



UNIVERSITY OF
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“Not a Girl, I’m a Witch”:

Problematizing Stereotypes of Femininity through Otherness and
Parody in Terry Pratchett’s Tiffany Aching Novels

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Asiasanat: feministinen kirjallisuuden tutkimus, sukupuoli, feminiinisyys, stereotyypit, parodia, toiseus

Tämä tutkielma tarkastelee feminiinisiä stereotyyppisiä ja sitä, miten ne kyseenalaistetaan toiseuden ja parodian kautta Terry Pratchettin teoksissa *Keskijö ylläni* ja *Paimenen kruunu*. Tutkielman teoriataustan muodostavat feministinen kirjallisuusteoria sekä teoriat koskien sukupuolistereotyyppioita, toiseutta ja parodiaa.

Tutkielman analyysiosio keskittyy aluksi tutkimaan kirjoissa selkeimmin näkyviä feminiinisyiden stereotyyppisiä. Lisäksi tarkasteluun nousevat stereotyyppien rikkomisesta seuraavat vastareaktiot sekä noitien stereotyyppisiä vastustava käyttäytyminen. Seuraavaksi analyysiosiossa tarkastellaan toiseutta sekä vastareaktion, jonka noidat kohtaavat rikottuaan sukupuolistereotyyppisiä, että tapana vastustaa stereotyyppisiä ja patriarkaalista hierarkiaa. Lopuksi tutkitaan, miten parodiaa käytetään stereotyyppien ja hierarkioiden problematisoinnissa. Tarkastelun keskiössä ovat tekstien karnevaalimaiset ja groteskit piirteet.

Tutkielman loppupäätelmä on, että Pratchettin parodian käyttö onnistuu pääosin haastamaan feminiinisyiden stereotyyppisiä. Lisäksi noidat pystyvät rakentamaan vastanarratiivin stereotyypeille käyttämällä hyödykseen kokemaansa toiseutta.

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This thesis examines the stereotypes of femininity in Terry Pratchett's *I Shall Wear Midnight* and *The Shepherd's Crown*, and how they are problematized by otherness and parody. The theoretical framework of the thesis is based on feminist literary criticism and theories on gender stereotypes, otherness, and parody.

The analysis section of the study begins by examining the stereotypes of femininity that are most prominent in the materials. The backlash effects faced by stereotype non-conforming characters and the witches' resistance to some stereotypes are also discussed. Following this, otherness is studied as both a backlash effect that the witches encounter after breaking gender stereotypes and as a way of resisting the stereotypes and patriarchal hierarchy between genders. Finally, parody as a means of problematizing the stereotypes and hierarchies is examined. The main focus is on carnivalesque and grotesque features in the texts.

The thesis concludes that Pratchett's use of parody is mainly successful in challenging stereotypes of femininity. The witches are also able to create a counternarrative outside the stereotypes by using their otherness to their advantage.

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1. Introduction

Our consumption of stories is almost constant, extending from the narrative marketing surrounding us to the numerous moderately priced applications and streaming services for books, audiobooks, and visual media that are available for all devices. As the persisting inequality in our culture has become more recognised, the stories we tell have also changed. The time of princesses being the supporting characters in their own stories and waiting in their towers for a prince to rescue them seems to be past. In recent years, the heroines of popular fiction have become increasingly independent. This does not mean, however, that the need to study the representation of gender in stories has become unnecessary. In fact, I argue that the opposite is true. As our knowledge of gender and the social hierarchies based on it is constantly growing, the study of representation must grow with it. Additionally, while we have access to countless forms of media, the most popular stories are consumed all over the world. As popular fiction reaches millions of people, it is valuable to study what representations of people and social realities are being consumed.

Terry Pratchett (1948-2015) is one of Britain's bestselling novelists, with one book in every hundred sold being written by him (J. Butler 7). While Pratchett's written accomplishments range from children's fiction to non-fiction essays in newspapers, he is best known for the *Discworld* novels, a fantasy series of more than 40 novels published between 1983 and 2015. These novels feature six substories with recurring characters and some stand-alone novels, which allude to and include characters introduced in other *Discworld* novels (Rana 2). While his huge popularity alone would suggest a need for academic study, Rana points out that because Pratchett is both critically highly acclaimed and popular, his writing would, in any other field than fantasy, be regarded as high art (Rana 3-4).

Most of Pratchett's work is set in *Discworld*, a parodic world filled with subversions of genre and tropes, intertextuality, and parody of almost anything from folktales to science (Rana 4-6). While the *Discworld* series started as humorous novels that parody high fantasy, it soon turned into a means of social and political commentary, which are achieved by both mirroring and distorting the real world (Rana 3). Some of the major themes discussed in *Discworld* novels include views on religion, war and death (e.g. *Small Gods*, *Monstrous Regiment*, the *Death* series), destroying

some of the most pervasive tropes of fantasy fiction, such as the brave young hero (e.g. Rincewind and Cohen the Barbarian) or the detective who never overcomes their drinking problem or relationship issues (Vimes), and discussing the function of representation in fairy tales and children's stories as a way of creating or reinforcing certain stereotypes, such as gender roles (e.g. the *Tiffany Aching* series). It is typical for Pratchett to centralise individual choice and his characters often subvert heroism by fighting their destiny, and thus he "demystifies and de-heroises the genre" (Rana 8).

In the last years of his life, Pratchett suffered from Alzheimer's disease, the advancement of which inevitably had its effect on his writing. While he kept on writing in his typical style, the novels lost some of the focus present in the earlier writing. It has been speculated that he would have wanted to work more on his final novel *The Shepherd's Crown* (2015), but it was published posthumously as he died before the novel was finished (SC 332). Still, as Rana points out, while not being the perfect example of his books, it remains a "testament to Pratchett's unique skill as a writer and storyteller" (Rana 8).

1.1 Aims and Structure

As most of Pratchett's works, the *Tiffany Aching* books are comic, but they also include social commentary and other, more serious themes. The parodic social commentary in the books is often achieved by using or challenging (often gendered) stereotypes. The aim of this study is to find out how the books use or revise stereotypes of gender and femininity in particular, and whether by doing so they manage to problematize the way gender issues are viewed, or whether they reinforce the patriarchal views of our society that they appear to try to challenge. In the analysis, the study will address themes of stereotypes, otherness and parody as a means of problematization. The feminist lens has rarely been used to study Pratchett's works, although his books tend to condemn racist, class, religious or moral bigotry (Rana 6). As Pratchett is an accomplished parodist, it is presumable that the *Tiffany Aching* books would attempt to and succeed in breaking the gendered stereotypes.

This thesis is divided into four sections. Firstly, the texts under analysis are briefly summarised and previous studies are explored from the perspective of the current study. The following chapter presents the theoretical background relevant for the thesis. The main focus is

on feminist literary studies, gender stereotypes, otherness, and parody as a tool for problematization. This section is followed by an analytical chapter addressing the materials through the lenses introduced. Stereotypes, otherness, and parody will be discussed in their own sections for reasons of clarity. Finally, the thesis will present conclusions based on the findings.

1.2 Materials

This thesis will study Pratchett's *Tiffany Aching* series from a feminist perspective. While the series includes five books in total, the focus will be on the last two books of the series, *I Shall Wear Midnight* (2010) and *The Shepherd's Crown* (2015), since they have been studied less than the earlier books from the *Witches* series or *Tiffany Aching* series. They also highlight gender identity and representation in interesting ways.

In *I Shall Wear Midnight* (here after abbreviated as *ISWM*) Tiffany and witches in general seem to be going out of favour. Tiffany finds this to be caused by the Cunning Man, a vengeful, misogynistic ghost of a witch hunter. At the same time, the new Baron of the Chalk and Tiffany's old love interest is getting married, making Tiffany jealous of the princess-like bride. Tiffany struggles with her identity, self-acceptance, and gaining back the respect of the people. In the end, the solution is accepting help from her friends and letting go of jealousy that harms her relationships with other girls and women.

The Shepherd's Crown (hereafter abbreviated as *SC*) continues where *ISWM* ends and adds some new themes. The novel begins with Tiffany inheriting the cottage of the former head witch. To be able to deal with her duties, she takes on an apprentice, a boy who wishes to become a witch. Simultaneously, the parallel world of elves is trying to take over Lancre, and the witches need to unite against the threat. Women working together and treating each other with compassion, with some additional help from the male characters, becomes the solution to drive out the attacking elves.

In addition to Tiffany's struggles with growing up and locating her own identity, both books explore female roles in society and ways of expanding their limitations. *ISWM* includes also other themes such as domestic violence and the struggle Tiffany faces for being a teenaged young woman who is also a witch, and therefore distinctly 'other' from the regular people. *SC*, in contrast, challenges gender roles by presenting the Discworld's first male witch, and in so doing the novel

takes a closer look at masculinity and the limitations masculine roles have on young (and older) men.

1.3 Earlier Studies

Some studies relevant for this thesis have been conducted before (e.g., Nuttall, Sinclair, and Donaldson). Nuttall focuses on all witches and draws special attention to their 'otherness' from society and other women. This otherness she describes as "a certain tension between being a witch and being a woman" (Nuttall 24). In Nuttall's study, this tension and the negotiations between being a witch and a woman are studied on several levels, including stereotypical features associated with being a woman such as work in the domestic sphere and selfishness. She also studies the three core roles of witchcraft (which are also stereotypical roles for women in general): the maiden, the mother, and the crone (Nuttall 25-8). She notes the power that is given to witches through otherness: witches are women who are 'allowed' to act somewhat outside the patriarchal system that other women are subject to (Nuttall 28).

Sinclair has a similar scope, but instead of otherness, she studies the connections of gender and magic, especially since in Discworld magic is divided into two types according to gender. She introduces the concept of "narrative causality" (11), a relationship between stories and reality, and the way stories and representation shape reality. This means that "stories become ingrained in our minds and shape our desires. If we too begin to identify with and perform the roles as they have been recited, the stories become inscribed onto our bodies and identities and the range of imaginable alternatives is circumscribed" (Sinclair 12). Sinclair finds narrative causality to be an important part of the witches' magic and compares it to gender theory (13), as gender identities are also affected by representation. She also studies how all the main characters in the *Witches* novels combat gender expectations in their own ways (17).

Donaldson focuses on the Tiffany Aching series, especially the second to last book, *I Shall Wear Midnight*. Her focus is on the fairy tale motifs in the books and how they are used to reflect children's anxieties related to growing up and sexual awakening (Donaldson 158). However, she also discusses issues such as stereotypical fairy tale heroines and how the stereotypes limit girls' identities (Donaldson 148-9).

This study, in contrast to the above-mentioned ones, focuses mainly on the gender stereotypes appearing in or alluded to in the books. Both Nuttall and Donaldson include only a brief mention of gendered stereotypes of women while the focus of their studies is on other topics, which suggests there are reasons for studying gender stereotypes more closely in the two final *Tiffany Aching* novels. Sinclair's study on the gender division of magic and 'narrative causality' relates to similar themes as in the books studied here, since also in these novels, stories and stereotypes shape perceptions of gender. This study will, however, focus more on the characters' representation rather than study the witches' magic as such. In addition, the current study focuses on stereotypes through the genre of parody, a viewpoint that has not been foregrounded in previous studies and considers how the stereotypes are used as parodic tools.

2. Theoretical Background

This section is divided into four parts, the first of which will define feminist criticism and explain the angles chosen for this thesis. The second part elaborates on gender, gender stereotypes, and how they have been criticised. The focus will mainly be on female stereotypes, but male stereotypes will also be discussed, as the two are often linked through negation (e.g., Jost and Kay 499). The third part will discuss otherness as both a negative cause of stereotype non-confirmation and as a source of power. The fourth and final section will define parody on the basis of Mikhail Bakhtin's views and explain how the concept can be used to problematize stereotypes, specifically those related to gender.

2.1 Feminist Literary Criticism

Ever since the 1960s, feminism has had a close relationship with literary studies. The focus of criticism has ranged from studying images of women in male-written novels and classics, to finding a feminine language or uncovering forgotten female authors (Humm xii). Therefore, it makes sense that feminist literary criticism itself is not a single way of reading a text, but rather comprised of several different analytical tools based on different disciplines and theories which share some key notions. These include, for example, the view of gender as a social construction that is created and reinforced by culture and therefore, literature. These different feminist approaches include but are not limited to Marxist feminism, psychoanalytic feminism, black feminism, and feminist deconstruction. All have their own specific angles but can also be used together, despite their differences and sometimes their criticism of one another (Humm xv).

Analysing representations of women and what women are shown to be doing in literature in order to establish a feminine perspective has been a significant element in feminist literary studies from the beginning (Madsen 15). It was especially important in the early 'second wave' of feminism in the 1960s, when there was believed to be a strong link between 'images of women' and how women's identities and roles are perceived socially (Whelehan 234). This angle was, however, criticised in the 1970s by other feminist theorists such as Toril Moi for "tending towards the most naïve form of content analysis" (Whelehan 235). Moi found 'images of women' research

to be contradictory in searching for 'authentic' women and at the same time wanting books to provide only strong woman role models (47). Similar to Moi, Mary Eagleton also views the study of stereotypes of women in male-written books somewhat counter-intuitive, as the focus lies on a male view of what women should be and thus victimizes women instead of focusing on women's own feelings and experiences (108).

Despite the problems of studying woman characters in male written books, studying representation retains its value. In the field of feminist studies, research on the representation of women has risen again, and has been extended to include a broader socio-historical scope (Whelehan 235). Patriarchy is inherently a structure of power imbalance between genders, and Gledhill and Ball argue, that one major instrument that supports it is ideological negotiation through representation (344). They conclude that, while the dominant group's ideas or values are more widely produced because of the power imbalance, they can be resisted. Representation plays a key role in this struggle, as what is seen as 'real' is a negotiation between different representations of reality (Gledhill and Ball 344-5).

2.2 Gender Stereotypes and Representation

This section will focus on gender stereotypes, and representation as a way of recreating and strengthening them. First, the concept of gender stereotype will be defined in the context of this study. Second, some common gender stereotypes are discussed as examples of how the stereotypes function. Lastly, the section will study the role of representation in upholding the stereotypes and their relation to patriarchy and power imbalance between genders, and thus illuminating the connection between gender stereotypes and literature.

According to the conventional view, gender is a part of one's identity, and traditionally thought of as either male or female. Modern sociology, however, defines gender as a complex system that exists both within and beyond an individual, and where "gendered individuals [are seen] as occupying gendered positions in society, and their everyday interactions in those positions as being shaped by gender expectations" (Correll et al. 4). The stereotype, then, refers to a "standardized mental picture that held in common by members of a group and that represents an oversimplified opinion, prejudiced attitude, or uncritical judgment" according to the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary's* definition of the word ("Stereotype" in *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*). Therefore,

a gender stereotype is a fixed set of standards and expectations that are related to gender. Mills illustrates how these sets of standards and hypotheses become representative of a group by “some extreme perceived or imagined aspect of some members of an out-group’s behaviour [being] hypothesised and then that feature [being] generalised to the group as a whole” (126). Stereotypes in general are an important topic of study, as they influence perceptions, interpretations, and judgments about ‘outgroup’ members, and justify disparities between groups. They are also an important aspect of social prejudices and can therefore not only lead to discrimination but also be reinforced by it (Dovidio et al. 7). It is recognized that gender stereotypes support and are reinforced by sexism and a gender hierarchy that favours males over females.

At the simplest level, gender stereotypes for men and women often seem to be related through negation, that is, femininity is thought to be what masculinity is not and vice versa (Nodelman 3). While this is the case, their relationship is more complex. Gender stereotypes can be divided into descriptive and prescriptive aspects. At the core, descriptive gender stereotypes are a set of beliefs about how women and men are thought to act and be, whereas prescriptive stereotypes are concerned with how women and men should or should not act or be (Heilman and Parks-Stamm 48).

In addition, stereotypical characteristics can be categorized as being related to either positive or negative traits in personality, physical appearance, or cognitive characteristics (Diekmann and Eagly 187). These two characteristics of stereotypes are also connected; the desirability of a trait is affected not only by the positive or negative aspect of the trait, but also by the gender expectations of the person possessing the trait. That is, some negative traits are more easily excused if they are considered appropriate for the gender of their possessor (Prentice and Carranza 271). Women, for example, are judged less harshly than men for being impressionable or superstitious (Prentice and Carranza 273). Similarly, some traits are considered to be more negative in a person if they do not match the gender stereotype, so for example women face a more negative response than men for being arrogant or violent (Prentice and Carranza 273). In conclusion, while most traits can be divided in desirability between female and male genders, the prescription of a trait to one gender does not necessarily mean that others should not possess the trait, and that even generally undesirable traits can be excused if they are in line with gender expectations (Prentice and Carranza 270).

As there are several aspects concerning the stereotypes, a list of gender stereotypes would be rather long, context-dependent, and difficult to create since some of the descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes overlap. Researchers have created several such lists with a focus on some aspect of gender stereotypes, listing certain characteristics that are present or not present in a stereotype. At the core of such lists is often, that women are seen to be incompetent and dependent but nice and communal, while men are seen as competent and independent, while being less nice and prone to working alone (Heilman and Parks-Stamm 28, Prentice and Carranza 269-270). Women are also associated with weakness and a lack of emotional control (Rudman and Phelan 23-4), whereas men are associated with control, aggressiveness, and physical strength (Nodelman 6). For a more conclusive list of gender stereotypes recognised in this study, see Appendices 1 and 2.

While stereotypes are not true representations of individuals, they are upheld by both males and females equally (Heilman and Parks-Stamm 69). There are several theories to why this is. These include but are not limited to stereotypes making our complex world simpler and faster to understand (Heilman and Parks-Stamm 49), benevolent sexism, in which women are seen as inferior to men, being a better option for women compared to hostile misogyny (Rudman and Phelan 27), and because of the backlash effects that take place when one does not act according to the stereotypes (Rudman and Phelan 28).

Backlash effects differ by gender and whether the violated stereotype is descriptive or prescriptive (Glick and Rudman 340). However, they always include a negative response from the community of the person breaking the stereotypes. The backlash effects range from being attributed with hostile terms antithetical to the stereotypes (Heilman and Parks-Stamm 63) and facing attempts to change the undesired behaviour or trait (Prentice and Carranza 279) to being subjected to doubts about one's sexuality (Rudman and Phelan 35). Glick and Rudman add that especially people who do not conform to the prescriptive stereotypes might also risk social rejection and othering (339). It is notable, however, that in a few cases, the violator is rewarded for breaking the stereotype, and is praised even higher than the stereotype-conforming members of the other gender (Prentice and Carranza 279).

In addition to backlash effects that punish for stereotype violations, another aspect that makes stereotypes easier to accept is complementarity. As women are not merely stripped of a role in society, but rather prescribed a different role from men, it is easier to justify the existence

of power imbalance and sexual division of labour. This 'role justification' also prevents women from abandoning the system completely (Jost and Kay 499). This is vital: though sexism functions mainly to uphold patriarchy and male dominance, it is also reliant on women through traditional gender roles and the expectation of heterosexuality (Glick and Rudman 332). Distinct gender roles, they argue, "reinforce gender hierarchy while maintaining intimacy and affection between the sexes" (Glick and Rudman 333), and thus for the system to work, it is necessary that women uphold it as well. Mills adds that while aligning with gender expectations does not provide women economical rewards, such behaviour is rewarded with status and power over 'non-feminine' women (129), and thus, the gender hierarchy remains intact.

The role of media in upholding the power imbalance and gendered stereotypes has been recognised by many scientists. van Dijk, for example, finds discourse to be a crucial part in formulating and reproducing an ideology (6). He points out, however, that it is not merely discourse itself that reproduces ideologies, but that there is an "active human dimension" in the process (van Dijk 228). That is, humans either consciously or unconsciously uphold ideologies with their words and actions. Romera also discusses the notion of discourse and underlines its meaning in both upholding a status quo of inequality and constructing identity through presenting stereotypical images of gender (206, 225). She does, however, conclude with a more positive view on the power of discourse, and argues that since discourse can uphold a representation of reality, new discourses can create new representations and change the existing ones (225).

Similarly, Mills highlights the role of media in upholding gender stereotypes as stereotypes are built on 'common' experience. This 'common' experience becomes shared by different people as it is mediated in magazines and advertising among others (Mills 127). Mutz and Goldman also discuss the role of (mass) media, including novels, short stories, news items, movies, stage, radio and television, in upholding stereotypes and thus increasing prejudice. They conclude that media has the power to change levels of prejudice towards outgroups, but that it does not often do so due to individuals' selective exposure to media that promotes their existing views (Mutz and Goldman 247). Additionally, media is also able to develop new stereotypes that might not replace old ones but change their style or coexist with them (Mills 127). Hall finds this to be the key in challenging stereotypes and othering, as stereotypes can be problematised by, for example, reversing them (261) or adding positive images alongside the negative ones and thus adding diversity and "righting the balance" (262).

In conclusion, gender stereotypes are expectations of behaviour and traits placed on a person according to their gender. While they are necessary for a simple and fast understanding of others, they are also often untrue or even harmful. The stereotypes are upheld through backlash effects, complementarity, and recreation in different medias, and are significant in enforcing and justifying benevolent sexism and the existing power imbalance between genders. Representation can, however, also be used to undermine gender stereotypes or create less harmful, more varied stereotypes.

2.3 Otherness

Othering is a key element in the creation of stereotypes, and the two are deeply connected. Stereotypes essentialize difference between people and fix it. They also divide the acceptable from the unacceptable and exclude that which is different (Hall 247). In addition, while othering is already used to create stereotypes based on difference, it is also a common punishment for stereotype non-conforming behaviour (Glick and Rudman 339). It seems to be both the core and the upholding ingredient of stereotyping.

Otherness is based on difference, and difference is at the core of creating meaning (Hall 224). Difference itself is ambivalent in nature, both necessary for meaning production and a sense of self, but also possibly threatening, as it can cause splitting and aggression towards the other (Hall 228). Difference as a basis for meaning arises from a cultural need for categories, which leads to problems when, for example, people occupy wrong categories or fail to fit categories altogether. These people are often seen as dangerous and other, disrupting the social order of the culture as they do not fit the existing pattern (Hall 226). This is the case, for example, when stereotype non-conforming people are othered by their society. Hall finds binary oppositions to be a common practice in meaning creation (225). Binary opposites are, however, a reductionist approach to see the world, and offer a black-and-white image that does not fully represent reality. Additionally, binary opposites are very rarely neutral, but instead there often exists a relationship of power between the poles of the opposition (Hall 225).

Othering can occur in many ways, and representation and filmic or photographic techniques are the most relevant ways from the perspective of this study. What matters is, that some characters or groups are centred and some obscured and backgrounded (Ouellette and Gray, 134).

This reinforces oppression and discrimination, as othering always has a power imbalance. The dominant group defines the minority group, often through their own anxieties, as 'other' and inferior (Modood and Thompson 786). At the same time, the othered group lacks the power to fully define themselves in their own terms, while they may resist the descriptions or try to claim them as positive rather than negative attribute (Modood and Thompson 787). However, as Modood and Thompson point out, "the greater the degree of dominance of one group over another, the stronger its ability to impose its ascriptions onto that other, and the weaker the other's ability to resist" (787).

When resisting otherness or other backlash effects is difficult, people may rely on defensive othering (Ezzell 112). This means that the label created by the dominant group is accepted, but the person(s) tries to other themselves from the label: "There are indeed Others to whom this applies, but it does not apply to me" (Ezzell 112). Often, the people who create defensive othering identify with the values of the dominant group and reinforce the idea that the power imbalance is rational and should be accepted (Ezzell 112). Another technique to avoid othering and backlash effects often present among women excelling in male-defined fields is to be 'apologetic', that is, to emphasise other stereotype conforming behaviours or attributes to 'apologise' for the transgressions (Ezzell 112). Ezzell also finds normative identification as a tactic of avoiding backlash effects. It means that to please the dominant group, more than by simply emphasizing stereotype conforming behaviour, the gender norms are claimed as "an essential aspect of the self" (Ezzell 118-9).

While representation is important in the creation of otherness, it can also be used to question and undermine it. As noted earlier, counter-narratives in which characters resist stereotypes are a way of problematizing stereotypes, but they can also problematize otherness. Hall finds three ways of resisting otherness in representation: reversing stereotypes, diversifying the images of the other, and finding new ways of representation rather than focusing on the content (260-3). In addition, it is important to identify discriminatory power structures and understand their relationship with otherness, and question them (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 110).

2.4 Parody as a Means of Problematization

Parody is not a genre but rather a technique, accessible from an early age (Chambers 189). Typically, parodies are highly intertextual with the materials they parody and create contrasts to ridicule the original texts (Chambers 189). This is done by placing the original text beside a copy of itself, and the copy is then used as a joke, allowing us to explore the limits of the original through contrasts and laughter (Hariman 249). This chapter will focus on Bakhtin's theory on parody and its uses in problematization and discuss how parody can be used in relation to gender.

Bakhtin finds parody, and the novel as a form of literature, as a dialogic tool that can be used to contrast and problematize the monologic world view. This means, to put it simply, that novels can be interpreted in many ways and thus have several layers of meaning that are in dialogue with each other (Price Herndl 9). This is in contrast with the traditional line of literary studies in his time, which would only focus on finding 'the truth' – a concept that Bakhtin finds to be plural instead of singular. The novel as a genre resists authority and participates in the festive laughter, a form of parody, which is at once festive and mocking, directed at both the authority and its power, and those who are subject to it (Price Herndl, 10). This view of parody as a liberating act is also shaped by Bakhtin's experience of Stalinist Russia and his resistance to it (Derrin 13).

Especially relevant to Bakhtin's view of parody is the carnival. The concept is related to medieval carnivals, a specific time of year when the official order of the community would be reversed, creating a second life organised on the basis of laughter (Bakhtin 8). The carnival is a borderline of life and art, where there is no distinction between actors and spectators, and where the regular relationships of power are overturned (Bakhtin 7). It is filled with 'festive laughter' that makes light of everything and is laughing at everyone, including those who are laughing (Bakhtin 11). Bakhtin argues that parody works in a similar manner as the medieval carnival: it also makes fun of the reality and often uses aspects of the carnival to do so. It is therefore a good tool for criticism: in the carnival, after all, everything can be laughed at, especially that which is otherwise held in high regard or thought of as obvious. However, it is notable that while the festive laughter liberates people from the regular social order and limitations, this change is not permanent (Bakhtin 15).

Bakhtin finds grotesque imagery an important parodic tool. It is often related to bodies and their functions such as births and deaths, growth and old age, copulation, and dismemberment

(Bakhtin 25). In contrast to the classical aesthetic, in parody bodies are shown as ugly, even monstrous (Bakhtin 25). Thus, the ideal of the body is degraded, brought down to earth, but also regenerated in a positive manner. The body is presented not as private but rather as universal and is exaggerated to create festive laughter (Bakhtin 19, 21).

In addition to overturning hierarchies in action, the carnival changes the hierarchy of language as well. Common for the medieval carnival and therefore, also to parody, is so called the marketplace speech: this means that language that is normally seen as indecent becomes acceptable (Bakhtin 16). This includes familiar speech, especially abusive and insulting words. Bakhtin notes that while insults are “humiliating and mortifying they are at the same time revived and renewed” (16) and thus contribute to creating the free carnival atmosphere (17). Profanities and oaths are also an aspect of carnival speech.

Another important concept related to carnival is the mask, which represents both the joy of reincarnation and nonconformity (Bakhtin 39). In a feminist interpretation of Bakhtin, Berman argues that the mask could involve “any alteration of one’s appearance for purposes of enhancing one’s pleasure, power, or freedom” (123) – such as, for example, a witch’s hat. In fact, Berman finds femininity itself to be a mask, requiring make-up, costumes and certain lines (124).

Francis uses Bakhtin’s concept of monoglossia and heteroglossia in a theory of gender, and argues that the dominant, binarized, view of gender is a monoglossic (5) façade, masking a heteroglot reality (6). She suggests, that in applying Bakhtin’s work to gender theory, gender becomes a mutual construction between the individual and an ‘audience’ (Francis 8). The impression of gender monoglossia, she argues, is produced by performing gender according to the monoglossic view in an ‘overall’ way, while being free to differ from in minor ways (Francis 10). The monoglossic performance in fact masks its heteroglot parts. This fits seamlessly with the theory of breaking the gender stereotypes. For instance, if a woman performs according to the gender prescriptions and is kind and sociable, she may have some traits not included in the stereotypical view of women without having to fear backlash effects. Thus, it can be argued, that gender stereotypes are a monoglossic view of a heteroglot reality, and therefore parody is an excellent tool to challenge them.

Like Francis, Lloyd also claims that all gender performances can be interpreted as parodic (139). She argues, however, that this does not mean that gender performances can be completely manipulated at will, as the performer is also the effect of their performance (Lloyd 148).

Additionally, there are some dangers in the use of parody as a tool to disrupt gender expectations. Especially in this context, parody is highly reliant on the visibility of imitativeness. If the imitation is not explicit enough, the parodic image of a norm ends up re-idealising the norm instead or de-idealising it (Lloyd 140). McAleer is also cautious about using parody and exaggerated characteristics to combat stereotypes, as they often are an important part of othering by highlighting differences (195). Despite the criticism, however, parody remains a good tool for disrupting social order. Through a parodic copy, the limitations of the original are revealed, and power is shown as vulnerable, therefore allowing a space for political and cultural debate (Kenny 222) and fearless laughter (Kenny 224). As well as problematizing aspects of life that are taken for granted, parody allows re-imagining new social orders (Kenny 227).

In conclusion, parody is a literary technique that is used to ridicule seriousness and challenge existing hierarchies. Most important in parody is the carnival, which turns hierarchies upside down to make that which is highly appreciated to become ridiculous and vice versa. The carnival utilises many has many aspects, of which the most important for this study are the mask and the grotesque. While the carnival does not permanently change the hierarchies it criticises, it is an important tool for challenging what is generally thought obvious and re-imagining different possibilities.

3. Analysis

This section will begin by discussing the gender stereotypes present in *ISWM* and *SC*, with the focus on the most prominent ones. The following section analyses otherness and its role in the novels as both a backlash effect and as a way of resisting stereotypes. Finally, this chapter will look at how gender stereotypes are challenged in the novels under study through parody.

As the current study uses a feminist lens, it should be noted, that while some intersectionality is present in the books, it is not all encompassing. All characters appear to be white, for example, although it is not overtly mentioned, and almost all appear to be cis-gender and heterosexual. Some aspects of feminist theory are, therefore, less present in the discussion than others.

3.1 Stereotypes of Femininity

Stereotypes of femininity are present in *ISWM* and *SC* in many ways. This section will exemplify and study the most prominent stereotypes in the material, both positive and negative. As gender stereotypes are strongly connected with a patriarchal hierarchy and evaluation, this section will illustrate what values the stereotypes convey and how the hierarchies are visible in and reinforced by the stereotypes.

Another aspect of stereotypes and their relationship with patriarchy is visible through binary pairs. Cixous finds binary pairs to always include a power relationship: “dual, **hierarchized** oppositions. Superior/Inferior” (148, original emphasis). The stereotypes studied are roughly related to two binary pairs: rational/emotional, and mind/body. This division is deeply rooted in the gender stereotypes and is sometimes used to justify inequality; the masculine marked domain of rationality and mind is appreciated higher than the feminine marked emotionality and body. This section will study both binary pairs and the stereotypes closely related to them.

Looking at the binary pair of rational/emotional, the most simplified stereotype of femininity is that women are kind and communal but incompetent (Heilman and Parks-Stamm 48, Prentice and Carranza 269-70). The kindness of women in the books mostly takes the forms of altruism or being soft-spoken, both of which are included in feminine stereotypes (Prentice and Carranza 269). Because the books are intended for children, there is not much swearing present, but the

stereotype of soft-spoken women is clear through comparison with men. In *SC*, the stereotype is clearest through comparison with men at the pub, who are expected to swear and make rude jokes, which the landlady is supposed to disapprove of but tolerate to an extent:

And of course, there was swearing, with language as ripe as the humorous vegetables. After all, there were no women there except for Mrs Parsley, who turned a blind ear and would certainly put up with language such as 'bugger', it being considered nothing more than a colourful expression [...] (*SC* 134)

While also witches conform to the kindness and soft-spoken stereotypes, they are also allowed some freedom of movement that other women do not have. For example, Tiffany can approve of and use the word "arse" (*ISWM* 77) and be mean, at least to people who are mean to her "Go away, Miss Spruce, or stay, Miss Spruce, but most of all, **shut up**, Miss Spruce" (*ISWM* 73, original emphasis). This does not, however, mean that kindness is not expected of her. At the back of her mind, she polices her feelings and thoughts, as if to not stray too far from being kind: "She stopped herself there: **a bit** of nasty was enough" (*ISWM* 24, original emphasis). It seems to be a balancing trick between stereotype conforming and non-conforming behaviour. This is also implied in the fact that witches seem to recognise the stereotypical link between niceness and competence and if asked, identify with the latter: "**We** [witches] **do right, we don't do nice**" (*ISWM* 337, original emphasis).

In relation to kindness, modesty and caring for others seem to be some of the most desired traits in the women of Discworld. Women are expected to be quiet and submissive instead of competitive or self-promoting (Heilman and Parks-Stamm 61), and therefore they are socially rewarded for being modest. Letitia, for example, gains the favour of her subjects by treating others as her equals: "[Letitia]'s always around the place talking to people, **not putting on airs**. The wife likes her" (*SC* 138, emphasis added). Similarly, Tiffany gains praise from other witches and even the recognition of the land for her altruism: "The voice came from nowhere, as though it was part of the ocean from Time: **Tiffany Aching is the first among shepherds, for she puts others before herself...**" (*SC* 290, original emphasis).

The female stereotypical characteristics that are most clearly present in all witches is a tendency to care for others, acknowledged as a stereotype by Heilman and Parks-Stamm (62) and

to be clean, as discussed by Prentice and Carranza (273). All work witches do mainly consists of caring for those in need without being paid. Although in the world of the novels there is a system of favours as payment, which ensures that the witches are provided food and old clothes, the value of their labour is not recognized. It is expected of witches to perform caring services immediately when their community needs them to. For example, when taking care of two steadings, Tiffany is criticised for not being there when people need her although she has barely time to eat, sleep, and take care of herself: "You're supposed to be our witch, be here for **us**" (SC 143, original emphasis). This echoes the unpaid caring and domestic labour women are often expected to do, and it strengthens the stereotype of altruism.

The other side of the kind but incompetent stereotype, and one of the most prominent stereotypes according to Heilman and Parks-Stamm, is the expectation of female incompetence and helplessness (48). This stereotype is also clearly present in the materials under study. The expectation of incompetence is so strict that women who are successful in a masculine-marked field can be considered to be deviating from gender stereotypes and therefore may face backlash effects (Heilman and Parks-Stamm 62). This dynamic shows in Discworld, as well, as Tiffany's quick learning curve in a masculine-marked activity is praised, but in a patronizing manner: "'You've done well, lass. Very well. I have never seen a **boy** apprentice take to carpentry as quickly as this, and you are a **girl**'" (SC 328, emphases added).

According to Mills, however, the notion of incompetence is only focused on non-domestic tasks, and women are expected to perform well in domestic tasks (130). This is also the case with most women in the books, as they are shown to be eager to display their competence and hard work in their homes: "Generally speaking, women in the villages raced to be the first to show smoke; it showed you were a busy housewife" (*ISWM* 308). The expectation of domestic competence reinforces and is supported by sexual division of labour.

The stereotype of incompetence is also linked with the stereotypical expectation of feminine passivity. Regular women expressing their opinions, offering advice, or acting on their own instead of merely reacting to others is presented as leading to negative results due to their incompetence. For example, when Tiffany is assisting in a birth, the female relatives of the mother-to-be insist on being in the same room. Their incompetence is clear: "Already one or two of them had given her old-fashioned advice, wrong advice and possibly dangerous advice" (SC 52). The incompetent women are expected to silently let the competent people, often men, or in this case, a witch, take

care of whatever needs to be done – they are expected to be passive, and are found annoying and meddling when they do not act according to this expectation.

The negative stereotype of women ‘talking too much’ and ‘meddling’ is related to the stereotype of passivity, as women are expected to subordinate themselves to others and be supportive (Diekmann and Eagly 1187). Rebelliousness and controlling behaviour are strongly disapproved of, and even defending one’s beliefs is not considered stereotypically feminine (Prentice and Carranza 273-4). Therefore, even generally acceptable qualities such as enthusiasm or helpfulness are sometimes twisted to be negative qualities. Letitia, for example, appears to talk ‘too much’: “And Letitia seemed to be in some kind of personal heaven. She chattered the whole time, which was admittedly better than sobbing” (*ISWM* 292). Similarly, a conversation about Tiffany and another witch shows how helpfulness, while part of the feminine stereotype, is not so readily acceptable when paired with the masculine marked cleverness: “The young lady [Tiffany] is also known to be thoughtful, helpful and clever.’ ‘Without being insufferable? I wish I could say the same of Mrs Earwig” (*SC* 67). It seems that the feminine stereotype itself is not necessarily negative, but the attitudes towards it can certainly be such.

Conforming with the conventions of patriarchal gender hierarchy, women are expected to be passive to the extent that people tend to forget that women have their own lives, thoughts and wishes. For instance, Geoffrey ceases a fight over a woman by asking the fighters: “Why don’t you two just meet the young lady and see what **she** thinks before you start beating each other to death?” (*SC* 109, original emphasis). Everyone is baffled: the idea that women can be in control of their own lives and decide themselves who **they** want to go out with seems an obvious yet unthought of solution.

The hierarchy between the emotional and the rational is clearest in the contradictory representation of crying. Women’s crying is only a small part of the emotionality stereotype, but the way crying is presented, discussed and reacted to by the characters in the books is gendered and closely related to the emotional/rational binary. Many of the characters cry at some point in the books, due to grief, worry, remorse or some other strong feeling. Some of these characters are female, some male. Yet crying is not always seen as appropriate. When men in the books grieve, on the other hand, their tears are dealt with gently. For example, Roland grieves his father and cries but is angry “at being seen like that, stupid anger, as if tears made him less of a man and less of a baron” (*ISWM* 226). What is important in this and similar instances in the books, is not that

men cry as such, but the contrast that is made to the act of **women** crying. The most prominent stereotypical image recreated in the narrative is, that women, for example Letitia, cry 'all the time' "She was never more than a teacup away from a tear" (*ISWM* 291). This is presented as disdainful and unnecessarily emotional, and the gentle narrative given to men is not often present. Tiffany, for example, tells the upset Letitia coldly: "Please don't start crying again, it makes everything so soggy" (291). Tiffany thinks that her crying is impractical and is therefore not needed.

Similarly, Tiffany is surprised by Letitia's skills in witchcraft because she thinks of her as "the girl who spends all her time in tears" (*ISWM* 295), and for Tiffany, these two qualities cannot co-exist. Tiffany also tries to stop the tears of the former elf Queen Nightshade: "Oh, please don't cry. An elf who has been a queen – an elf who wants to be queen again – surely shouldn't cry" (*SC* 226). She judges her own tears as fiercely, adding to them the meaning of girlishness and powerlessness, permitting herself to cry rarely and needing to justify it to herself: "It was all right to sob in this familiar kitchen like she had when she was a girl" (*SC* 101). When a man cries, however, Tiffany does not try to silence them in the same manner, showing a double standard.

Tiffany's relationship with showing or expressing emotions is similarly twisted in the case of many other feelings as well. For her, anger, for example, is an emotion with practical use and therefore more acceptable than others: "Oh, I **feel** angry a lot of the time [...] but I just put it somewhere until I can do something useful with it" (*ISWM* 309, original emphasis). She gathers anger to use it later when she needs aggression to push her on or violence to fight her enemies. It is interesting, that anger as an emotion and strong control of emotions are most often associated with masculinity (Boeuf 249).

Expectations of kindness and soft language extend to practically all aspects of being a woman, even despite their occasional high status. According to Heilman and Parks-Stamm, women in leading positions are disrespected if they do not lead in a 'feminine' way, i.e., are direct, dominant, and autocratic instead of communal, democratic, and considerate (60). This is true on the Disc as well. For example, Tiffany is considered a good leader for the witches as she takes a feminine role: she stands her ground but is actively social, speaks softly, and negotiates her decisions: "Tiffany intervened quickly before sparks began to fly. 'Ladies, ladies, I think it would be useful to have a little demonstration of the power of an elf'" (*SC* 279).

In contrast, women who lead in a more 'masculine' way, and are firm and distant, even violent, are shown to be horrible bullies in the books, and their efforts to gain more power and hold it

often fail. For example, Letitia's mother, the Duchess, is rude, violent, and distant, all masculine marked traits. She is also seen "striding around the great hall and occasionally prodding people with a stick" (*ISWM* 232). She has gained power through her social class and holds on to it with masculine marked violence and rudeness, and is recognised for the bully she is: "You think my mother is a very rude and bossy person, don't you? ... And you are right" (*ISWM* 294). It is presumable, however, that she faces a harsher social punishment for her violent behaviour than a man would, because she also faces backlash effects. It is later revealed that in her own household, the Duchess is loyal to servants who have served them: "She is loyal to people who are loyal to us. We have always been. No one is ever sacked for being too old or too ill or too confused" (*ISWM* 294). While loyalty is a part of the female stereotype (source and page) and therefore her actions are stereotype-conforming, this does not fully compensate for the damage she has caused in Lancre. She becomes accepted by Tiffany only when she starts acting in more feminine stereotypical ways and becomes "a happy, beaming Duchess, who chatted merrily, even to the maids, and appeared to have a kind word for everybody" (*ISWM* 396). Although she does not apologise for her behaviour, all is eventually forgotten.

It also seems that even as leaders, women are not completely powerful over men but remain to face the threat of being dethroned by a man or not being autonomously in charge. Rather, they rely on a related man's position to gain authority. Nightshade is a classic example, as she is the Queen of elves mostly due to the King being too disinterested to rule himself, and she is easily dethroned and cast out by a male elf. Additionally, the way she led the elves is a masculine one: "If he speaks false, we will tear out his tongue" (*SC* 91). Her leading style is close to Peaseblossom's, yet for her it was not enough to hold the loyalty of her people.

Similarly, Letitia's mother, while being an authoritative figure in the castle, is not exactly in charge but uses her status as a mother-in-law to enforce her own way of doing things and to bully others to gain more power. This, however, lasts only until Roland stands up to her and takes charge as the rightful leader of the country, after which the Duchess' opinions are disregarded. Although Tiffany can and is expected to argue with him about decisions and she has enough respect to make her point of view heard, the actual decisions and therefore the final authority lie in the hands of a man.

When considering the other main category, the mind/body binary, a pervasive stereotype of femininity is being weak both physically and in personality (Prentice and Carranza 270). In the

books under study, these judgments are surprisingly mostly made by Tiffany. For example, she finds Letitia's whole presence to radiate weakness:

there was no denying that she **looked** like a watercolour – and not just a watercolour, but a watercolour painted by someone who had not much colour but large supply of water, giving her the impression of not only being colourless but also rather damp. You could add, too, that there was so little of her that in a storm it might be quite possible that she would snap. (*ISWM* 233, original emphasis)

Tiffany also finds Mrs Petty to be weak for not standing up to her battering husband: "Most women in the villages had grown up to be tough" (*ISWM* 108), she thinks, and Mrs Petty is the exception. In contrast, Tiffany herself is often described as strong: "He was three times her weight, but she knew about leverage. You couldn't be a witch if you couldn't manoeuvre someone who was heavier than you" (*ISWM* 25). Possibly her strong judgment of other female characters is based on otherness and internalised misogyny.

To underline women's weakness, they are often compared to small animals. Letitia, for example, is described to look like "a hamster that had had its treadmill stopped" (*ISWM* 321), and Mrs Petty seems to "have the brains as well as the demeanour of a mouse" (*ISWM* 112). When women are described in terms relating to people, the description often evokes a feminine stereotype: "Letitia listened like someone who was going to make notes afterwards, and possibly get tested on Friday" (*ISWM* 322) – a hardworking 'good girl', helpless and worried. Female marked professions are also commonly used in metaphors; Tiffany is described as "a schoolteacher who is only just satisfied with the naughty class" (*ISWM* 214), and Mrs Earwig is reported to be shouting "like some horrible headmistress" (*SC* 301). It appears that metaphors and descriptions related to the characters play a key role in creating stereotypes as the characters' actions.

In accordance with benevolent sexism and the domestic competence stereotype, women are allowed some power in the domestic sphere. This includes control over their husband in some cases, but even this amount of power is often seen as either negative or faltering. It is implied that the domestic power is 'given' to the women by men, who want peace and quiet instead of, if we expect the stereotypes to guide this thinking, nagging: "If the wife approved, well that was good. It meant peace at home, and every countryman wanted **that** after a day's hard work" (*SC* 138,

original emphasis). While Tiffany thinks that she has the upper hand over the new Baron due to having “the trust and confidence of a young woman who is soon to be his wife. No man can be safe in those circumstances” (*ISWM* 331), it is clear that this is more a joke than an actual asset. Additionally, men appear to be owners of a family’s land for example, and it is commonly accepted that “A man’s got to have discipline in his own house, after all” (*ISWM* 27). Mrs Petty’s case further clarifies that even the domestic power can easily be taken away by a violent husband.

Almost as a continuation of the idea of the mind being seen as superior to the body, beauty or focus on one’s external appearance is often seen as the opposite of and inferior to practicality. While seemingly innocent, this comparison is often achieved by comparing the feminine stereotype conforming actions and features to the non-conforming ones, or feminine features to masculine ones. Letitia, for example, is first introduced to the reader through the eyes of Tiffany, who finds her white shoes a marker of her uselessness, for “how long would they last on somebody who had to do a job of work?” (*ISWM* 24). While there is a point to be made, the utterance creates a stereotypical image of a passive woman very concerned with her outer appearance (Mills 128), and then insists on the inferiority of beauty and the feminine in contrast to the practical and the non-feminine.

Throughout *ISWM*, Letitia’s feminine clothing and appearance are criticized quite heavily: “Letitia’s apparel was simply a mass of flimsy frills upon frills, in Tiffany’s mind **not** the clothing of anyone who was any use whatsoever” (*ISWM* 152, original emphasis). She conforms to the stereotypical image of a young woman and is rewarded with the attention of the man she loves. However, she is also punished for being feminine by being represented as inferior to non-feminine characters such as Tiffany. A similar comparison is made with the black clothing of the witches and the Duchess:

The Duchess was there, in a black dress that was more black than any black Tiffany had ever seen before. The dress gleamed. The black dress of the average witch was usually only **theoretically** black [...] It was what it was: working clothes. (*ISWM* 348, original emphasis)

Without realising it, Tiffany recreates benevolent sexism, and enforces competition and jealousy instead of solidarity between women.

On the other hand, when Tiffany meets her old self, the image does not differ so much from the description of more feminine stereotypical characters. She is described as

a classic witch with the black dress, black boots – rather nice ones, Tiffany noted – and, of course, the pointy hat. She had a necklace too. On the chain was a golden hare [...] she seemed to suggest that old age, or something, wasn't really being taken seriously [...] it was a very nice grin. (*ISWM* 405)

This vision of herself is not, however, criticized for her nice boots, showing a double standard.

While focusing on outer appearances is a part of the feminine stereotype and therefore to some extent expected behaviour, it can also be interpreted as vanity. Vanity goes against the expectation of women being modest and can therefore trigger backlash effects. Modifying one's outer appearance is also a form of taking control, thus making it doubly offensive. For example, Preston comments on the body modification of female nurses at the hospital, Igorinas (female counterparts of Igers, a race of Frankenstein-like surgeons who perform surgery on others as well as themselves): "he [Preston] said that he likes a girl who stays the same shape every day. The Igorinas like to experiment" (*SC* 188). The body modification is judged from the outside and from the perspective of a young (presumably white) male and his tastes. Curiously, Tiffany does not judge his comment but is instead comforted by it.

The gender hierarchy is sometimes overtly linked with age-based hierarchy, and both support each other. Tiffany, for example, feels that because of her young age, she is more likely to be seen as incompetent:

And it was a matter of age. In twenty years' time, perhaps, if she asked for help, people would think: Well, even an experienced witch can run up against something really unusual. And they would help as matter of course. But now, if she asked for help, well... people would help. Witches always helped other witches. But everyone would think: Was she really any good? Can't she last the distance? (*ISWM* 354-55)

The age hierarchy overlapping the gender hierarchy is also present in more subtle ways, for example in the connotations of the words used. To the old Baron, the word 'arse' has "a

commendable **grown-up** sharpness to it. 'Ass', on the other hand, is quite frankly for **spinsters and little children**" (*ISWM* 77, emphases added). He seems to imply that spinsters might be on the same level of maturity or intellectuality as children, and the possibility of Tiffany taking offence at the usage of the word suggests that women in general probably should not tolerate or use such words. The soft-spoken stereotype remains unchallenged, because while Tiffany does agree with the old Baron, she is also the witch, and is therefore allowed to bend the rules that apply to other women.

Another example of this kind of a half-hidden hierarchy of age combined with gender becomes apparent in the way the girls and girly things are presented in the books. They are generally frowned upon as useless and spoken of in derogatory terms even by other women: "They [a little pile of books] were sad little volumes, of the sort Nanny Ogg [...] called 'Tiddly Twinkle-Poo' for girls who played at being witches for fun" (*ISWM* 300).

In contrast, boyish things such as fights and mischief, even dangerous 'jokes' are represented in a more positive manner:

little Ted Cooper had put an explosive banger into the carcass of a chicken after his mum's birthday party and nearly killed everybody around the table. Yes, [Tiffany] had bandaged and treated everybody, even the **joker**, but she hoped very much his dad had kicked his arse afterwards. (*SC* 114, emphasis added)

Possibly due to the role of stereotypes and benevolent sexism, the prank is brushed off as boisterous play, and while it is recognised that the boy needs a punishment, he is referred to as a joker in an understanding manner. Nodelman claims that boys are traditionally viewed as wild and animal-like, both celebrated for their inclination for breaking the rules but also deserving punishment (4). With stereotype complementarity, it is implied that girls, on the other hand, are not and should not be these things.

It is often noted in the books how tough caring and cleaning labour is, yet it is considered a woman's job only, even if the reason for this is not clear even for Tiffany: "Exactly **why** it is women's work I don't know" (*ISWM* 98, original emphasis). In the case of caring labour, the exceptions of Preston and Geoffrey serve to strengthen the rule that these actions and characteristics are usually prescribed to females only, and even they are not shown to be cleaning, whereas women

who do not clean by their occupation are still expected to do so. Tiffany, for example, chastises the nurse for her uselessness as a cleaner, and compares her to the nurses before her: “No, you do not scrub anything, do you, Miss Spruce? [...] Now, Miss Flowerdew, who was here before you, now she **could** scrub a floor” (*ISWM* 97, original emphasis). It is also related to domestic work and competence.

In fact, cleaning seems to be almost a ‘natural’ part of being a woman and coping with emotions: “[Tiffany] had been in many houses where death had visited, and **always** the lady of the house, if there was one, would be shining anything that shined and cleaning everything that could be cleaned” (*SC* 91, emphasis added). It is also emphasised to be a constant activity for women: “his wife was **always** washing, cleaning, polishing and, when no alternative was around, dusting” (*SC* 165, emphasis added). In fact, any female who does not conform to it faces immediate backlash effects from the people around her. For example, Mrs Petty, who as a victim of domestic violence is too overwhelmed to act to take care of her home, is judged harshly by Tiffany, who thinks: “how hard was it to slosh a bucket of cold water over a stone floor and swoosh it out of the door with a broom? How hard was it to make some soap?” (*ISWM* 108). In the novels, women often uphold and police stereotype conformity among themselves and use the stereotype as a standard for classism as well as sexism: “And, as her mother had said once, ‘**No one** is too **poor** to wash a window’” (*ISWM* 108, emphasis added).

Other examples of sexual division of labour include caring for children and cooking, both of which are considered difficult for men: “Some of the problem in both steadings was with the old men left behind when their wives had died; a lot of them didn’t know how to cook.” (*SC* 113). In the case of childcare, it is implied, that men are especially helpless: “He holds them [the children] upside down sometimes, she thought to herself. He is a very clever man, but give him a baby and he doesn’t know what to do” (*SC* 233). Even tailoring, a skill needed by all, is considered feminine and therefore demeaning for a man: “To big beefy men like Mr Petty, a tailor was hardly a man at all, with his soft hands and indoor work. And if he stitched clothed for ladies too, well, that was even more shame that the daughter would be bringing to the unhappy little family” (*ISWM* 231). The masculinity represented in the books is rather narrow and relies heavily on binary opposites, and while the division is questioned or disregarded by some characters, the expectations and stereotypes remain old-fashioned yet untouched.

In conclusion, the texts under study include several feminine stereotypes, particularly in relation to the emotional/rational and body/mind binaries. Some stereotypes, like kindness and being good at domestic work, are strongly present in most female characters, and those who lack them face backlash effects. Others, like being soft-spoken or passive, are stereotypes where witches can use their status in the margin of community to ignore the stereotype without increased negative effects. Their status does, however, also include a sense of otherness. Additionally, while some stereotypes such as labour roles are questioned by witches, the patriarchal hierarchy behind the stereotypes remains.

3.2 Otherness as Resistance

In *ISWM* and *SC*, otherness is present on three levels: 'other' in the sense woman is other to man, 'other' being neither a man nor a woman or not 'fully' woman, and 'other' as not fitting the gendered roles or following regular patterns. This section will look at each level in turn. Otherness is often marked as a negative trait and othering is used, for example, as a punishment for challenging stereotypes (Glick and Rudman 399), and as a means to strengthen power imbalance (Modood and Thompson 787). In these books, however, its meaning is also redefined as a positive quality and a free space from limitations created by, for example, gender stereotypes.

Otherness that separates women and men in the books is present for example in the way they are seen as different 'types' of people: "There were really only four types of people in the world: men and women, and wizards and witches" (*ISWM* 8). In addition, women are not only different from men, but also presented as inferior and unwanted by them: "Each one of the sheds Geoffrey visited on his rounds of the old boys was different, expressing the personality of the occupant, **unfettered by female intervention**" (*SC* 264, emphasis added).

As the division between women and men is emphasised, it is notable, that witches and wizards have their own categories; they do not belong in the same category as ordinary women and men. Sometimes this is seen as witches not being 'fully' women or being 'more' than women, a division often reinforced by the witches themselves: "Witches are not ladies **when** on business" (*ISWM* 344, original emphasis). In Geoffrey's case, the otherness can also be interpreted as queerness: "I've never thought of myself as a man [...] I don't think I am anything. I'm just me" (*SC* 153).

In the end, however, the possibility of Geoffrey's queerness and his potential to permanently shake the sexual division of labour by becoming a witch are both avoided. Geoffrey is so likable, that he does not seem to suffer from the same othering effects that witches usually face. His sexuality, for example, is not openly questioned as Tiffany's is. Unlike most witches, he is also generally **liked** by his community: "The ladies in the villages had taken Geoffrey to their hearts, too [...] There was something about his willingness to stop and talk, his gentle smile and pleasant manner, that made them immediately warm to him" (SC 167-8). Additionally, a new label is constructed for Geoffrey, and the matter of labour roles is left to the side: "'What did you call him, Tiff? A calm-weaver? Shall we leave it at that for now?'" (SC 320). While Geoffrey is, in some ways, other to the stereotypical masculine image of a man, his character does not seem to be fully developed for the reader to decide whether he is truly problematizing gender stereotypes or merely reinforcing the gender hierarchy as a male to performing well without any training in a feminine field.

Witches are also separated from regular people as they do not deal with money or are paid for their services. As mentioned earlier, a system of trading, owing, and gaining respect is in place. "Witches lived in a world of second-hand clothes, old sheets (good for making bandages), hand-me-downs, hand-me-outs, hand-me-ups, hand-me-rounds and hand-me-overs" (ISWM 80). The power they have is outside the system of wealth, which makes it accessible to all social classes in an equal manner, but also echoes the unpaid domestic labour of women the patriarchal system relies on. It could be interpreted as role justification, as women, especially witches, have their own separate domain of power and status (Jost and Kay 499). However, while it is not a prestigious one, it is not sexist or challenged by the patriarchal structure.

When it comes to otherness as a way of not fitting in the stereotypes or regular patterns, witches are most often the characters who find stereotypes limiting and consciously resist them. This is a choice most likely consciously made as witches are often used in feminist writing to as figures who resist patriarchal values (Madej-Stang, vii). In fact, the otherness created by this resistance seems to be the defining characteristic of any witchcraft user: "The witch was different. The witch knew things you did not. The witch was another kind of person" (ISWM 12). Tiffany, Geoffrey, and Letitia share this experience. Not only do they feel themselves to be different from others, but they also do not fit in well with gender expectations. For example, Geoffrey struggles with his gender identity and Letitia feels that the gender expectations limit her possibilities:

The most I'm allowed to do is paint pictures, and only watercolours at that. Not even charcoal sketches! [...] **You** don't have to just sit and paint pictures. You can fly around all the time [...] Order people about, do interesting things. Hah, I wanted to be a witch when I was little. But just my luck, I had long blonde hair and a pale complexion and a very rich father. What good was that? Girls like that can't be witches! (*ISWM* 285, original emphasis)

Sometimes othering appears to happen almost as if by itself and is accepted as a natural order. For example, while Tiffany is pressured by others to have a relationship like 'regular' girls her age, she thinks that having a (heterosexual) relationship is hard for witches: "Witches were definitely women, but most of the older ones Tiffany knew hadn't got married either [...] witches were not only very busy, but also *apart* [...] You were among people, but not the **same** as them" (*ISWM* 8-9, original emphasis). She feels othered by her extensive knowledge compared to 'normal' people: "People started to think: Who are you to have these skills? Who are you to know these things?" (*ISWM* 260). She also does not have friends among people who are not witches: "people on the Chalk could be friendly, but they weren't friends, not **actual** friends" (*ISWM* 12, original emphasis). This is in line with the view of Heilman and Parks-Stamm who suggest that women in managerial positions are often described as "unlikable" or by using other "hostile terms antithetical to the prescribed female stereotype" (63).

As Nuttall has noted, the witches occupy a paradoxical position in their societies, being at the same time both outsiders due to their magical abilities and central because their services are so important (32). She finds the othering to be mainly caused by people's fear and awe of the witches' skills (32). While this is the case, I argue that othering is also enforced by backlash effects associates with acts of challenging stereotypes, and that it is even upheld by the witches themselves.

Conformity to stereotypes often reflects the character's place in society: witches are in its margin, pressured by others to conform through the backlash effects. For example, Tiffany does not conform to the expectation of women having a heterosexual relationship that includes marriage and children, and is therefore subject to common backlash effects, such as questioning her sexuality (Glick and Rudman 35). As a sign of this, at the fair, little girls who give Tiffany a bouquet ask her whether she has "passionate parts" (*ISWM* 14). The girls have heard a rumour that

witches have no sexuality and want to check whether it is true “because [the bouquet] might be a bit of a waste, meaning no offence” (*ISWM* 15).

Tiffany's otherness is, however, also a chance to be herself. Her parents have mainly accepted her role as a witch instead of “getting ready to produce a few more grandchildren” (*SC* 99), and try not to criticise her openly. Her younger brother, on the other hand, is given no such freedom to choose his career to include railways rather than sheep. In Tiffany's case, otherness offers a way out of gendered expectations into a more loosely governed territory, where she can choose whether or not to have a relationship and become what she wants to be rather than be guided by outside expectations.

The threat of backlash effects is not only present in the views of the regular people in the society. Witches encourage and even pressure each other to **not** conform to the stereotypes. This is especially clear in the case of stereotype of women working communally rather than independently. For example, Tiffany feels pressured to show the other witches that she can manage by herself, which makes it clear that asking for help or relying on others are seen as a mark of one's inferior skills. She equates being a girl and accepting help with not being good enough: “The witch who faced the trials and ran away? [...] The witch they were kind to, because they knew she wasn't good enough? [...] I'd rather die trying to be a witch, than be a **girl** they were all kind to” (*ISWM* 338, emphasis added). While the pressure to not conform to stereotypes and to work alone is not overtly expressed by the other witches, Tiffany is praised for not asking for or accepting help: “But all in all, Tiffany, it seems to us that you've done a woman's job today [...] We leave this steading in the best of hands” (*ISWM* 408).

Witches pressure each other to break the other feminine stereotypes as well. However, as Hall has suggested, this sometimes means that the stereotype resisted is only replaced by another one (262). This is the case, for example, when the witches' expectation of practicality becomes nearly as limiting as the beauty/vanity stereotype it tries to replace. Mrs Earwig, for example, faces harsh criticism for the accessories she wears, which are seen as unnecessary and trivial: “It's not about shiny charms [...] It's about bein' a witch to the bone in the darkness, an' dealing with the lamentation an' the tears! It's about bein' **real**” (*SC* 84-5, original emphasis). Other witches look down onto her, which is justified through her not being a likable person. The judgemental attitude is masked as a criticism not of her femininity but of her personality. Similarly, Letitia is often criticized by Tiffany for her feminine style of dress. This can also be seen as a form of defensive

othering, as she feels superior for identifying with the masculine values in outer appearance (Ezzell 112).

In *SC*, however, the strong rejection of both the communality and vanity stereotypes is taken to a more accepting level. While not accepting help and being highly self-reliant are portrayed as positive and useful qualities and practicality is praised throughout the books, these masculine-marked attributes also create obstacles when Tiffany tries to take on too much work by herself. She only overcomes these obstacles by accepting help from Preston and Letitia in *ISWM*, and from Geoffrey and the other witches in *SC*. Similarly, witches' different body types and different magical abilities are more accepted towards the end of *SC*: "There was something terribly **soggy** about Letitia, as if you could pick her up and wring her out. But witches came in all shapes and sizes" (*SC* 268, original emphasis).

In addition to being othered by the people in her society and pressured to do so by other witches, Tiffany also actively recreates the otherness herself. While in the texts under study witches help each other on several occasions and often generally side with other women, they also hold themselves above 'regular' women. This can be seen as a form of defensive othering (Ezzell 112); while Tiffany herself does not conform to stereotypes, she also seems to support the power structure between genders and some of the gendered stereotypes, such as cleanliness. For example, Tiffany tries to help Mrs Petty, a victim of domestic violence, but even while helping her she thinks of her as lazy and criticises her for her perceived lack of effort: "How hard was it to make some soap?" (*ISWM* 108). She also has a condescending attitude towards Letitia and other girls her age: "The girl was only eight days younger than herself [...] In fact she felt old enough to be the girl's mother" (*ISWM* 292).

The narrative emphasises the otherness Tiffany perceives between herself and other women. There is, in fact, a distinct difference between the description of witches when compared to other woman characters in the books. While both possess some negative stereotypical characteristics of women, such as being bossy, noisy, or meddling, in the witches these qualities are mostly seen as good because of their competence, but in other women they are criticised. Tiffany, for example, is playfully called out on this by Preston, who then agrees that Tiffany meddling is permitted because of her occupation: "You know all that just now was organizing people's lives for them [...] but in a good way. You are the **witch**, Tiffany" (*ISWM* 408, original emphasis). This imbalance between the witches and the other women is clarified by the fact that the only truly sensible and

capable woman characters in the books seem to be witches or girls with magical potential. A similar distinction between men with or without magical abilities is not apparent. While many men in the books conform to negative masculine stereotypes, there are also those who fill out more positive stereotypes or act outside stereotypes without being magical at all, such as Preston and Roland.

The otherness often creates a sense of superiority in Tiffany, who holds herself above not only other women but also men and wizards: "Anyone could learn [witchcraft] if they had a lick of sense, but sometimes even a lick is hard to find" (*ISWM* 11). This sense of superiority alongside the social distance created by otherness allows witches to not often listen to other's advice and to not accept anyone's authority over themselves. For example, the old Baron asks why Tiffany does not curtsy in his presence, to which she answers: "I am a witch now, sir. **We don't do that sort of thing**" (*ISWM* 77, emphasis added). While not always positive, the otherness gives witches power over the gender and class hierarchies, and while their special role in society is somewhat feared, it is also expected and needed of them: "A man of power and responsibility nevertheless needs somebody to tell him when he is being a bloody fool" (*ISWM* 76).

In addition to being able to disregard regular power hierarchies, witches also sometimes use them to their advantage. For example, while Tiffany sets class aside as the leader of witches: "A shepherd's crown, not a royal one" (*SC* 311), Magrat is ready to use her royal status to gain credibility: "Well, I am a queen. That doesn't stop me being a witch when needs must" (*SC* 268). She even shares this power with other women, as Geoffrey's harassed mother can use it as a leverage: "And the Queen of Lancre has invited me to come and visit her" (*SC* 322), as the power of royalty is recognized to the point that "no one argued with the power of a crown" (*SC* 321). Their place in the margin of society seems to give them the power to choose when to follow a hierarchy and when to act around it.

In some cases, otherness may also act as a safety measure. In the city, regular people are at risk of being robbed, but witches rely on the stereotype of the scary evil witch to avoid this: "who would pick a witch's pocket? You would be lucky to get all your fingers back. At least that was what they feared, and a sensible witch would encourage them in this fear" (*ISWM* 2).

As well as offering an escape from limiting stereotypes, otherness is also a way to gain respect that Tiffany would not otherwise receive. Respect for young girls is not common in the Discworld, a tendency that Tiffany notices and clearly challenges by using defensive othering. Girls'

competence is underestimated to the point that Letitia's girly clothes are commented on by Tiffany almost constantly to mark her 'inferiority', even as she acknowledges her talent: "This young woman, **who has never realised it's time to stop wearing girly dresses**, gave a headless ghost a pumpkin to carry under its arm [...] It's absolutely something that a witch would do" (*ISWM* 305, emphasis added). Girls are also not respected as a rule: "And now, Tiffany thought, the King of the Elves did see her as **more than a young girl**. At this meeting she had respect" (*SC* 313, emphasis added). It is not surprising, therefore, that Tiffany tries to distance herself from being labelled as a girl to gain credibility and power: "'Not a girl,' Tiffany said. 'I'm a witch'" (*SC* 328), she says to the carpenter wondering at her success. She sees herself as other to the stereotype of young women, but instead of challenging the stereotype she others herself from it and emphasises her profession as her main identity.

In fact, Tiffany often finds the term 'girl' insulting. She sees 'girl' as a binary other to 'woman', a state that is supposed to be overcome. Her attitude echoes defensive othering, where the members of subordinate group reinforce "the power of stigmatizing labels by arguing that the label is true for other members of their social category, but not for themselves" (Ezzell 114). While she is only sixteen in *ISWM*, she is only referred to as a girl by those disrespecting her, like Mrs Earwig, and she resists the label: "'My dear girl!' **'Woman,**' said Tiffany quietly" (*SC* 121, original emphasis). She links youth and femininity with irrationality and immaturity, from which she is protected only by being a witch: "'I'm far too young,' Tiffany wailed. 'If I wasn't a witch, I'd still just be thinking of **boyfriends**'" (*SC* 75, original emphasis). When she is not talking about Letitia, she also stands up to others being referred to as girls: "'I think we should take this girl home, don't you?' [...] 'Young woman,' said Tiffany. 'She deserves that, at least'" (*ISWM* 39). The word 'girl' seems to have too many negative connotations in Tiffany's mind for it to be equated with anything but disrespect, an attitude seemingly shared by many other witches. While the othering of girls from women is a recognized problem in feminisms (Eisenhauer 86), Tiffany's internalised misogyny and the general attitude towards the category of the 'girl' is somewhat surprising.

While providing her with respect, the contradiction of Tiffany's gender and professional identities does not always lead to positive results. For example, she tries to actively deny some of her emotions, especially those commonly thought of as feminine. In so doing, she undervalues not only other young women but also herself. "She couldn't blush! Not like a young country girl with a beau. She was a witch!" (*SC* 20), Tiffany thinks, as she is asked questions about her

relationship to Preston. However, while Tiffany **is** a young country girl with a boyfriend and also a witch, she holds these two identities separate and does not want to be associated with 'regular' country girls, which furthers her otherness. However, in addition to struggling with her emotions, she suffers from the distance created between herself and others, and wishes to connect better with regular people:

But Tiffany **didn't** think she was better than them. She was better than them at witchcraft, that was true, but she couldn't knit a sock, didn't know how to shoe a horse, and while she was good at making cheese, she had to have three tries to bake a loaf that you could actually bite into with your teeth (*ISWM* 260, original emphasis).

As noted by Nuttall, in Pratchett's books the woman and witch identities are often separated from each other in this manner (24). This is noticed even by girls and young women who want to be witches and it seems to turn people away from witchcraft. Letitia, for example, worries about her future possibilities, as she finds out that the two identities, Baroness and witch, might not coexist: "But I am the Baroness. I am a lady. I can't be a witch" (*SC* 268). It is also suggested that the girls will face backlash effects even for expressing desire to become a witch:

Apart from anything else, [girls wanting to become witches] had to have parents who would support their choice. A girl might be useful at home, helping with the younger children or working in a family business, for instance. That was **before** the question of grandchildren cropped up. And it always did, oh yes, always. (*SC* 161, original emphasis)

It is also notable, that while Tiffany emphasises her witch identity over being a girl, she also avoids being 'too witchy'. For example, after defeating the Cunning man she emphasises her identity of being useful and practical rather than having powerful magic: "By the time she had walked back up the field, she had managed to become, once again, the Tiffany Aching who knew how to make cheese and deal with everyday chores and didn't squeeze molten rock between her fingers" (*ISWM* 392). Here, she emphasises her stereotype conforming regular attributes of being competent in domestic tasks. This can be interpreted as 'apologising' (Ezzell 112) for her display of power to avoid further othering.

While sometimes a basis for negative othering, witch as a category makes it possible for women to create a counternarrative to the gender stereotypes and challenge the underestimation, disrespect, and restrictions women otherwise have to face. Representation is recognised even in the Discworld to affect stereotypes and gendered expectations. In the fairy tales Tiffany and Letitia have read in childhood, a girls' possibilities in life are defined by their external appearance, making girls either princesses or maids. The third option, a witch, is the way out of this narrow description of women, the limits of which are felt by both Tiffany and Letitia:

only blonde and blue-eyed girls could get the prince and wear a glittering crown ... redheads and brunettes sometimes got more than a walk-on part in the land of story, but if all you had was a rather mousy shade of brown hair you were marked down to be a servant girl.

Or you could be a witch. Yes! You didn't have to be stuck in the story. You could change it, not just for yourself, but for other people." (*ISWM* 157)

Instead of conforming to the stereotypical narrative, they create a counternarrative for themselves. This echoes the book itself, since it is an actual counternarrative to fairy tales and some children's novels whose heroines are present only in passive or minor roles.

To conclude, otherness is present on many levels in *ISWM* and *SC*. It is presented as difference between men and women, difference from men **and** women, and deviance from gender norms. The witches are othered from their societies on all these levels as backlash effects or due to being different because of their magic, but they also create the otherness themselves to be able to ignore gendered expectations. While the otherness does not always manifest in positive ways and emphasises feelings of loneliness, it gives the witches freedom and respect other women are not allowed. They are able to resist the patriarchal hierarchy by creating a counternarrative for themselves, and while their resistance does not help other women do the same, they at least help the women in their communities.

3.3 Challenging and Problematizing Stereotypes Through Parody

This section will discuss how Pratchett uses conventions of parody to critique gender stereotypes and representation. The focus will be on the carnivalesque features of the texts, and how the

carnival challenges specific stereotypes and gender roles. Representation, overturning hierarchies, and the mask as a carnivalesque feature are discussed in turn. The section will finish with an analysis of the grotesque and how it relates to women's bodies in particular.

As a part of the carnival, the highly appreciated becomes low and the serious is laughed at (Bakhtin 11). In this manner, the books question and degrade the common narratives and stereotypes that are accepted as 'the truth' and create new counternarratives. In *SC*, the question of representation is dealt with in an overt way, as Tiffany addresses fairy tale gender stereotypes directly: "A princess doesn't have to blonde and blue-eyed and have a shoe size smaller than her age, she thought. People **can** trust witches, and not fear the old woman in the woods, the poor old woman whose only crime was to have no teeth and talk to herself" (*SC* 260, original emphasis). She finds out that representation matters, but that it relies on untruthful stereotypes. She even questions some of the gender stereotypes she has allowed to lead her perception. "[...] there was more to Letice Earwig [...] than the occult jewellery and fancy outfits suggested" (*SC* 284), Tiffany thinks, acknowledging that possessing stereotypically feminine qualities does not necessarily mean that one is inferior or incompetent.

In *ISWM* in particular, representation is addressed critically through the characters' reactions to texts and through narrative causality (Sinclair 11). While Tiffany despises the fairy tale book's monologic view of a woman's possibilities which are dictated by her outer appearance more than any skills she might have, she falls into the same monologic thinking in her jealousy of Letitia. For example, Tiffany detests Letitia's girlishness and gullibility, and consequently insults and underestimates her skill. This is seen in her view the book Letitia has learned magic from:

It's rubbish. It's for soppy girls who think all you need to do to make magic is buy a very expensive stick with a semiprecious stone glued on the end, no offence meant. You might as well pick a stick out of the hedge and call it a wand. (*ISWM* 288)

Letitia, however, proceeds to do just this, and the stick she picks up gives off a blue trail as it is waved. The solution is unexpected even by Tiffany, who realises her own prejudice and the irony of Letitia's situation. Letitia is also addressed through the stereotypes of being superstitious and gullible, which makes clear that if "silly spells for giggling housemaids" (*ISWM* 290) can actually work, perhaps they are not silly after all.

When Tiffany realises her prejudice, she immediately links it to the representations of girls she has seen in books and the stereotype of weak, incompetent women: “**Normally**, girls of the princess persuasion don’t help out distressed headless ghosts by giving them a pumpkin to carry” (*ISWM* 296, emphasis added). She acknowledges that her judgement of Letitia as a useless princess was based on a stereotype and starts to change her view of Letitia and act more respectfully towards her. In Bakhtin’s terms, this can also be interpreted as Tiffany replacing her monological view of femininity with a more dialogical one, where femininity is not inferior and easily disregarded as silly. The shift from monological to dialogical world view is made possible by parody.

As in the carnival the high becomes low, the low then becomes high instead. In this manner, stereotypes are problematized through characters claiming the stereotype as positive rather than negative (Modood and Thompson 787). For example, Petulia is skilled in pig boring:

[Petulia] could sit down with a pig and talk to it gently and calmly about extremely boring things until some strange pig mechanism took over, whereupon it would give a happy little yawn and fall over, no longer a living pig (*ISWM* 11)

In this scene, Pratchett uses the stereotype of women talking too much or talking about boring topics and exaggerates it until it turns it into a strength. Here, Petulia is respected for this quality, not reprimanded for it, and there is a real need for her skills in her community.

Similarly, the witches often turn other generally negative qualities such as pride and weakness into positive ones. Tiffany is, in fact, praised for these qualities by other witches. The praise is even phrased like a reprimand to make the parody clearer: “Miss Aching, you are showing an almost sinful self-assurance and overwhelming pride and certainty, and may I say that I wouldn’t expect anything less of a witch” (*ISWM* 338). She even sees pride as a weapon to be used in the battle instead of a negative, nonfeminine attribute best avoided altogether:

And what are **my** weapons? The answer came to her instantly: pride. Oh, you hear them say it’s a sin; you hear them say it goes before a fall. And that can’t be true. The blacksmith prides himself on a good weld; the carter is proud that his horses are well turned out, gleaming like fresh chestnuts in the sunshine; the shepherd prides himself on keeping the wolf from the

flock; the cook prides herself on her cakes. We pride ourselves on making a good history of our lives, a good story to be told. (*ISWM* 366, original emphasis)

Likewise, the stereotype of feminine weakness is evaluated anew as Tiffany lists her strengths before fighting the Cunning Man. She thinks of fear, a sign of weakness if seen as the binary opposite of bravery, and trust, to be closely related to the negative feminine stereotype of gullibility. Instead of viewing these qualities as weaknesses, however, Tiffany turns them into strengths: "And I also have fear – the fear that I will let others down – and because I fear, I will overcome that fear [...] And I have trust, even though I am not sure what it is I am trusting" (*ISWM* 367).

In addition to negative attributes, several skills generally seen as feminine such as comforting and healing are also turned into magical powers by the carnival. Tiffany, for example, can take away other's pain and hold it in a ball above her shoulder to relieve others of it. When Mr Petty attacks her, however, she retaliates: "She took one step back, caught his wrist and let the pain out. She felt it flow down her arm, leaving it tingling, into her cupped hand and into Mr Petty: all his daughter's pain in one second" (*ISWM* 31). Pratchett makes clear that Tiffany's helpful nature and capacity for caring for others do not mean that she is not strong or capable of defending herself when necessary. Thus, the weakness stereotype is set into question and the feminine is celebrated as powerful without being unnecessarily violent. After all, Tiffany can both work in the feminine field of caring for others **and** fight big men if she wants to, using her caring profession as a weapon.

The gender hierarchy is resisted and problematized by the carnival, as the carnival re-defines what is important. This is done by coupling the masculine-marked unusual and impressive with the feminine-marked mundane and ordinary. Next, their expected hierarchy is twisted around by noting how literally lifechanging the ordinary can be, and the whole hierarchy collapses:

The main difference, she thought, was that wizards used books and staffs to create spells, **big** spells about big stuff, and they were men. While witches – always women – dealt with everyday stuff. **Big** stuff too, she reminded herself firmly. What could be bigger than births and deaths? (*SC* 153, original emphases)

Even magic itself and its uses are re-defined in the books, and the importance of sensitivity and social skills are highlighted as a form of magic. The feminine-marked skills which are often overlooked become more important than the masculine-marked ones:

I wanted to learn fire, and pain, but I should have learned this. I should have learned people [...] It was magic; magic had turned a hall full of people who mostly did not know very many of the other people there into human beings who knew they were among other human beings and, right now, that was all that needed to matter. (*ISWM* 359-60)

The above examples show that the carnival resists all hierarchies, and this includes further aspects such as age (Bakhtin 10). Especially in *SC*, aging and its meaning are looked at through several lenses. The old men of the villages dream of being young, glorifying youth as our culture often seems to do; for them to be young is to be “handsome and healthy and [not having] to pass water too often” (*SC* 297). After the battle, however, they find that their assertiveness and masculinity are not dependant on age: “We thought we were old – but today we have found we were still young” (*SC* 317). The young/old binary is shown to be a subjective experience rather than a fixed attribute, and the age hierarchy is questioned.

The carnival also resists fixed gender roles. In the texts under study, men are often strong and independent, but at the same time need women to take care of them, and their homes are ruled by their wives. For example, in *SC*, the old men are driven out of their homes with no place to go apart from the pub: “It’s our home [...] but somehow, I’m always in the way” (*SC* 167). This reverses the patriarchal logic of men being in control, which is more present in *ISWM*, where “Every man is a king in his little castle” (*ISWM* 28).

The contrast does not, however, succeed in fully problematizing the stereotype. While women actively banish men from domestic spaces and therefore gain more agency than if they were trapped in the domestic sphere to serve men, the stereotypical gendered division of spaces is not, in fact, questioned. Instead, the old men pity themselves in the pub for not fitting in the masculine stereotype of being self-reliant and showing their leadership abilities (Prentice and Carranza 270). The logic is exaggerated to the point of being laughable:

[...] a seafaring man who had seen so many interesting things now spent much of his time in the pub because his wife was always washing, cleaning, polishing and, when no alternative was around, dusting. She only **just** managed to avoid washing, cleaning and dusting her husband if he sat still long enough. (SC 165, original emphasis)

Here, the importance of stereotypically masculine attributes is not questioned, and the idea of masculinity being something one can lose if they cannot uphold the stereotypical image is enforced, as the old men reminisce: "I was a man once [...]" (SC 167).

In the end, women are even suspected to be the cause of the old men's supposed lack of masculinity: "I'm still a good carpenter, well known in the Guild, but my Milly frets about me handling all the tools and so on; and I tell you, when she's got her eyes on me, my hands shake" (SC 167), and: "My Betsy tells me what I am to eat and when and where, and if we are together, she fusses around me like an old hen. It's like being a kid" (SC 166). The wives' caring for their husbands is exaggerated to the point of it making the men seem childlike: "The wives, as wives do, had festooned their menfolk with big scarves, mittens on strings and woolly hats with, alas, pompoms on the top" (SC 297). In fact, the women seem rather abusive in the care they offer. The old men are denied the stereotypically masculine ideal of self-reliance, and while the wives are in control in the domestic field, they are so deeply connected to the stereotype of caring for others that they do not know what to do with their power apart from trying to care for their husbands. Caring is such a strong role that even when exaggerated to breaking point it does not seem to waver, but rather makes the men seem unmasculine and the wives overbearing. While the men talk about feeling like objects in the way of their wives, the wives actually end up resembling automatons as they are not given a voice, nor do they seem to have any functions apart from cleaning or ambitions and interests of their own.

While the hierarchy of power between men and women is not questioned very successfully in the case of the old men, the parody works better in the case of the witches. Witches are, for example, able to function mostly outside the hierarchy or overtly ridicule it: "Being a witch is a man's job: that's why it needs women to do it" (SC 118), Tiffany says, making fun of the common phrase and its gendered expectations. Witches also have agency even when they conform to gender roles. For instance, Magrat is conscious of the gendered expectation of a wife's role, but she chooses herself whether to take on the role or not: "Being a dutiful wife, when she wanted to

be" (SC 232). She also leaves her husband behind to care for their children while she goes to battle the elves. He is displeased by the situation, but she explains: "Well, someone has to be left home," she said. "It's like chess, you know. The Queen saves the King." (SC 294). The trope of men fighting and women staying to take care of children is questioned, as well as the stereotype of women being passive instead of assertive. The parody of going off to battle is made even clearer with the reference to chess, which does have this mechanic, but it is so rarely present in representations of battles that it is at the same time both obvious and surprising.

Alongside other carnivalesque features, one of the most important ones in the witches' case is the mask. The witch's hat, broomstick, and other accessories set them apart from other people and therefore function as masks (Berman 124). The hat, the most important of them all, is a marker of a special kind of authority, and it gets people to notice the witches: "Because, like it or not, the witch **was** the pointy hat, and the pointy hat was the witch" (ISWM 11, original emphasis). In fact, not only does the mask set the witch apart, it also partly creates their power and magic:

[...] a lot of the younger witches liked Mrs Proust's artificial skulls, cauldrons and warts to give them the right **image** for the job. To someone in need, someone punched so far down that it might seem there was no getting up again, well, a witch with the right look could make all the difference. It helped them to **believe** (SC 184, emphases original).

In addition to the witch's hat being a mask for other people to see, the hat is there also for the witch herself so that she can identify with the characteristics of a witch: "Nearly didn't recognize you, miss' said Amber cheerfully, 'what with you not having your pointy hat on, if you see what I mean.' 'I thought I'd just be Tiffany Aching today [...] It's a holiday after all.'" (ISWM 410). As a day off seems to be an almost foreign concept to witches, not wearing the hat probably comes as close to not working as a witch can manage. Tiffany also tries to find a meeting point for her identities as a witch and a woman through using or not using the hat: "I'm still the witch, but not necessarily the hat" (ISWM 411).

Another kind of mask is used when Tiffany visits the city, where witches are not held in high regard. She wears her hat, but Mrs Proust adds a price tag to it to make it look cheap and fake as if they were about to attend a hen night: "The best disguise for a witch is a rather cheap witch's outfit" (ISWM 139). The original mask is covered with another mask, and the conventional pointy

hat and its function as a mask is renewed and recreated. It is also interesting, that the most useful role for a woman going to places where she possibly should not, is the hen night attendee. The hen night can be interpreted as a further form of the carnival, where women are celebrating their sexuality which otherwise should be repressed and generally disregarding stereotypes. At least in the big city, witches are not treated with the same understanding attitude as hen night goers, and therefore this particular mask is required to achieve the carnivalesque function.

Similar to the witch's hat, Magrat wears to a battle the armour of Queen Ynci. The armour resembles almost a full carnival costume, as her whole body is covered, and it is only worn to special occasions. It also changes its wearer who becomes stronger, braver and more self-assured while not denying her femininity. Magrat even relies on a spell-like rhyme, as if to trick herself to believe more firmly in her transformation:

Queen Ynci's armour had a life of its own and it always shone, even in the dark. Verence helped her buckle on the mail armour – which she secretly thought of as **fe**-mail – then she slipped her feet into the heavy-soled spiked sandals, and topped it all off with the winged helmet. The last piece to go on was the leather baldric [...] 'Queen Ynci, Queen of Queens, make your armour light.' And suddenly she felt strong, stronger than she had ever been before (SC 295, emphasis original).

As well as the armour functioning as a mask, the scene in which Magrat prepares for the battle is significant in the way gender roles are displayed: she is heading off to battle to save her country, while he helps her into her armour and remains to care for their child.

The mask is also closely related to the grotesque. The two concepts are often entwined, as the mask "reveals the essence of the grotesque" (Bakhtin 40). Grotesque imagery is all about the body and its functions (Bakhtin 25), and it is often used by Pratchett to direct attention to gendered expectations of bodies. Mrs Proust, for example, is described as "the witch of nightmares: battered hat, wart-encrusted nose, claw-like hands, blackened teeth" (*ISWM* 136), and she has a "fearsome hooked nose" (*ISWM* 142). She looks so much like a fairy tale witch, that she sells masks of her own face and uses her face as her own mask: "The masks you sell are masks of **you**" (*ISWM* 140, original emphasis). The stereotype of women being beautiful but vain is also questioned, as witches worry about their appearances but the 'wrong way round': to achieve the right image, they use witch

costumes from applicable warts to witch masks. The witches do not worry about being beautiful, but rather worry whether they are ugly enough to gain respect or look enough like hen night goes to be safe from citizens who dislike witches. While the beauty stereotype is questioned and contrasted with the grotesque, it is still confirmed that the power of the witches and therefore women is directly related to their external appearance. In a traditional setting, women who are beautiful have more 'power' over men through their beauty and stereotype-conforming behaviour, whereas witches in the Discworld gain respect and power through being ugly, and distinctly other from 'regular' women.

The respect gained through the grotesque does not, however, seem to apply to many of the main cast in the same way as it does to supporting characters. While Tiffany considers herself plain and her appearance is not described apart from her brown hair and eyes, she does not resort to fake warts like Letitia, who confesses: "But I only use warts for the moment. I think they have the right **feel** without going overboard, don't you think?" (*ISWM* 299, original emphasis). In a similar manner, Ms Smith and Granny Weatherwax, the two most powerful witches alongside Tiffany, are not described to be ugly or grotesque in a humoristic way. Granny Weatherwax, the most powerful of the witches, is described as "in her way, handsome" (*ISWM* 142), that is to say, through masculine but still positive terms. Similarly, Ms Smith is described as "one of those people who picks for themselves a look that suits them and doesn't get in the way, and never changes it until they die" (*ISWM* 187). I argue that while the stereotype of women worrying constantly about looking beautiful is questioned through parody, the patriarchal structure causing the relationship between women's looks and respect or power and making women concentrate on their appearance remains unchallenged and is, in fact, strengthened. This parody of women's good looks giving them power is, in Bakhtin's terms, a carnival: although the idea is made into an exaggerated copy and ridiculed, the underlying power structure is not permanently overturned (Bakhtin 15).

The grotesque is also used to problematize the stereotype of female purity in relation to women and their bodies. For example, while apologising to Tiffany, Letitia acts according to the female stereotype of being unable to control her emotions and appears to be crying constantly. However, her crying is described in an unusual manner close to grotesque: while she cries, the tears make "ghastly blobby noises on the stone" (*ISWM* 269) as they drop, and she blows her nose with an "unladylike honking noise" (*ISWM* 283). The use of the grotesque makes us aware of the stereotype of a woman being emotional and soppy while remaining pure, clean, and beautiful,

devoid of 'unladylike' bodily functions and points out how irrational this expectation really is, as distressed crying is rarely a controlled or clean affair.

Women's bodies are also described in ways that defy the fairy tale norm of slim and beautiful heroines. The witches' bodies are shown to be somewhat diverse in size: "Both Nanny Ogg and Agnes Nitt, for instance, were decidedly plump [footnote: A very **kind** term for Agnes, used only by her friends.] while Long Tall Short Fat Sally went up and down according to the tides – and there was no doubt that water could be powerful" (SC 268, original emphasis). Interesting in the case of Sally is, that it also parodies the changes that happen in women's bodies due to the menstruation cycle, while exaggerating the changes and their connection to the moon. In SC, she is able to change her body by magic and uses her increased body as a weapon in a funny but grotesque manner: "as they [the elves] were floored, Long Tall Short Fat Sally became very fat and heavy and sat on them, bouncing up and down" (SC 302).

The humorous function of the grotesque is also recognised by the characters. For example, Preston interrupts a difficult situation with grotesque humours by telling Tiffany: "I know it's not the right thing to say to a lady, miss, but you are sweating like a pig" (ISWM 252). Tiffany is taken aback and responds that according to her mother, women glow rather than sweat, relying on the feminine stereotype of purity. Preston, however, upturns the stereotype again: "Well, miss, you are glowing like a pig" (ISWM 252). In the end, the purity stereotype is questioned, and onlookers are distracted enough to forget about the situation they were in.

The grotesque also includes sex and sexuality, themes that are often taboo but freed by parody (Bakhtin 20). In the books under study, female sexuality is most prevalent in Nanny Ogg, an old witch who prides herself in her past sexual exploits: "'How many husbands have you actually had, Nanny?' asked Tiffany. Nanny appeared to be counting. 'Three of my own, and let's just say I've run out of fingers on the rest, as it were'" (SC 74). Refreshingly, she is not embarrassed, nor is anyone embarrassed for her. However, while Nanny is not criticised for her active sexuality, Nuttall points out that this is most likely due to her being a witch and therefore not subject to the social rules applying to other women (31). While Nanny Ogg is by far the most overtly sexual of all women in the books, the other witches are also allowed some freedom in expressing their sexuality. The stereotype of women's sexual 'purity', especially with women of high status, is challenged when Magrat, Queen of Lancre, visits Letitia after she has become the Baroness: "Magrat [was] admiring a watercolour Letitia had painted of the chalk giant up on the downlands. It was surprisingly

detailed, especially in the No Trousers area" (SC 267). While it is not clear what the rules are for regular women in the world of the texts, the witches at least can express their sexuality and talk about it with each other.

Interestingly, although Nanny Ogg is presented as a champion for female sexuality and in Letitia's case grotesque is already used to combat the purity and vanity stereotypes, menstruation is not mentioned in the books. While it would seem the perfect opportunity to make a point about both the purity and sexlessness stereotypes, the chance is missed – and it is sorely missed, since menstruation is necessarily a natural part of half the human population presumably even in the Discworld. The grotesque concerning the witches' bodies remains focused mostly on the outer appearance, and while some themes of sexuality are present in the books, menstruation as a part of female bodies is hardly even alluded to.

In conclusion, Pratchett uses the carnival and its features, such as the mask, to problematize gendered stereotypes. Gender roles are also questioned, as the carnival turns existing hierarchies upside down. The grotesque features of the carnival challenge the stereotypical and often sexist expectations of women's bodies and sexuality. While it does not always fully question the patriarchy, parody functions as a way to challenge stereotypical expectations and to create a counternarrative in which most aspects of patriarchy are overturned for girls and women.

4. Conclusion

While stereotypes are somewhat necessary to make fast decisions, they can also be very harmful and reinforce the existing inequalities of power between groups of people. Gendered stereotypes and gender roles are a crucial ingredient in maintaining the patriarchy and are based on perceived otherness between genders. While they are often recreated by representation, they can also challenge it in different ways. This study has examined feminine gender stereotypes in the final books of Terry Pratchett's *Tiffany Aching* series and the ways in which they are problematized by otherness and parody.

The theory section of the study focused on four aspects: feminist literary theory, gender stereotypes, otherness, and parody. Feminist literary studies was basis for the arguments made in this study, as examining women and how they are represented in different media is inseparable from how women are viewed in reality. Representation is also directly connected to stereotypes, their creation, and recreation. Gender stereotypes and how they are upheld by people were discussed in detail. In addition to backlash effects, they were found to be closely connected with and upheld by perceived otherness between groups of people. In these novels, however, otherness was used as a punishment for breaking stereotypes as well as a tool for escaping them. Finally, parody was shown to be a means of criticizing existing power hierarchies, such as those between men and women, through laughter.

The first section of the analysis examined stereotypes of femininity in the materials. The novels include several stereotypes of femininity, the most prominent of which relate to the binaries of emotional/rational and body/mind. Some stereotypes, such as women being competent in domestic tasks, altruistic, and caring toward others, were present in most female characters. Those who did not possess these qualities either faced backlash effects from their community or were reprimanded by Tiffany. Other stereotypes, like being soft-spoken and emotional, or caring for appearances, were overtly resisted by the witches. Additionally, if a witch was in a stereotype-conforming way, they would be criticized by other witches for conforming. In the end, while some stereotypes were questioned, the patriarchal hierarchy present in the binaries emotional/rational and body/mind remained intact in the case of the witches.

The following section of the analysis studied otherness as a resistance to the stereotypes present in the books. Otherness was found to be a backlash effect the witches would face for being different and not acting according to 'regular' gender roles and expectations. This would sometimes mean loneliness and distrust of the people in the witch's community. However, otherness was also used by the witches themselves to escape some of the restrictions other women endure. By othering themselves from regular people, the witches aimed at creating a counternarrative where women can have power and be respected by their community. These two aspects to otherness were found to generate a conflict between the identities of a woman and a witch. Thus, otherness cannot be deemed as a means of challenging the gender hierarchy for all women, but rather as a bending of rules so that a minority of them can live their life outside gendered expectations.

The final section analysed the role of parody in challenging and problematizing stereotypes. Many instances of the stereotypes were found to be parodic in their use of carnivalesque features or the grotesque. Some stereotypes of femininity were problematized through a questioning of the evaluation of skills or attributes in general, while others were more specifically targeted as representations of reality rather than as truths. While in some cases, the parody did not work very well in questioning the patriarchal hierarchy, on other occasions it succeeded in challenging feminine stereotypes and creating diversity among women and witches.

While this study has focused on feminine stereotypes, stereotypes of masculinity are also parodied in these and other works by Pratchett. While masculinity has a different position under patriarchy, the stereotypes are hardly less limiting for individuals. Additionally, ideas of femininity and masculinity are often related through negation and cannot therefore be fully separated from each other. Therefore, a further study on masculinity would be useful for understanding both gender stereotypes and how they can be challenged in different ways.

Another interesting angle to the materials is provided by Geoffrey, who is interpreted as queer in this study. Although he is not foregrounded in the novel and different sexualities are not a main theme in any of Pratchett's works, studying these and other *Discworld* novels through queer theory might prove interesting. Studying gender stereotypes and stereotype conformity might also gain a larger perspective through the queer lens, as they would then be studied outside binaries.

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Appendices

Table 1. Stereotypes of women (Nodelman 6; Mallan 151; Rudman and Phelan 24, 34; Heilman and Parks-Stamm 48, 60; Mills 128, 130; Diekman and Eagly 1187; Prentice and Carranza 270, 273, 277; Robbins 61, 64)

Stereotypes Descriptive for women					
	PERSONALITY	COGNITIVE	PHYSICAL	NEG. PERSONALITY	
	affectionate	imaginative	cute	spineless	
	sympathetic	intuitive	gorgeous	gullible	
	gentle	artistic	beautiful	servile	
	sensitive	creative	pretty	subordinates self to others	
	supportive	expressive	petite	whiny	
	kind	tasteful	sexy	complaining	
	nurturing	emotional excess	formlessness	nagging	
	warm	unstable	nakedness = becoming a sex object	fussy	
	wonderful	spiritual	soft, penetrable	gossiping	
	communal (nice, unselfish, friendly, concerned with others)	appearances are important		incompetent in non-domestic tasks	
	socially sensitive	superstitious		not self-assertive	
	caring	irrational		not achievement-oriented	
	not self-promoting	mysterious		helpless	
		pious		passive	
				lack of control	
	Prescriptive				
	INTENSIFIED PRESCR.	RELAXED PRESCR.	INTENSIFIED PROSCR.	RELAXED PROSCR.	PERCEIVED TYPICAL

	warm, kind	high self-esteem	rebellious	yielding	*concerned for future
	interested in children	sense of humour	stubborn	emotional	broad interests
	sensitive	strong personality	controlling	impressionable	literary capacity
	loyal	self-reliant	cynical	shy	honest
	friendly	defends own beliefs	promiscuous	naive	*intelligent
	clean	decisive	arrogant	superstitious	*mature
	appearances important	ambitious		weak	open-minded
	patient	business sense		melodramatic	perfectionist
	cheerful	leadership ability		gullible	self-aware
	cooperative	willing to take risks			anxious
	wholesome	persuasive			choosy
	expresses emotion	assertive			complicated
	spiritual	intense			materialistic
	excitable	competitive			nosy
	affectionate	aggressive			self-critical
	compassionate	forceful			
	soft-spoken				*more desirable for men, more 'typical' for women
	understanding				

Table 2. Stereotypes of men (Heilman and Parks-Stamm 48; Nodelman 2, 4, 6-7, 9; Mallan 151; Mills 130; Diekman and Eagly 1187; Prentice and Carranza 270, 275, 278)

Stereotypes Descriptive for men					
	PERSONALITY	CONGNITIVE	PHYSICAL	NEG. PERSONALITY	
	competitive	good with numbers	rugged	egotistical	
	daring	analytical	muscular	hostile	
	adventurous	good at problem solving	physically strong	cynical	
	aggressive	quantitatively skilled	burly	arrogant	
	courageous	good at reasoning	physically vigorous	boastful	
	dominant	mathematical	brawny	greedy	
	unexcitable	controls (represses) emotion	stocky	dictatorial	
	stands up under pressure		heterosexual	unprincipled	
	independent		hard, impenetrable	swears	
	brave		wild, "animal-like"	not nice	
	competent			violent	
	endures pain			isolated, outsider	
	hero			sadistic	
	dependable			not concerned with others	
	agentic (independent, assertive, decisive)				
	not vulnerable				

	Prescriptive				
	INTENSIFIED PRESCR.	RELAXED PRESCR.	INTENSIFIED PROSCR.	RELAXED PROSCR.	PERCEIVED TYPICAL
	business sense	friendly	emotional	rebellious	extroverted
	athletic	helpful	approval seeking	controlling	satisfied with life
	leadership ability	clean	impressionable	stubborn	conservative
	self-reliant	warm, kind	yielding	promiscuous	forgetful
	ambitious	enthusiastic	superstitious	self-rigtheous	lazy
	high self- esteem	optimistic	shy	arrogant	prejudiced
	assertive	cheerful	moody	aggressive	stingy
	decisive	cooperative	melodramatic		typical
	strong personality	interested in children	naive		
	rational	creative	gullible		
	competitive	sensitive	weak		
	willing to take risks	appearances important			
	aggressive	wholesome			
	intense	spiritual			
	forceful	devoted to religion			
	acts as leader	epresses emotion			
	dominant	excitable			
	individualistic				
	willing to take risks				
	self-sufficient				