional reactions, evaluations etc. we share or that we overlap with to a great extent.[14] In other words, the more like us television characters are in this respect, the more likely we are to identify and bond with them. Giles (2002) notes that 'the expression of an opinion [by a media figure] may chime with the opinion of the user and create a positive judgment based on attitude homophily' (Giles 2002: 296), one of the stages of developing a parasocial relationship. This argument is also in line with Huisman's comment that '[w]hat has been labelled "identification", I suggest, could also be called ideological recognition as it correlates with the value judgements and interpretative orientation of the viewer' (Huisman 2005a: 174). In terms of the communicative context of television and its audience/overhearer design (Chapter 2), it can be argued that it is not just the linguistic style of a television programme but also its ideology that is construed with the audience in mind. The TV audience, then,

> has the power of choice. . . . dissatisfied audience members switch off or tune in elsewhere. . . . only a small minority of the mass audience ever directly contact the media with complaints or suggestions.
>
> Assuming that audience membership usually signifies approval of communicator style [and ideology, M.B.], it follows the media attract the audiences which suit them. If the communicator is unsuccessful in

> accommodating to the audience, the audience will do the accommodating. If the style [and ideology, M.B.] does not shift to suit the audience, the audience will shift to a style [and ideology, M.B.] that does suit. The communicator will then have an audience which was unintended but whose composition in fact suits the style or conceivably no audience at all. (Bell 1991: 107)

But Mills (2005) makes the valid point that 'the oft-invoked argument that anyone offended by television material can simply turn their set off is of little help, for offended viewers are aware that not only have they failed to prevent the material existing, but that it's still likely to be consumed by large audiences' (Mills 2005: 105).

It is also important to note that characters can be like us in one way (e.g. in having positive attitudes towards gender equality) and not be like us in other ways (e.g. in having positive attitudes towards the eating of meat). Group values and identities are not strict dichotomies (in-group vs. out-group); rather there are degrees of shared values and a negotiated identity *space* (Knight in preparation). According to Knight (2010) conversational participants can 'laugh off' values that are unshared between them, commune around shared values and reject unshareable values: 'there are degrees of togetherness by which they [participants] can co-identify' (Knight 2010: 49).

In other words and relating this to television, not identifying/bonding with characters in one way does not prevent us from identifying/bonding with them in other ways. For instance, I may not bond with Lorelai because of certain kinds of values/practices that she stands for, but I may bond with the character because of the witty banter she exchanges with other characters or because of the intertextual references she and Rory make (Chapter 3). In terms of the series as a whole, *Gilmore Girls* creates a world where Vegetarians are excluded as the Other, as the 'not us', and the discourses around the eating of meat serve to include 'meat-eaters' and exclude Vegetarians in its audience. The perspective of the non-Vegetarian characters is privileged in the text; we get their point of view. If Vegetarians notice this happening, then, and it *can* go unnoticed,[15] they can choose to complain or switch off, or to engage with other aspects of the series that include them as viewers (e.g. certain feminist values) or to engage with other characters or other aspects of the series (e.g. humour, witty dialogue). On how pleasure is bound up with ideology see Fiske (1994), and on the needs satisfied by television in terms of 'uses and gratifications theory' see Selby and Cowdery (1995: 186–7).

4 Conclusion

I have taken a somewhat critical look at *Gilmore Girls* as illustrative of mainstream popular culture in this chapter, but this is not to be taken as viewing the series and popular culture in general in a completely negative way as purely reproducing the majority culture. With respect to *Gilmore Girls* itself it does not *exclusively* reproduce the mainstream, and with respect to television series in general, not all of them reproduce the mainstream uncritically. Further, even if the reproduction of the mainstream is viewed as problematic/negative, there are other aspects of fictional television that can be evaluated more positively (e.g. witty dialogue, interesting and believable characters, gripping stories and other 'aesthetic' values). We can say that television series are at the same time a creative achievement and 'cultural commodity' (Fiske 1987, quoted in Burton 2000: 12), a commercial product and an ideological positioning. Clearly then, there are both positive and negative things to say about television series; it is 'a balancing act to both do justice to the pleasures and uses of the popular and reflect on it critically' (Hermes 2005: 3). This chapter limited the analysis of ideology to studying attitudes towards the eating of meat and Vegetarianism, and related this to expressive identity and bonding with viewers. But the analysis of ideology could only go so far. On the one hand we could have related the analysis of attitudes towards the eating of meat to attitudes towards food in general, towards consumption, including transport, energy, for example, from an 'ecolinguistic' (Fill & Mühlhäusler 2001, Bednarek & Caple 2010) perspective, towards globalization, towards the ideology of 'new capitalism' (Fairclough 2004) or towards the overall 'discourse system' (Scollon & Scollon 2001: 183ff) of *Gilmore Girls*, including ideology, socialization, forms of discourse, face systems or its 'ideology-schema' (van Dijk 1998b). Further, the methodology focused on frequency and co-textual patterns, but other discursive construals of ideology such as via metaphor (Goatley 2007) were not taken into account.

And there are many other ideologies to explore – both in *Gilmore Girls* and in other dramedies and other television genres. An example is sexuality – the prevalence of heteronormativity or 'heterosexism' (Collins 2000, cited in Beeman 2007) and the 'othering' of other sexualities (Beeman 2007: 692) in cultural products. Other examples are issues pertaining to love and relationships, such as marriage, finding 'the one', cheating, divorce, what and how relationships are represented, for example, in terms of age, ethnicity, gender, mother–daughter relationships (Walters 1992, Spitz 2005), or nationality (e.g. evaluations of the US compared to other countries) to name but a few. As there is a wealth of past, present and future television programmes there is a rich repository for linguistic (and other) analysis of the construal of diverging residual, dominant and emergent ideologies of all kinds in fictional television.

Notes

[1] The term *mind style* is used in traditional stylistics to 'capture the world view of an author, narrator or character as constituted by the ideational structure of the text' (Archer 2007: 252). In fact, for Fowler, mind style is equivalent to *ideological* point of view (Fowler 1986: 150). Another concept that has similarities with

ideology is Foucault's notion of *discursive formations* – 'historically specific systems of thought, conceptual categories that work to define cultural experiences within larger systems of power' (Mittell 2004: 174). Foucault abandoned the notion of ideology because power, he argues, is everywhere, and the term *ideology* (if tied to power) thus becomes uninformative (Eagleton 1991: 7–8). Also related to ideology are Barthes's *myths* – stories that cultures use to explain reality (Thornham & Purvis 2005: 25) or to 'frame and naturalise one view of the world' (Thornham & Purvis 2005: 54). Barthes's referential or cultural codes of texts also offer 'explanations about culture and the (often) taken-for-granted practices of everyday life' (Thornham & Purvis 2005: 49).

2 However, we also have to look at whether they are primary or secondary characters and how they are depicted. The mere presence of a 'minority' character is not necessarily good practice if it portrays that character in a stereotypical, derogatory or 'voyeuristic' (e.g. lesbian relationships) way. Compare, for example, Calvin (2008a: 17) on racial/ethnic minority characters in *Gilmore Girls*, Hermes (2005: 46) on the portrayal of a lesbian protagonist in the Dutch police series *Dok 12* (RTL4, Netherlands, 2001–2003), Feuer (2001c) and Mills (2005) for debates concerning the representation of homosexuality in *Will and Grace* (NBC, 1998–2006), and Feuer (2001d) for an overview of the 'gay' and 'queer' sitcom. Mills (2005) points out that '[w]hile American sitcom has a (limited) history of gay characters, mainstream success has eluded series whose understanding requires an empathy and understanding towards (some aspects of) gay culture' (Mills 2005: 93), and that research has shown that while gay character increasingly appear in American television and cinema, they are portrayed in limited and repetitive ways (Mills 2005: 122, citing Shugart 2003 and Arthurs 2004). Pennycook (2007) notes: 'Popular culture may indeed be racist, homophobic or misogynist: its frequent articulations of heteronormative sexuality constantly position other sexualities as other' (Pennycook 2007: 82).

3 The search was for *veggie* not *veggie** because I was interested in occurrences where *veggie* is a premodifier or part of a compound and thus quite strongly associated with Vegetarianism (e.g. *a veggie burger*).

4 In Table 8.2 and in the co-textual analysis instances unrelated to the eating of food were excluded (manually deleted). For instance:

- Figurative meanings, idioms, and comparisons (*frozen together like bacon*; *bring home the bacon; I have no beef with you*; *not like you resemble beef or anything*; *the fish on the doorstep*; *rip apart every other fish in the sea*; *swim/drink like a fish*; *the big fish in the small pond* and variants; *two shakes of a lamb's tail*; *all the little lambs* [religious]; *dead meat*; *something with a little more meat to it*; *meat market*; *cold turkey*; *turkey legs* [referring to human legs as such]; *lock us up like veal*; *veal children*; *the vegetable set*);
- Certain compounds/nominal groups (*fish thermidor*; *fish lamp*; *fish bag*; *fish pan*; *fish fork*; *meat thermometer*; *the turkey-calling contest*; *turkey heads*; *'salute to vegetables' pageant*; *vegetable business/industry*; *vegetable grease/oil*);
- Proper nouns and names (*Kevin Bacon; Marlowe, Bacon . . . ; Macon the bacon; beef island(s); burger boy*; *burger king*; *fish man*; *fish girl*; *meat guy*; *vegetable guy/supplier*; *Kentucky Fried Chicken*; *Go fish*; *Turkey* [the country]; *Wild Turkey*);

- Double occurrences (e.g. *veggie burger* counted as *veggie*; *turkey burger* counted as turkey – both deleted from *burger* occurrences; *soy chicken taco* counted as *soy* – deleted from *chicken* occurrences etc.);
- Verbs (*to fish*; *to roast*);
- Artefacts (*a dead fish* [stuffed antique]; *electronic fish*; *Billy Bass Fish*; *a plastic dancing pork chop*; *chocolate turkey*; *paper turkey*);
- Other unrelated to food (*chicken pox*; *animal, vegetable or mineral*).

5 However, there are some differences between the frequencies for respective types of meat, as illustrated in Table 8.5.

Table 8.5 Individual types of meat – frequency in *Gilmore Girls* and per capita consumption (American Meat Institute 2007)

Search term	Raw frequency	Per capita consumption in 2005 in US
burger, beef*	125	66.5 pounds pp (including hamburger and other beef cuts)
chicken	82	86.6 pounds pp
turkey	39 (but 11 in one episode)	16.4 pounds pp
lamb	32	0.8 pounds pp
pork	25	50 pounds pp
veal	5 (but 3 in one episode)	0.5 pounds pp

Although these are also similar, burgers/beef and lamb are over-represented in *Gilmore Girls* and pork is under-represented compared to the per capita consumption (where chicken is consumed more than burger/beef and pork more than lamb and turkey).

6 It is at times implied that Michel and a temporary girlfriend of Luke's (Nicole) do not eat meat. In one episode Michel says, 'I don't eat dairy or meat. You know this.' But at other times, he eats turkey and he also talks about eating a burger in other episodes, so he is clearly not Vegetarian. For Nicole, Luke adds three more salads to the menu, adding 'There wasn't really that much for her to eat on the menu' and Lorelai asks 'So what happens when you guys get serious, the whole place goes soy?'. It is thus implied that she may be Vegetarian, but it is not made explicit, and this is the only mention of this in all the episodes that Nicole appears in or is talked about. Further, Nicole is clearly disliked by Lorelai and cheats on Luke (in episode 4.17), so is not portrayed as a role model. It is also reasonable to assume that the audience does not like her as she can be seen as an obstacle preventing the characters of Luke and Lorelai from having a relationship. Overall, Mrs Kim is the only Vegetarian and Susan the only Vegan whose eating practices are explicitly referred to, and will be discussed in more detail below.

7 There is an additional instance where Lorelai talks about locking someone up 'like veal' but because this is a comparison it was not analysed (see Note 4 above).

8 These include evaluative and emotional language (compare Chapter 6: Note 1). See Chapter 3 (Note 12) on references for alternative categorizations of

evaluative resources. Many of these distinguish between the use of emotion terms and other evaluative means (e.g. Wiggins & Potter 2003 on 'subjective' (use of emotion verbs) vs. 'objective' evaluations (use of evaluative adjectives); Martin and White (2005) on Affect (emotion) vs. Appreciation/Judgement (other pos/neg evaluation) to name but two. These evaluative means have different characteristics, a different 'interactional' value (Wiggins & Potter 2003: 521), and are used differently in talk about food (Wiggins & Potter 2003: 526). It is generally assumed that the use of emotion terms is more personalized and more subjective than the use of other evaluative items (e.g. Fiehler 1990: 49, White 2004, Bednarek 2009d for further discussion). Various ways of expressing affect/emotion can further be sub-classified in terms of their subjectivity and personalization (e.g. interjections) – see also Bednarek (2008a) on 'emotional' vs. 'emotion' talk – and in terms of explicitness and implicitness – see Martin and White (2005: 67) on inscribed (~ explicit) and invoked (~ implicit) attitude. In general, explicitly evaluative language is a good example for the claim made in Chapter 6 that language which habitually carries evaluative or emotional meaning can function as expressive resource, whereas the more implicit instances are good examples for the claim, also made in Chapter 6, that expressive features are features that function to construe expressive identity in a given context and cotext.

9 *To promise* means making a desirable offer (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 448), thus implying desirability. In turn, chicken is evaluated negatively here because what is promised and therefore construed as desirable is that 'there **won't** be any chicken'.

10 Wiggins and Potter explain item and category evaluation as follows:

> For example, is the evaluation of a specific item, or is it an evaluation of a category or class of things that this item is a member of. Such distinctions are marked in conversation in various ways – for example, grammatical differences such as "I like cheese" or "I like *this* cheese" may be used. Various levels of categorization and particularization are possible in evaluative talk of this kind (Wiggins & Potter 2003: 517).

11 In terms of positive evaluation, fish is very much associated by characters with its known health benefits (especially by Emily and in episodes following Richard's heart attack) and, in terms of negative evaluation, it is frequently tied to its bad smell. In these two aspects fish differs crucially from other types of meat in *Gilmore Girls*. Indeed, fish is in general treated differently from other kinds of meat, as some meat-eaters do not consider fish as 'real' meat (see example (4) above) and some 'Vegetarians' (pescatarians) eat fish. Fish also differs from other meat in terms of cultural value, as it is tied to religious practice and symbolism (like lamb). It is beyond the scope of this chapter to look into differences such as these in detail, but see Section 2.2 above on the special status of veal.

12 The *dominant-hegemonic* and *oppositional* positions have also been called 'compliant' vs. 'resistant' (Huisman 2005b: 162, Martin & White 2005: 206). The notion of a text giving rise to different meanings, or the 'polysemy' approach, which can be traced back to de Certeau (1984, cited in Olson 2004), is related to Hall's concept of reading position/negotiation as follows: 'The fundamental distinction between these two approaches is that negotiation is inherently dialectical, presuming two or three meanings, a few inferred and one implied, with the

production of a synthesized meaning. *Polysemy*, however, presumes that the text is capable of implying, and the reader capable of inferring, a much broader range of meanings; the process is less like negotiation than like selecting from a smorgasbord' (Olson 2004: 121).

[13] The issue of representation, ideology and audience is already a complex one, but becomes even more complex when elements of comedy are involved, as is the case in the hybrid dramedy. For instance, comedy depends to some extent on stereotyping (Selby & Cowdery 1995: 109–11, Mills 2005: 82), and there are certain 'genre conventions and expectations within which any portrayal must exist' (Mills 2005: 109). Mills also points out that we can enjoy a joke while disagreeing with it ideologically (Mills 2005: 136). At the same time, the presence of certain kinds of jokes/humour on television tells us what is deemed as acceptable to audiences (Mills 2005: 105); for instance, it is seemingly unproblematic in *Gilmore Girls* to make fun of black (Michel), Korean (Mrs Kim) and Vegan (Susan) characters, although these characters are not necessarily just being made fun of because of their ethnic and 'food' identity but because of other personality/identity issues (as seen in the discussion of 'psycho' Susan). It must also be pointed out that some characters in a television series are used as a 'stereotypical foil against which other characters can be played, and perceived as such by the audience' (Selby & Cowdery 1995: 5).

[14] In Media Psychology, audience-media figure interaction is described in more detail as either parasocial interaction, identification, wishful identification or affinity/liking (Cohen 1999, Giles 2002). Parasocial interaction is a particularly well-known concept developed in the 1950s by Horton and Wohl (1956, cited in Giles 2002) and can be considered as 'a user response to a figure as if s/he was a personal acquaintance' (Giles 2002: 289), that is, involves *humanizing* fictional characters, 'imagining characters as if they were real people' (Culpeper 2001: 7). Depending on definitions, the discussion below could be related to parasocial interaction, to identification, where 'a user needs to recognize some salient characteristic in the figure that is shared by themselves' (Giles 2002: 290), and to affinity, which 'stems from liking a character' (Cohen 1999: 329). There might be an argument in including bonding/affiliation as 'parasocial interaction'; including identifying with as 'identification', and to define the notion of 'liking' aesthetically to better distinguish it from parasocial friendships. For instance audiences may 'like' a character for aesthetic reasons, that is, in terms of the character being interesting, having great dialogue, being performed by a fantastic actor and so on. This relates to Clark's (1996) notion of appreciation (Bubel 2006: 58; see Chapter 2).

[15] In fact, I had never noticed how 'pro' meat-eating and 'anti' Vegetarian/Vegan *Gilmore Girls* is before starting the detailed analyses described in this chapter. This is either because the observed patterns of usage are indeed not readily apparent to viewers, and can only be uncovered through corpus analysis (see Section 2.1) or because we tend to notice 'major' identities (gender, ethnicity, sexual preference etc.) before 'minor' identities (Lakoff 2006) such as culinary preferences. The latter aspects of individual identity 'are more subtle, perhaps less prone to being problematized, and not linked to group membership in any obvious way' (Lakoff 2006: 143). From a critical perspective it could be said that the less explicit an ideology is, the more difficult it is to uncover it.