

**A Discussion of the Representation of Masculinity and
Femininity in Baden-Powell's 1919 Handbooks for
Scouts and Guides using the Frameworks of Theo van
Leeuwen, within the Tradition of Critical Discourse
Analysis.**

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“...scouting for girls is not the same as for boys... the chief difference in the training of the two courses of instruction is that scouting for boys makes for MANLINESS, but the training for Guides makes for WOMANLINESS...”

Agnes Baden-Powell and Robert Baden-Powell, undated.

ABSTRACT

In this study I analyse excerpts from the Scouts' and Guides' handbooks of 1919, using the 'sociosemantic' frameworks of Theo van Leeuwen. These frameworks are firmly rooted in the tradition of Critical Discourse Analysis which more widely frames this study. The excerpts are studied in order to consider the representation and construction of gender identities within the texts written by Robert Baden-Powell, the founder of the Scouts and Guides movements, and to specifically determine whether girls and boys are represented differently in the texts. Therefore, the construction of idealised femininity and masculinity and the representation of appropriate means of *performing* such identities are of most concern in this study. Following the analysis, it is concluded that boys and girls are indeed represented differently and that masculinity and femininity as social and ideological constructs, at the beginning of the twentieth century, were enmeshed in notions of imperialism, as well as militarism and maternalism respectively.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The quotation that headed this dissertation on page 2 was taken out of one of the first editions of the Girl Guiding handbook, and concisely summarizes the underlying principles on which the Guiding and Scouting movements were based: "...scouting for boys makes for MANLINESS, but the training for Guides makes for WOMANLINESS" (Baden-Powell and Baden-Powell, n.d.: p.22 - authors' own capitals). It is the notion of what makes a man and what makes a woman at the beginning of the twentieth century that most concerns this study.

It is hoped that through critical textual analysis of excerpts from the Scouts' and Guides' handbooks of 1919, a fuller picture of what constitutes manliness and womanliness will be gained. The handbooks under study are dated 1919 and as such represent some of the earliest texts aimed at the Scouts and Guides, in view of the fact that the movements began in 1908 and 1910 respectively (the Guides being the latter of the two). Robert Baden-Powell, the founder of the movements, wrote the handbooks as a course of education and instruction for the Scouts and Guides to ensure that they became 'good citizens'. The movements were hugely popular and grew rapidly after their inception. The youth movements were institutions through which the ideologies of other powerful institutions could be transmitted and absorbed, and were recognized by the King who apparently expressed a close interest in the work of Baden-Powell (Jeal, 1989). The institutional ideologies that are implicitly embroidered within Baden-Powell's youth movements are further discussed in chapter 5, but it is important to acknowledge that both the popularity of the movements and their institutional recognition (from as high up as the monarchy) signify the impact they had on British society in the twentieth century. The notion of how gender is constructed in these texts, therefore, is inseparable from how gender was perceived in these institutions.

The prominence of these movements and the institutional support they received is explained by the concerns at the beginning of the twentieth century over the strength of the British Empire. The maintaining of imperial identity gripped the nation and the construction of masculinity and femininity was a most active process at this time. Concern over what constituted appropriate masculine or feminine behaviour was rife, hence the overt claims, (such as the one quoted above), that manliness and womanliness would be learned in the Scouts and Guides. For example, the following assertion was made in the Guide literature:

“There is so much talk about women and women’s rights just now, that I think we lose sight of the fact that it is our **right** to be **women**. A woman can be quite as splendid a creation as a man – was intended to **be** so by God, but if He had wished them – men and women – to be and do the same things, why did He choose quite another pattern for women? They are more beautiful, more delicately made, more “fine” than men – why? Because they were set before men high ideals, to lead them to gentleness and beauty...A woman can do anything that is not rough and coarse and cruel” (Baden-Powell and Baden-Powell, 1909: 16, cited in Johnson, 1994: 34).

Gender was institutionally differentiated, therefore, and the boundaries were clearly defined. It has been suggested that Baden-Powell “turned a Nelsonian blind eye to the thousands of girls who took up Scouting during 1908 and 1909” (Jeal, 1989: 469) because he had not wanted girls to be involved in the organization he had intended for the boys of the country. Differentiating between sex-appropriate behaviours was thus an integral part of the movements’ foundations, and led Baden-Powell to devise a different name for the girls’ organization. However, when I spoke to the archivist at the Guiding Headquarters she informed me that Baden-Powell set up the Girl Guides because he

believed that girls should be offered similar opportunities to the Boy Scouts. It will thus be interesting to consider how the texts balance the discord between presenting notions of appropriate femininity and presenting the activities done by the Scouts as appropriate behaviour for the Guides.

It is within the tradition of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) that I aim to study excerpts from the Scouts and Guides handbooks in order to discuss more extensively the relationship between *society* at the time of Baden-Powell's writing and the *linguistic choices* he made in composing the texts. As an approach to discourse analysis, CDA draws upon the understanding of discourse as a social practice, and of discourse existing in a dialectical relationship with social situations, events or structures. That is, it is both "socially *constitutive* as well as socially shaped" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258 – authors' own italics). Critical linguistics has been an approach to the analysis of discourse for the last thirty years, and as one of its central objectives, it considers the grammatical choices a text producer makes as a potential medium through which the ideological import of a particular discourse situation can be reproduced. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) usefully translate this into the 'working assumption' that "any part of any language text, spoken or written, is simultaneously constituting representations, relations, and identities" (p.275). That is, discourse represents particular world views, particular social relations between people, and particular social identities according to the purpose, context and addressees of the text.

In the present study, the language employed by Baden-Powell in his handbooks for Guides and Scouts will be studied 'critically' in order that it may be 'denaturalized' (Talbot, 1998). That is to say, the linguistic choices will be studied so as to reveal the naturalized attitudes and discourse practices of the early twentieth century with specific regard to the perceptions of gender at this time. On the premise that "language can be viewed as what our social realities consist of"(Talbot, 1998: 145) it follows that language

is “what constitutes people’s sense of themselves as masculine or feminine (ibid), and within this study, the role of language in constructing and representing gender identities will be discussed. It will inevitably, therefore, draw on what Baden-Powell brings to the production of these texts as a middle class, public school educated and militaristic man, writing for children at the turn of the twentieth century.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

I will now describe some of the work that has been conducted in this area of linguistic analysis in order to outline the context of the present study, beginning with a recent paper by Sunderland.

Sunderland (2000) uses as her data the parentcraft literature offered to new parents, and discusses the discoursal representation of fathers and mothers in these texts. Grounding her work in the tradition of CDA she considers what “view of the world” (p.256), over and above other potential views of the world, is presented through the grammatical and lexical choices made by the authors of these texts (what van Leeuwen and Wodak describe as the choices of ‘recontextualization’ (1998)). Sunderland finds it helpful to draw on elements of van Leeuwen’s 1996 framework in her analysis of ‘social actors’, focusing especially on the notion of ‘exclusion’. She is able to identify occasions where the father is suppressed or backgrounded in the textual construction of parenthood, which allows her in turn to recognize the dominant discourse in operation in this literature is “Part-time father/ mother as main parent”. Sunderland reports that other discourses are constructed in addition, which represent mothers and fathers differently but ultimately as mutual constructs.

Palmer (1998) also utilizes van Leeuwen’s frameworks in her analysis of the children’s fiction book, ‘Charlie and the Chocolate Factory’. In this paper, Palmer discusses the representation of capitalist production and consumption, which is a novel undertaking considering van Leeuwen’s frameworks have most often been applied to non-fictional media texts for the purpose of uncovering racist or sexist attitudes. Through the use of van Leeuwen’s work, however, Palmer is able to reveal “a perpetuation of a capitalist/worker divide” (p.50) and the unequal power relationship between ‘workers’ and ‘capitalists’ as an ideological undercurrent behind the text.

van Leeuwen's frameworks of textual analysis draw considerably on Halliday's work on transitivity, and specifically the division of activities into process types. The analysis of process types has a history within critical linguistics, for example, Trew in 1979 (cited in Fairclough, 1992) was able to demonstrate how particular process choices invoke political or ideological interpretations. Trew analysed the media representation of the deaths of South African demonstrators, and found that the political orientations of the newspapers in which the deaths were reported determined whether or not the responsibility for the deaths was overtly attributed.

Similarly, Talbot (1995a: cited in Talbot, 1998) draws on the transitivity system in her analysis of an adventure story involving male and female characters. In this analysis, Talbot found that the male protagonist was predominantly in control especially over and above the female characters, and because he was largely represented as the grammatical subject of many transitive verbs, was predominantly portrayed as the character that had an affect on the social world. The other characters, on the other hand, were the grammatical subjects of intransitive verbs and so did not share the characteristic of "making things happen" with the male protagonist.

Close textual analysis, therefore, has had much to reveal about particular social representations of people or characters, and in line with other research, the present study considers the representation of gender as a discursal construction. The data the present study draws on has not been studied in great detail before by other researchers, however, research has revealed that Baden-Powell's farewell messages to the Guides and Scouts have been linguistically analysed by Stubbs (1996). In his study, Stubbs conducts a corpus analysis on the word 'happy' in the farewell messages (written before Baden-Powell's death in 1941) and demonstrates the advantages of drawing lexical statistics from the data in order to indicate important differences between the texts aimed at Scouts and Guides. Stubbs makes the point that 'happy' does not appear to be as

“ideologically loaded” (p.85) as words such as ‘home’, or ‘work’ might be, however, when this lemma is studied in terms of the syntactic phrases in which it occurs it becomes apparent that it does carry social significance. In the Guides farewell message, the lemma often occurs in grammatical frames which impart the sense that happiness involves other people. However, the Scouts message contains only one construction which implies that happiness involves others. This asymmetry in the representation of the Scouts’ and Guides’ social involvement with others is given further consideration in the present study, in chapter 6.

Van Leeuwen (1995, 1996) applied his frameworks of social action and actors in the analysis of an Australian national broadsheet newspaper’s reporting of the government’s policy on immigration. The application of this descriptive framework allowed van Leeuwen to observe the differing representations of the government’s and the Australian peoples’ actions and reactions, and the actions of the immigrants. The immigrants were never found to be represented as ‘reacting’ (i.e. as demonstrating affective or cognitive mental behaviours), but were found to be the actors of “non-transactive and objectivated” (1995: 104) actions. Such actions are those which have no affect on the social world and are realized by “nominalizations or process nouns functioning as subject of the clause” (1995: 93) respectively. Conversely, the Australian people are often represented in relation to “mental processes such as being ‘bewildered’ and ‘not understanding’” (1996: 68), and are thus accorded more affective reactions. On the basis of such findings (and many others) van Leeuwen was thus able to conclude that the newspaper report was tinged with racist attitudes.

So far I have briefly described studies conducted within the academic domain of linguistics, but as this piece of research is concerned with trying to locate the linguistically realized social practices and constructions of the twentieth century, it is crucially important to acknowledge the work done by other researchers within other

academic domains. Historians and biographers such as Jeal (1989) and Rosenthal (1986) have researched the life of Baden-Powell and how he came to begin the Scout movement. However, as Johnson (1994) points out many of the biographical accounts of Baden-Powell draw almost exclusively on the whys and wherefores of the founding of the Scouts, but fail to give the same level of detail to the development of the Girl Guiding movement. Johnson addresses this inequality in her MA dissertation in which she focuses on the construction of femininity within the Girl Guides from its inception in 1910. In fact, Johnson's research and this piece currently being undertaken could be fruitfully combined to address the lack of literature on femininity in girlhood at the turn of the twentieth century.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Data Collection

The 'Scouting for Boys' handbook had been in my family for many years, having originally belonged to my granddad, so the task was to obtain the Girl Guiding handbook from the same year. This was achieved when the Guiding Archives allowed me to view and photocopy the handbook with them at the Guiding Association Headquarters in London.

3.2 Data Selection

The handbooks were of too great a length to compare in their entirety given this study's constraints on space and time. I initially proposed to analyse four comparable texts from each handbook, however, this proved to be too much to analyse efficiently within the study's space constraints and thus three texts were selected from each handbook.

Both the handbooks contain elements of what is now considered to be patently sexist language, but which, at the time of Baden-Powell's writing, would have been viewed as less starkly unacceptable. On closer reading of the handbooks, however, it is apparent that particular excerpts are not so obviously sexist, but do construct and represent gender differently in subtle ways. It is this subtlety that I wanted to explore within this study, I thus selected the texts which shared the common themes of 'loyalty', 'smiling' and 'doing a good turn' from each handbook as these did not appear to be gendered activities in an immediately obvious way (unlike the sections entitled 'child nursing' or 'sewing', for example).

The Guiding handbook, unlike the Scouting one, is divided into sections aimed at all the divisions of the Guiding movement (i.e. the Brownies, the Second Class Brownies, the First Class Brownies, the Guides, the Second Class Guides, the First

Class Guides, the Senior Guides and the Guiders), and having found the 'loyalty', 'smiling' and 'good turn' texts in the Scouting handbook, I found the equivalent texts in the Guiding handbook in the Brownies section. The texts were chosen because they were the most comparable and similar to those aimed at the Scouts, despite appearing in the section aimed at a younger readership. The decision to do this was facilitated by the fact that the texts appeared in the same book that was aimed at the Guides, and so were very likely to have been read by the Guides anyway. Furthermore, the two handbooks date from the same year, so 'age of reader' as a variable is to some extent of secondary importance when the emphasis is on how masculinity and femininity are constructed linguistically and 'sociosemantically' (van Leeuwen, 1996) in 1919.

3.3 Data Analysis

Critical discourse analysis and the analytical frameworks of van Leeuwen are employed to elucidate both the differences in gender representation in the texts and my research questions more generally. The research questions are as follows:

- Are girls/women and boys/men represented differently in the texts and, if they are, how is this achieved linguistically?
- What are the ideological assumptions made about gender and the readership of the handbooks by Baden-Powell and how are these marked in the texts?
- How is the contemporary social structure of the early twentieth century located in the written discourse?

The methods are employed in order to ensure a high degree of objectivity in the analysis stage of the study, and to confine my own assumptions and interpretations to those which can be grounded empirically.

I thus follow CDA in looking at what linguistic choices Baden-Powell made in the different representations of the same activities for the Scouts' and Brownies' texts, and

consider what is *excluded* as well as *included* in each representation. The frameworks devised by van Leeuwen (1995, 1996) are drawn on where possible to elucidate how Baden-Powell represents the Scouts and Brownies as social actors in the activities or 'social actions' of smiling, being loyal and doing a good turn. This is because "different ways of representing social action encode different interpretations of, and attitudes to, the social actions represented" (van Leeuwen, 1995: 81). The frameworks have been described as "a sociological grammar" (1995: 82) and "a sociosemantic inventory" (1996: 32) respectively by van Leeuwen, and the focus (in line with CDA practice) follows the assumption that "meaning belongs to culture rather than to language" (van Leeuwen, 1996: 32).

The present study is especially concerned with van Leeuwen's accounts of *exclusion*, *role allocation*, *descriptivization* and *distillation* (which are briefly outlined below), and van Leeuwen and Wodak's account of *recontextualization*. Within the broader field of CDA, the study looks at pronouns and modality as linguistic vehicles through which meaning can be interpreted from a critical perspective.

'Exclusion' refers to instances when social actors and their activities are not included in a particular text. This can be highly interpretable if the same activity is being textually represented for two different readerships, such as is the case with the texts under study in this piece of research, where the activities are represented for the Scouts on the one hand, and the Brownies on the other.

'Role allocation' refers to the actual roles assigned to the social actors in the representations, and draws particularly on Halliday's transitivity work in order to categorise what type of role is given to whom.

'Descriptivization' is the term van Leeuwen uses to describe instances where the actions or reactions of a social actor are represented as relatively permanent qualities or characteristics of that actor.

'Distillation' is similar to descriptivization in that it too refers to instances where qualities are emphasised, but particularly, it refers to the shared, generalised quality that is common to a number of activities or actions. All these terms will be explored at greater length in reference to the data in chapter 6.

4. SOCIETY IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

Britain in the early stages of the twentieth century was undergoing considerable social change. In this section I intend to briefly draw on some of those changes to put the texts later analyzed into context.

4.1 The Boer War (1899-1902)

Victorian Britain considered itself to be at the height of power and prosperity and at the forefront of modernity, and euphorically celebrated the jubilees of the Queen in the late nineteenth century. However, this positive mood was soon to be altered by the “humbling military defeats” (Black, 2000:7) of the Boer War in which 22,000 British troops died. This in turn “unleashed a wave of intense national introspection” (ibid) which culminated in the growth of concern over national efficiency and imperial strength.

4.2 National Health and Efficiency

The difficulties faced by the British army in the Boer war were considered in part explicable by the widely circulated statistic that “only two out of every five recruits were physically qualified to be in the army” (Rosenthal: 1986:196). Revelations about low levels of fitness and health horrified those in power, as Britain's ability to maintain the Empire became uncertain. “National renewal through a vast effort at national efficiency became the theme permeating nearly every sphere of British life” (p197), and the physical deterioration of Britain's youth became a motivating factor in setting up the Scout movement, and youth movements generally.

4.3 The Growth of Youth Movements

The movements (such as the Boys Brigade, the Girls' Friendly Society etc (Johnson, 1994)) characterized a nation concerned with retaining its imperial status and strength through generating notions of appropriate masculinity and femininity within its

youth. They became extremely popular and acted as “important institutional vehicles for the transmission of ideological hegemony” (Springhall: 1977:126, cited in Johnson: 1994:19). The Scouting movement began in 1908 and the Guiding movement in 1910 with the aim of directing their members towards good citizenship with an imperial emphasis. The Scout regime, therefore, focused unwaveringly on the allegiance a boy must have to King, country and employer, while that of the Guide’s focused on preparing the girls to be “the moral guardians of the race and of the Empire” (Johnson: 1994:44). The Guide movement was initially concerned with preparing girls for motherhood as this role was being ideologically reshaped at the turn of the century.

4.4 The Role of Mothers

As a result of the concerns over the inefficiency of the recruits for the Boer war, and the ensuing worry that Britain’s health would diminish the strength of the Empire, a new discourse emerged which centred on the role of the mother. Mothers were now perceived to be the foundation out of which would grow the Empire of the future. Mothers’ imperial duty became occupied with the improving and securing of their children’s health, which in turn would strengthen the British Empire. The Girl Guiding movement was founded on this premise, as exemplified by the Baden-Powells in one of the first handbooks for Girl Guides: “Almost everyman who rose to be a great man in history was helped largely by his mother and what she taught him. Britain has been made great by her great men and those great men were made great by their mothers” (n.d.: 24).

4.5 Women’s Suffrage

The beginning of the twentieth century saw a growing pressure on the government to give women the vote. The Women’s Social and Political Union, set up in 1903 by Emmeline Pankhurst, sought to rally the government into change through a

series of, at times, violent actions. This level of demonstration was not supported by Baden-Powell who argued in an article in *The Times* that ‘rights are not won...by advertising and clamouring for them’ (August 9, 1913: cited in Johnson: 1994:20). This is in line with the ideology on which he grounded the Scout and Guide movements which attempted to inculcate a “happy acceptance of one’s social and economic position in life” (Rosenthal:1986:7). In other words, conformity and deference to authority were characteristics Baden-Powell wanted to instil in Britain’s youth.

4.6 World War One

The war brought new ways of thinking about gender into the fore, as perceptions about women and girls working outside of the home reached new levels of social acceptability. In 1918, the war ended and while all men over 21 were given the vote, it was only given to *most* women over 30. The war did not bring about vast changes in respect to the institutional and social subordination of women, but rather brought about the potential for slow incremental changes to take place in the future. In 1916 the Guides published a new aim “to put women on a better standing as citizens than they had heretofore- ie on terms of comradeship rather than dependency” (*Girl Guides Gazette*: April, 1916: cited in Johnson, 1994: 62). However, as Johnson acknowledges “there still exists an emphasis within the movement on the perceived future role of women as wives and mothers, albeit with an expanded horizon through participation in Guiding activities” (p64) well into the 1920s and 1930s.

5. ROBERT BADEN-POWELL

In this section, I briefly outline aspects of the life of Baden-Powell so that the discourse behind his writing can be located in a social context for the purposes of analysis later.

Baden-Powell was educated in Charterhouse, a public school in late Victorian Britain, when “the public schools emphasized those conservative virtues of conformity and obedience that would best guarantee the continuation of the status quo” (Rosenthal: 1986:91). These ‘virtues’ were valued by Baden-Powell who later argued that the aim of the Boy Scout movement would be “to give the mass of boys something of the sense of honour and tone that are at present the attributes of the Public School boy” (1910-24, British Scout Archives: cited in Rosenthal: p91). Devising the Scout Law was a means by which he could engender a degree of conformity within the movement and implant a corporate ideology which aimed to create the uniformity of character that he wanted (Rosenthal: p105).

After school, he joined the army in which he stayed for thirty four years. He became famous for his role as commander in the defence of Mafeking during the Boer war, and was celebrated as a hero on his return home (especially as the popular press, set up in 1896 in the form of the Daily Mail, had been able to publish images of the war (Black, 2000)). In the same way that the public school ‘values’ absorbed him, so too did those of the military life. The regulatory way of life was all Baden-Powell knew and he “would have found difficult the notion that civic society might properly esteem values different from those cherished by the army” (Rosenthal: p192).

Baden-Powell developed through two very controlling institutions: the public school and the army. The ideals he took from them implanted his sense of discipline and patriotism, which he believed ensured good citizenship. Thus the youth movements he founded were inevitably ideologically invested with the ideals of these institutions too.

6. ANALYSIS

As outlined in chapter 3, the analysis of the texts will begin with critical consideration of pronouns, before moving on to look at the modality features in the three pairs of texts. Van Leeuwen's approaches are then drawn on for further discussion on the representation of Scouts and Brownies as social actors.

6.1 PRONOUNS

Fairclough (1989) describes certain values that are encoded in different formal aspects of language. The values he describes are, experiential, relational and expressive. It is the relational value that is most pertinent to the discussion of pronoun use in Baden-Powell's texts as it concerns "the social relationships which are enacted via the text in the discourse" (p112). That is, the personal pronoun choices Baden-Powell made are interpretable in terms of the way they represent the social relationships that held between him and the Scouts on the one hand and between him and the Brownies on the other. Such close linguistic analysis reveals that Baden-Powell identifies himself more with the Scouts than with the Brownies, a point I will now explore further.

6.1.1 3rd Person Pronouns and Modes of Address

Baden-Powell linguistically demonstrates a closer social relationship with the Scouts than with the Brownies through the modes by which he addresses the readership of each handbook and through the ensuing personal pronouns in anaphoric reference to those modes. Most strikingly, all three of the excerpts from the Girl Guiding handbook refer to the Brownies in the 3rd person, and the following table presents just one instance from each text of the Brownies being indirectly addressed:

'Smile':	"Brownies always smile, and if <u>they</u> are in difficulty..."
'Good Turn':	"...every day <u>they</u> do a kindness to someone."
'Loyalty':	"...you may be perfectly certain that <u>she</u> will do it."

Table 1: The 3rd person pronoun referencing of the Brownies in each text.

This is in contrast with the means by which the Scouts are addressed, as they are more often *directly* addressed through the use of 2nd person pronouns, and referred to in the 3rd person less often than the Brownies. However, despite there being generally more direct address in the Scouts' texts compared to the Brownies', the 'Loyalty' excerpt is the exception as it contains no 2nd person pronouns, and does refer to the Scouts in the 3rd person:

'Smile':	"If <u>you</u> are in pain or trouble, make yourself smile at it..."
'Chivalry':	" <u>You</u> scouts cannot do better than follow the example..."
'Loyalty':	" <u>He</u> should also be equally loyal to his own friends..."

Table 2: The 2nd and 3rd person referencing of the Scouts in each text.

The greater use of 3rd person pronoun reference in the Brownies' texts distances both Baden-Powell from the Brownies (and them from him), and the Brownies from the actions that they are represented as doing. The Brownies are positioned to read about the actions of 'other' Brownies, rather than be positioned as the actors themselves. I will return to further discussion of the representation of actors and actions in section 6.4.

6.1.2 1st Person Plural Pronouns and the Inclusive 'We'

The 1st person plural pronouns in the subjective case ('we') and the possessive case ('our') are used in reference both to a local, specific context and to a wider, general one. By that, I mean Baden-Powell uses 'we' in a local context in reference to the Scouts, and in a wider context in reference to the British people. Significantly, the local

use is not a feature of the Brownies texts. The following table presents the 1st person plural pronouns in the Scout's 'Chivalry' text, (the only excerpt in this study to contain them):

'Chivalry':	<p>"<u>We</u> are their descendants..."</p> <p>"...<u>we</u> ought to keep up their good name."</p> <p>"...just as <u>our</u> patrol leader has his second and four or five scouts."</p> <p>"...and that is one of <u>our</u> rules."</p>
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Table 3: The 1st person plural pronoun referencing in the Scouts' text.

In this excerpt, Baden-Powell very positively evaluates the Knights, who he deems the original Scouts of Britain. The above examples, therefore, demonstrate how he employs the 'inclusive' we to establish a sense of group unity in reference to himself and the Scouts. In so doing, he assimilates himself (as leader) to the Scout population as a whole, and thus nominates them all as descendants of the chivalrous Knights. Fairclough (1989) interprets a particular use of the 'inclusive' we in a newspaper editorial as a means by which corporate ideologies can be served and a sense of group unity can be stressed. This interpretation applies to the 'inclusive' we Baden-Powell employs, as group unity is clearly expressed (where it is not in the Brownies' texts) and the corporate ideologies are implanted through the linguistically realised concord between leader and patrol. The militaristic ideals of the Knights are being represented as the same as the Scouts' through an implication that there exists some noble lineage between them.

Baden-Powell knew only a military lifestyle, and considered it the epitome of good citizenship. Thus associating himself with the Scouts is perhaps expected in this social context, as girls and women were not allowed in the armed services, nor would it ever have been expected that they would one day be allowed. To present them as descendants of the Knights would have been socially unimaginable to him.

The 1st person plural pronouns are also used in the wider context in reference to the British people:

	Brownies	Scouts
'Smile'	"That is what <u>our</u> soldiers and sailors do..."	_____
'Loyalty'	"So it is in <u>our</u> nation." "But if <u>we</u> "play the game"..." "... <u>our</u> country will always be successful."	" <u>We</u> have seen in the great war..." "...the discipline of <u>our</u> soldiers..." "...with <u>our</u> men it is different..."

Table 4: The 1st person plural pronouns in the Brownies' and Scouts' text(s).

The table above presents all the nationalistic references in both the Scouts' and Brownies' texts, and can be interpreted as injections of the imperialistic ideologies of utmost concern in the early twentieth century. Imperialism was the dominant ideology grounding both the Scout and Guide movement, and as I discussed in chapter 4, the motivation for the movements was to generate patriotic and disciplined characters within the youth of Britain who would put country before self.

Thus, Baden-Powell clearly associates himself more with the Scouts than with the Brownies, and indicates a socially proximal relationship with the Scouts through the use of 1st person plural pronouns. The Brownies are generally distanced from Baden-Powell through greater reference to them in the 3rd person.

6.2 MODALITY

This area of text analysis focuses on the degree of commitment, authority or affinity a text producer associates with a particular proposition. It becomes interesting from an ideological perspective as it couches elements of the interpersonal level of language (Halliday, 1985; Fairclough, 1992) from which textual representations of power relations and claims to knowledge can become interpretable. I previously outlined how Baden-Powell's institutional upbringing determined his vision for the Scouts and Guides, (i.e. that they conform to and accept social positions whilst putting country before self). The very fact that he sought to inculcate unquestioning obedience within the Scouts and Guides, who were under a promise to uphold their respective laws, leads us to consider more closely what features of modality might indicate the deferential position of the Scouts and Guides.

In the texts by Baden-Powell, his authority as leader and founder of the Scouts and Guides movements is realised by the number of imperatives and directives he employs in the overall construction of an instructional style. In the three pairs of texts analysed in this study however, there are generally more imperatives in the Scouts' texts than in those aimed at the Brownies. While there are nine direct imperatives and directives in the Scouts' texts, there are only four in the Brownies' texts, one of which is mitigated by the use of the modal verb 'can' (indicating the possibility that a Brownie will not fulfil the requirement of the imperative command, see first example in Brownies' column):

	Brownies	Scouts
'Smile'	<p>"...so whenever you break your leg just smile if you can"</p> <p>"If you cannot – well – then grin!"</p>	<p>"Laugh as much as you can"</p> <p>"...whenever you can get a good laugh, laugh on"</p> <p>"...make other people laugh too"</p> <p>"If you are in pain or trouble, make yourself smile at it"</p>
'Good Turn' / 'Chivalry'	<p>"...you must not take any reward for doing it"</p>	<p>"...remember that you have got to do a good turn for someone"</p> <p>"tie an extra knot in your handkerchief or necktie"</p> <p>"...leave the tail of your necktie outside your waistcoat"</p> <p>"...think to whom you did the good turn"</p> <p>"...you must do two good turns the next day"</p>
'Loyalty'	<p>"...as a Brownie you must obey the leader of your pack or six"</p>	<p>_____</p>

Table 5: The imperatives and directives in the Brownies' and Scouts' texts.

In the Brownies' Smile text, the Brownies are directed to smile if ever they should break their legs, but as I mentioned above, this directive is mitigated by a conditional clause containing the modal verb of possibility, 'can'. It relates to the negative assertion made at the beginning of the Brownies' Smile text, that Brownies "*don't cry*" when they are in "difficulty...pain...trouble (or) danger". The negative assertion inevitably draws on the corresponding positive assertion for its interpretation within a critical analysis. In so doing, it becomes evident that Baden-Powell was drawing on the (stereotypical) assumption that girls cry in order to justify making the negative assertion. Furthermore, the mitigated directive "just smile if you can" acknowledges the possibility that girls might

not be able to resist crying, and as a result, foregrounds the natural bravery of the Wolf Cub described in this text, who despite being knocked down by a car, did not cry.

6.2.1 Relational and Expressive Modality

Fairclough's (1989) description of *relational* and *expressive* modality is most usefully drawn on in the present study's discussion of what direction Baden-Powell's authority is oriented in. According to Fairclough, relational modality is "a matter of the authority of one participant in relation to others" (p.126), and thus refers to a particular use of language in representing a degree of asymmetry in power relations between the text producer and addressee. Expressive modality also concerns the linguistic realization of unequal power relations but with the emphasis on the claims to knowledge a text producer has over the addressee. Expressive modality therefore is "a matter of the speaker or writer's authority with respect to the truth or probability of a representation of reality" (ibid.).

In the three pairs of texts analyzed here, it is apparent that there are generally more examples of relational modality in the Scouts' texts (e.g. "you have got to do a good turn..."), while there are more examples of expressive modality in the Brownies' texts (e.g. "Brownies always smile..."). Baden-Powell is seemingly more authoritative, in terms of giving commands, to the Scouts but uses more expressive modality with the Brownies in making claims to knowledge and imparting apparent truths. As mentioned previously, Baden-Powell matured through two male-only institutions (public school and the army) and perhaps, as a result, found it more natural to instruct boys, like he himself was instructed. In both sets of texts, however, Baden-Powell legitimises the actions of smiling, doing a good turn and demonstrating loyalty through either personally authorizing the actions, or stating as fact that the actions are associated with particular social actors, as in the examples above.

6.3 REPRESENTING SOCIAL PRACTICES

In his article on the representation of social actors (1996), van Leeuwen seeks to answer the question, “how are social practices transformed into discourses about social practices” (p.35). This question has aided my understanding of and approach to critical discourse analysis, as I have found it useful to consider the notion of ‘transformation’. Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1998) describe transformations as the means by which a “recontextualization” is achieved, and delineate how every representation of a social practice “always involves recontextualization” (p.96). I will now consider what elements of these transformations Baden-Powell considered relevant to each ‘recontextualized’ discourse (i.e. the Scouts’ text and the Brownies’ text), as “what exactly gets transformed depends on the interests, goals and values of the context into which the practice is recontextualized” (ibid.).

6.3.1 The Recontextualized Purposes of Social Action

Van Leeuwen and Wodak propose “the purpose of social practices, or of segments of them, may be construed differently in different recontextualizations of that practice” (1998:98). This is certainly true of the different recontextualizations of the social practices of ‘smiling’, ‘doing a good turn’ and being ‘loyal’ as represented by Baden-Powell for the Scouts and Brownies. The following table presents the purposes of doing the same social practices in the texts for the Scouts and those for the Brownies:

	Brownies	Scouts
The purpose of ‘smiling’:	It is what the soldiers and sailors do at the Front, and a Wolf Cub’s bravery can be emulated if a Brownie smiles, instead of cries, on breaking her leg.	To keep you healthy and to “make a difference” to how you act/react if in pain or trouble, and to emulate great Scouts who were “cheery fellows”.
The purpose of ‘doing a good turn’:	To make themselves happy through making others happy.	To follow in the Knights steps. It is one of the “rules” of Scouts, and must be done to uphold the Scout law and their “honour”.
The purpose of being ‘loyal’:	To thank God in prayer and never forget God. To obey the pack leader as it is implied that that ensures a successful pack.	To support officers/ employers and friends because it’s the Scout’s duty. To demonstrate the same discipline as “our soldiers”.

Table 6: The purposes of each recontextualized social practice for the Brownies and Scouts.

The purposes for each social practice are markedly different in the Scouts’ and Brownies’ texts, and it is through closer linguistic analysis that the details of these transformations become more evident. I will now consider how the Scouts and the Brownies (as well as other people in the respective texts) are represented using van Leeuwen’s 1995 and 1996 frameworks.

6.4 SOCIAL ACTORS and SOCIAL ACTION

6.4.1 Exclusion

Van Leeuwen (1996) begins his analysis of the representation of social actors in a newspaper article by looking at those who are ‘excluded’, either by not being represented in the text or by being de-emphasized in the text. I too will begin my analysis of the representation of actors with consideration of those who are to some degree excluded.

'Radical exclusion' is the term van Leeuwen uses to delineate instances of social actors being totally excluded from the representation. It refers to the exclusion of the actors and any of their activities, and can be revealing in comparisons of the same social practice. The 'Good Turn' text (aimed at Brownies) and the 'Chivalry' text (aimed at Scouts) are recontextualizations of the same social practice but differ in respect of who is included and excluded. For example, the Knights dominate the Scouts' text, but are radically excluded from that of the Brownies. They are portrayed heroically as the original purveyors of good turns in the Scouts' text, and as a social group whose values should be reproduced by the Scouts, but are not mentioned in the Brownies' text. The inclusion of heroes or representations of people to look up to will be further discussed in sections 6.4.5 and 7.1.

In the Good Turn text, there is the suggestion that the Brownies can help their mother or a servant in accomplishing a good turn. However, there is no mention of mothers or servants in the Chivalry text, rendering them radically excluded. In a similar way, where there is another 'home reference' in the Brownies' 'Loyalty' text ("You are taught to say grace before dinner..."), it is radically excluded from the Scouts' text. It, therefore, seems that the Brownies are associated more with a home context than are the Scouts, which is perhaps not unexpected, given that the premise on which the Guides was founded was to prepare the girls for motherhood and marriage: "Its aim (the Girl Guides) is to get girls to learn how to be women – self-helpful, happy, prosperous, and capable of keeping good homes and of bringing up good children" (Baden-Powell and Baden-Powell, n.d.: 3).

6.4.2 Role Allocation

In his discussion of role allocation, van Leeuwen makes the distinction between social actors who are activated or “represented as the active, dynamic forces in an activity” (1996: 43), and those who are passivated or “represented as undergoing the activity...as being at the receiving end of it” (p.44). In the texts I am analysing, both the Scouts and the Brownies are generally activated in activities and rarely passivated, but it becomes interesting to note in what type of activity they are represented as being active in. It is useful to draw on Halliday's work on the transitivity system, which “construes the world of experience into a manageable set of process types” (Halliday, 1985: 106), and codifies the actors of those processes as Actor in material processes, for example, Behavior in behavioural processes or Senser in mental processes, to name a few.

6.4.2.1 Process Types – Gendered?

In analysing the actors of the processes in the texts by Baden-Powell it is evident that the Scouts are generally represented as the Actors (or instructed to be the future Actors) in more material and abstract-material processes than are the Brownies. Material processes are “processes of doing” (Halliday, p.106), and express both concrete and abstract activity. They are further categorized into those that are transactive and those that are non-transactive, where the former involves two participants and the latter just the Actor and no other participant. Thus, by the very fact that more than one person is involved, an Actor in a transactive process is ‘doing’ something that will have an effect on the social world. Van Leeuwen argues that “the ability to ‘transact’ requires a certain power” (1995:90) and that “the actions of lower-status actors are more often represented as non-transactive” (ibid.).

With this in mind, analysis of the ‘Smile’ texts reveals that the representation of action differs according to who the actors are. The Scouts are instructed to be Actors in the transactive material process of ‘making other people laugh’. This is an “interactive”

transaction (ibid.) in which Scouts impress an effect on the social world. However, no such effect is accorded to the Brownies. They are the Behavers in the behavioural processes of 'smiling' and 'grinning and bearing it', which are non-transactive processes, involving only the Brownies and no others. Thus, where the Scouts have the power to affect others by making them laugh, the Brownies smile to emulate the bravery of a Wolf Cub. It could be argued therefore, that the Smile texts present demureness as the ideal feminine attribute, because whereas the Scouts are represented as being in the position to laugh with other people, the Brownies are not. The Brownies are represented as being more restrained and as not being or acting in a public context.

However, both the Brownies and the Scouts are the Actors in material processes in the 'Loyalty' texts, but again, an important distinction can be drawn between the activities they are presented as engaged in (or are obliged to engage in the future). Both the Scouts and the Brownies are represented as Actors in transactive interactions, involving other people beside themselves, for example, "...every Brownie obeys the wishes of the leader" and "...a follower of the knights [a Scout] should be loyal...to everyone, who is above him...and stick to them through thick and thin". Importantly, however, these acts of 'loyalty' position the Actors very differently. Whereas Brownies are represented as Actors in the submissive act of *obeying* in which they are answerable to a more powerful leader, the Scouts are represented as *supporting* ("He should also be equally loyal to his friends and should support them in evil times as well as in good times") and 'sticking to' employers and friends. Thus, the Scouts are loyal through acts of free will in which they have the power to determine their behaviour, and the Brownies on the other hand, are loyal through yielding to power and fulfilling the orders of others.

It could be argued that the subtly dissimilar ways of representing loyalty in the two texts relates to the unequal social positions of males and females at the time, and perhaps specifically to Baden-Powell's disapproving view of the suffragette movement.

The Brownies' Loyalty text includes the line: "If everybody started to play the game in his own way, there would be no rules, and there could be no success" which echoes his view (previously quoted on page 22) that women should not 'clamour' for change as the suffragettes did. The suffragettes *did* 'play the game' in their own way and not by society's (oppressive) rules, and "given the Establishment's attitude to the suffragettes, it is not surprising that girls were warned against 'dishonourable actions'" (Jeal: 1989:472) such as resisting their social position.

It is within the same text that Baden-Powell suggests Brownies should demonstrate loyalty to God through praying. Praying is arguably a non-transactive act and as such the Brownies are again represented as having no effect on the social world.

Where they do have an effect on the social world, however, is in the 'Good Turn' text and in fact it is the Scouts who are instructed to be the Actors in non-transactive actions (as well as transactive) in their equivalent 'Chivalry' text. Both the Scouts and the Brownies are represented as affecting the social world by helping people, for example, "...they [the Brownies] do a kindness to someone" and, in the Scouts' text, "...you have got to do a good turn for someone during the day". Here, the Brownies are interacting socially but do so in a social practice that is typically associated with the female sex (i.e. being helpful, thoughtful and caring to others; see section 6.4.3). The Scouts on the other hand have to force themselves to remember to do this social practice by engaging in the non-transactive actions of tying an extra knot in their necktie and leaving their necktie out of their waistcoat as symbolic reminders. Being the Actors in these non-transactive actions indicates that the social practice of doing a good turn is not one that comes naturally to the Scouts, unlike for the Brownies.

6.4.3 Descriptivization

Doing a good turn, therefore, is represented as a natural quality of the Brownies (i.e. “[they] have a patent dodge of making themselves happy...by making other people happy”, “everyday they do a kindness to someone”). In van Leeuwen’s (1995) terms, Baden-Powell is ‘descriptivizing’ the action of doing a good turn as a more or less permanent quality of the Brownies, and in so doing draws on the stereotypical image of femininity as embodying kind-heartedness and benevolence. Van Leeuwen (1995) acknowledges the importance of looking at the ‘reactions’ of social actors as well as the actions in which they are involved, and it is interesting to note that while the Brownies’ ‘Good Turn’ text represents the affective ‘reaction’ of happiness as an intrinsic characteristic of the girls, the Scout text features only cognitive mental reactions. The cognitive reactions, such as “remember”, “think” and “considered” (the latter of which is used in reference to the Knights who are identified as Scouts nonetheless), are unconnected to emotion unlike the reaction accorded to the Brownies. It might be argued, therefore, that the dichotomy ‘rational male/emotional female’ is covertly represented in the texts in line with the “rationalist ideologies which have characterized male-dominated Western thinking since the Enlightenment” (Johnson, 1997:18). In much the same way, the Brownies are represented as doing good turns in order to make others happy, but the emotions of other people are not included in the corresponding text for the Scouts. This too is indicative of the rationalist ideology, which is summarized as, “Self and Other” (ibid.), that was very much prevalent at the turn of the twentieth century, in which idealized femininity was characterized by emotional, nurturing and motherly qualities, with the emphasis on serving others, while idealized masculinity embodied emotional restraint and personal strength. This ideology is even represented in the respective names for the movements, ‘Scouts’ and ‘Guides’. The functional meaning of ‘Scout’ suggests an identity that is engaged in independent action, and can

refer to a military identity that seeks out information about the enemy. 'Guide' on the other hand, refers to the action of leading others and thus exemplifies van Leeuwen's (1996) account of 'polyvalency'. An identity term is polyvalent when it can refer to both an action (*to guide others*) and a nomination (*a Guide*). Thus, it is inherently part of a Guide's identity that she is functionalised into the role of helping others, which clearly has at its roots the implied meaning that a Guide should *guide* children through life in her future role as a mother.

6.4.4 Distillation

As part of his discussion on the representation of generalized actions, van Leeuwen (1995) identifies how "generalizations can be seen as a form of abstraction – they abstract away from the more specific 'micro-actions' that make up actions", and furthermore, he distinguishes how other forms of abstraction "abstract *qualities* from actions or reactions" (1995: 99 - author's own italics). The abstraction of a quality from an action is what he refers to as a 'distillation', and is exemplified in the Brownies' 'Good Turn' text in the phrase: "everyday they do a kindness to someone". A 'kindness' is the abstracted quality from the action of doing a good turn and by emphasizing the quality rather than the act, Baden-Powell legitimises the act by giving it positive moral connotations (van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999). In the corresponding Scout's text, the same act of doing a good turn abstracts the quality of 'chivalry', thus, Baden-Powell is constructing masculinity and femininity differently through the connotations of the differing distillations. Chivalry connotes with the type of knightly behaviour Baden-Powell thought to be the epitome of true masculinity, while kindness connotes with the sensitive and caring nature of an ideal mother in Baden-Powell's point of view.

Distillation is handled slightly differently by van Leeuwen in his 1996 paper on social actors. In this paper, he argues that distillation "connects social actors to several

social practices by abstracting the same feature from the social actors involved in these practices” (1996: 64). In this sense, therefore, the Knights and the Scouts are connected in the ‘Chivalry’ text because the Scouts are represented as the actors (or instructed to be the future actors) in the same social practices as the Knights. The abstracted qualities include being chivalrous and upholding one’s honour. Van Leeuwen (1995) argues that generalising actions is done to different degrees by text producers, and the level to which the ‘micro-actions’ that make up an action in its entirety are represented can be interpretable. In the ‘Chivalry’ text for the Scouts, there features a list, inset from the rest of the text, which outlines the ‘micro-actions’ that constitute the act of being chivalrous according to Baden-Powell. These actions were performed by the Knights and their “patrols” (i.e. their subjects) and Baden-Powell collectivises the performing of these actions by the subjects as carrying out “the same ideas as their leader”. In so doing, Baden-Powell legitimises a sense of uniformity and presents chivalry as sharing the same ideals as a leader. By naturalising hierarchy in this way, Baden-Powell infuses the same values of the army into the Scout movement and epitomises van Leeuwen’s account of distillation: “Such discourses teach us to see the same qualities in a heterogeneous variety of social practices, and supply the legitimations and purposes that support these practices...” (1995: 99-100). In other words, the micro-actions (or ‘heterogeneous variety of social practices’) of the Knights and their patrols abstract the same quality of chivalry and in turn legitimate the uniformity of thought and action that is necessary in a military life. In the same way, the Scout’s ‘Loyalty’ text connects the Scouts with the soldiers of the First World War by abstracting the common quality of “discipline”. Masculinity, therefore, is entirely constituted by notions of militarism and imperialism. However, such a claim would have been highly contested by Baden-Powell who often argued that the Scouts movement was non-military so as to prevent too many parents refusing to let their sons join. Despite claims

of being non-military, it cannot be denied that Baden-Powell, as a “cavalry officer from Charterhouse” (Rosenthal, p.192) would have founded the movements according to his own ideals and perceptions of good citizenship. “The virtues of the soldier and the virtues of the citizen were the same” for Baden-Powell, and he “would have found difficult the notion that civic society might properly esteem values different from those cherished by the army” (ibid.).

In the ‘Loyalty’ text aimed at the Brownies, the abstracted quality of ‘obeying a leader’ is represented as a characteristic shared by the British people (who obey the King), the army and a football team (who obey their respective captains). Interestingly, the distillations in the texts aimed at Brownies only ever represent male social actors, for example, soldiers, sailors and a Wolf Cub in the ‘Smile’ text, and soldiers and footballers in the ‘Loyalty’ text.

6.4.5 The Exclusion of Appraised Female Social Actors

The Brownies are positioned to look up to the appraised men, but not to women, because women are not represented in these texts (apart from the ‘mother’ and ‘old lady’ references in the ‘Good Turn’ text). The omission of female social actors in the Brownies’ texts relates to the social perception and oppression of women at the time of Baden-Powell’s writing. Johnson (1994) explains how, at the turn of the twentieth century, “women’s role as moral guardians of the race are viewed as being jeopardised by their paid employment” (p.15). It was thought that working outside of the home would weaken women’s role as mother, and thus bring about the demise of the empire in turn. As well as representing the social world at the beginning of the twentieth century therefore, these texts are also contributing to its reproduction. The ideological representation of a male-dominated world helps ensure its reproduction in the future as the readers of these handbooks invest their ‘world’ knowledge in their approach to life.

The Brownies' texts are thus imbued with the merits of the soldiers and sailors because they represent the means by which the empire's strength can be maintained. The Girl Guiding handbook, however, does refer to female social actors in the latter sections of the book which are aimed at the more senior divisions of the movement. However, up to that point in their guiding life, the guides will have been more aware of the heroism of men than of women.

In conclusion to this chapter, it has become apparent that the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides are represented and addressed differently within their respective handbooks. In the following chapter, I intend to draw conclusions about these findings in view of answering the research questions, whilst critiquing this piece of research and considering what future research could be done to advance the findings of my research questions.

7. CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Discussion of Findings

Baden-Powell, writing at the beginning of the twentieth century, represented girls and boys differently, and represented their actions and activities within the Scout and Guide movement in ideologically loaded ways. As a middle-class, public school educated and military man, Baden-Powell represented his 'view' of the world, and therefore the view of the dominant bloc, through the discourses of the handbooks for Scouts and Guides. However, it cannot be assumed that Baden-Powell was aware of how ideologically invested his discourse practices were as "Ideologies built into conventions may be more or less naturalized and automatized, and people may find it difficult to comprehend that their normal practices could have special ideological investments" (Fairclough, 1992: 90). The youth movements he founded were based on the institutional practices he took from public school and the army and thus represent the reproduction and naturalization of the dominant bloc's attitudes and ideals. As Foucault (1984) argues, "any system of education is a political way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, along with the knowledges and powers which they carry" (p.123: cited in Fairclough, 1992: 51). Thus, the Scout and Guide movements, as systems of education, further naturalized the dominant bloc's social perceptions of gender and the notions of what constituted appropriate masculine and feminine behaviour. In so doing, women were further subordinated by such practices in the way that they were positioned to achieve citizenship through marriage and motherhood, while men were positioned to achieve citizenship independently of their marital status.

Bristow (1991) looked at the representation of boyhood in pieces of literature dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and reported that "no other document promulgates such a range of British imperialist ideals of boyhood than Baden-Powell's 'Scouting for Boys'" (p.171). The present study also recognized the mutually

supportive representations of boyhood, imperialism and militarism in the texts aimed at the Scouts. It was argued that these representations were linguistically realized through first person plural pronouns and the inclusive 'we', relational modality, as well as through sociosemantic realizations. The Scouts were represented as the Actors of transactive material processes, and were instructed to do as the Knights did and be as disciplined as them and the soldiers of the First World War. As argued by Bristow, the Scouts are "identified not so much with but rather *as* the nation" (p.45), that is, the most idealized masculine behaviour that is represented in the texts is that which is performed by men who fight for their country in order to maintain its imperial status.

The Brownies' texts include the presentation of heroic and non-heroic men as citizens to look up to, however, the Scouts' texts do not include any heroic or non-heroic presentations of women (apart from when women are referred to in terms of how a Scout can be helpful and polite to them in the 'Chivalry' text). Masculinity and femininity therefore are mutual constructs "to the extent that they construct each other even (or perhaps especially) when one of them is not mentioned" (Sunderland, 2000: 267). Sunderland's argument seems well exemplified by the data of this study, and by the fact that masculinity is so strongly constructed by the lack of representations of femininity in the Scouts' texts. Femininity and masculinity are still mutually constructive within these discourses, but representations of femininity had to contain representations of masculinity in a social world that only recognized women when they had entered motherhood and marriage, in other words when they had secured a bond with a man.

The present study found that Brownies were represented in the 3rd person and that expressive modality was employed in their texts more than relational modality. Furthermore, they were represented as being the actors of non-transactive behavioural processes and descriptivised as naturally doing 'kindnesses' in their performance of idealized femininity: serving other people.

7.2 Weaknesses of the Study

This study could only analyse small excerpts of data from each handbook because of space and time constraints, which inevitably represents a shortcoming in terms of how representative the findings can be. Using small amounts of extracted data means that inappropriate generalizations are more likely to be made about the data source as a whole, and this study might be at fault in this respect. However, the analytical approaches employed restrained the extent to which generalizations could be made, as any assertions made about the data had to be grounded empirically.

Another potential weakness of this study might be its decision to compare the texts for Scouts with those aimed at a younger group of readers, the Brownies. It could be that Baden-Powell differentiates between the sexes to some degree because of the age of the reader, and that less gender differentiation would be observed in a study of particular Scouts' and Guides' texts. However, the texts in this study were chosen because they were so closely comparable in terms of content and size, and it was thought that the age of the reader was not a crucial factor in how Baden-Powell would represent masculinity and femininity.

7.3 The Scope for Future Research

There is considerable scope for continued research with this data. One route that could be taken would be to compare the handbooks of 1919 with the modern day handbooks for the Scouts and Guides. It would be interesting to consider the discourses that are constructed in the modern day texts, as they would not most likely be representing motherhood and militarism as future ideals for their readers. Another study could consider to what extent the discourse practices of the Scout movement changed (if at all they did) following the recent policy change in 1990 that allowed girls to join the movement. Future research could benefit from using larger amounts of data, and

perhaps using a corpus analysis based methodology in order to replicate Stubbs' research. If larger amounts of text were used or perhaps even the handbooks in their entirety were studied, it might be necessary to enlarge on van Leeuwen's frameworks in respect of their attention to the textural level of representation, as Palmer (1998) has argued. Palmer elaborates on van Leeuwen's analysis of the phrase/clause level of representation in texts by drawing on Hoey's analysis of 'matching relations' for a "fuller understanding of discourse organization" (Hoey, 1983: 113). In this way connections across a larger body of text can be observed by the critical analyst through the text producer's (unconscious) use of repetition or paraphrasing for example. Thus, as Palmer argues, "repetition can form associations between social actors at a level which does not rely on phrase/clause level association" (1998: 33), as van Leeuwen's 1995 and 1996 frameworks do. In the present study, however, the use of small extracted excerpts of data meant that a phrase/clause level analysis was more than sufficient, as connections between social actors could be observed through van Leeuwen's discussion of 'distillation'. However, I can see the benefits of incorporating elements of Hoey's method of textual analysis into van Leeuwen's approaches in future pieces of research which involve large data samples.

Baden-Powell wrote in the preface to 'Scouting for Boys' that "evolution and reconstruction of our social system is in the air, but none can tell exactly what is coming as a result of the war" (1919: 5). It is on an ironic note therefore that I conclude this study, as Baden-Powell predicted major changes would affect the 'social system', but could not have predicted that such changes would culminate in making his discursive representations of boys and girls quite so contentious and old-fashioned. Both 'Scouting for Boys' and 'Girl Guiding' represent a period of time in which Britain's fear of losing its imperial identity incited a discourse that entailed the very active construction of gender identities, and is no greater exemplified than in the handbooks of 1919.

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APPENDIX

The 'Smile' Texts

The 'Good Turn' and 'Chivalry' Texts

The 'Loyalty' Texts