THE PORTRAYAL OF FEMALE ROLES FROM 1966 - 1974 REVEALED IN THE NON - FICTION OF THREE WOMEN'S MAGAZINES: A CONTENT ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

THE PORTRAYAL OF FEMALE ROLES FROM 1966-1974 REVEALED IN THE NON-FICTION OF THREE WOMEN'S MAGAZINES: A CONTENT ANALYSIS

By

Carole Ruth Newkirk

During the 1960s and 1970s feminists have accused women's magazines of presenting a predominance of the domestic female image. Women, the critics argue, are portrayed generally as mere subservient housewives with no other goals or abilities. Critics maintain that these magazines are at least partly responsible for reinforcing the concept of "a woman's place is in the home."

This study is a content analysis of the non-fiction articles appearing in three popular women's magazines--Mademoiselle, Redbook, and Ms. All three of these magazines appeal to the same basic readership age group and all three claim to reflect today's woman and the issues pertaining to her. For purposes of this study, women's roles were divided into domestic (mother, wife, and homemaker) and non-domestic (employment outside of the home, social activist, and self-identity) categories. This study presents a brief background of the women's movement,

conclusions of previous content analysis studies of women's magazines, data pertaining to today's labor market, and explanation of this study and its findings.

One purpose of this study was to determine any differences in the domestic and non-domestic portrayals of women in each of the three magazines from 1966 through 1974. It explored trends developing over the past nine years in the three magazines' portrayals of women's roles. Another intent of the study was to determine to what extent the three magazines' portrayals of women employed outside of the home differ from the corresponding number of women workers reported by labor statistics. Most important, the study was to determine how accurately each of the three monthly magazines succeeds in carrying out its claim of representing today's women and issues affecting women.

Major findings of this study showed that in the three magazines: (1) change is occurring toward a more non-domestic representation of women but at an extremely gradual rate; (2) Ms. shows the greatest number of non-domestic roles while Redbook shows the greatest number of domestic roles; (3) the number of domestic role portrayals in Mademoiselle and Redbook has remained the same from 1966 through 1974; (4) the number of female authors increased and male authors decreased in Mademoiselle and Redbook during the 1970 through 1974 period, while Ms. showed the greatest number of female authors for 1972 through 1974;

(5) each magazine reflects today's women and issues. However, all are not equally accomplishing this goal; (6) statistical comparisons between the actual labor force and the number of female employment roles appearing in the three magazines was impossible to calculate realistically. This was because of the extreme differences in numbers representing both.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Table | Page

Table Page

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Introduction

This study will investigate the portrayal of women's roles appearing in the non-fiction articles of three popular women's magazines--Mademoiselle, Redbook, and Ms.--from 1966 through 1974. Its purposes are to measure the extent of change, if any, in the portrayal of women in each of the three magazines from 1966 through 1974; to determine the trends that may have been developing over the past nine years concerning women's role images in the three magazines; to measure the differences among the three magazines' portrayals of women's roles from 1966 through 1974; and to determine how accurately each magazine lives up to its claim of reflecting the changing roles of women in society.

Background

The issues of women's rights, status, and individuality have confronted society in the United States for more than a hundred years. Certainly, women--their worth, their desires, their role in society--have been the subject of philosophers, poets, and novelists for

centuries. Women, in turn, have either accepted or battled against the images that have attempted to portray them.

The 1960s and early 1970s witnessed a new impetus of the age-old "woman question" when a concerned generation of women asserted their rights politically and econonomically in a male-dominated society. The result is that women's roles are undergoing a profound change. During the past 15 years the United States has been blanketed with student and racial unrest, assassinations, space explorations, improved educational opportunities, a war in Vietnam, and political corruption. Amid these socio-economic factors that brought an abrupt end to the silent fifties, the Women's Liberation Movement reached its height of influence.

Women's increased self-awareness and self-assertion have been evident during the past decade. This is due, in large part, to the feminist movement and its far-reaching social, political, economic, and psychological impact. One source has said that since the mid-1960s the women's movement has grown at an extraordinary rate. Feminists note that exact membership numbers are difficult to obtain because the movement is as much a state of mind as it is a formal organization. However, by 1971 the movement boasted hundereds of thousands of female supporters.[1]

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[1]Judith Hole and Ellen Levine, The Rebirth of Feminism (New York: Quadrangle Books, Inc., 1971), p. x.

The Women's Liberation Movement manifests itself in an almost infinite variety of groups, styles, and organizations.[2] This diversity has developed from distinct origins whose numerous offspring remain clustered around two main sources--the reform and the radical branches. The two groups have also been referred to as "women's rights" and "women's liberation," respectively. By 1970 a cross-fertilization had occurred between the two branches of the movement. Until that time, however, each existed extremely distinct in its origins, politics, tactics, and general style.[3]

The rights branch, the first to organize during the mid-1960s, was composed of older, moderate, and conservative feminists. These women came from traditional political and social backgrounds including government work, state commissions on the status of women, and women's business and professional groups. Their concerns were with women's legal and economic problems such as ending discrimination against women in employment, gaining equal pay, reforming abortion laws, equalizing educational opportunities, and providing child-care facilities. With its core group being the National Organization for Women (NOW), the rights branch included lobbyists (Women's Equity Action League),

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[2]Jo Freeman, "The Origins of the Women's Liberation Movement," in Changing Women in a Changing Society, ed. Joan Huber (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), p. 33.

[3]Hole and Levine, The Rebirth of Feminism, p. 8.

a legal foundation (Human Rights for Women), and various caucuses.[4] Beginning as a national organization and lacking a mass base, this branch was operated by the traditional means of elected officers and a board of directors. It developed bylaws and carried out its business through democratic procedures.

NOW, the backbone of the rights branch, increased from 14 chapters and 1,000 members in 1967 to more than 700 chapters and 40,000 members in 1974.[5] By 1970 many of its incoming participants were interested in projects that involved more than ending just job discrimination. These women examined and criticized the media's portrayals of the domestic image of women and the sex-role stereotypes appearing in children's books.[6] In the final analysis, NOW, as a pressure group, helped to stimulate a growing women's movement which, in turn, prompted the passage of women's rights legislation in a rapidly accelerating cycle.[7]

On the other side, women supporting the radical or liberation philosophy were generally younger than their moderate counterparts. Their backgrounds included experience in student activism, civil rights, and the peace

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[4]Freeman, "The Origins of the Women's Liberation Movement," p. 33.

[5]Jo Freeman, The Politics of Women's Liberation (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1975), p. 87.

[6]Ibid., p. 85.

[7]Ibid., p. 229.

movements of the 1960s. Like those members composing the older branch, these women were predominantly white, middle class, and college educated but much more homogeneous.[8] This branch consisted of innumerable small groups holding tenuous contact with each other. The liberationists prided themselves in lack of organization and believed that structures were confining and elitist. Their basic tenet was "everyone do her own thing."[9] Including such names as SCUM (Society for Cutting Up Men), Redstockings, The Radical Feminists, and WITCH (Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy From Hell), these groups spread across the nation. Each local branch was composed of 10 to 15 women who came together for consciousness raising and rap sessions in order to better understand the condition of women based upon one another's personal experiences.

The division between the rights and the liberation groups centered basically around the argument as to who or what was the source of women's subjugation. From the earliest beginnings of the women's movement, the liberationists, sometimes referred to as Independent Women's Liberation Groups, felt that women's issues were merely a tiny component in the goal for complete, overall social

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[8]Freeman, The Politics of Women's Liberation, p. 50.

[9]Ibid., p. 34.

change. They criticized the basic institutions and the power relationships in society.[10] Moderates felt that women were the only issue involved. However, both groups generally agreed on the need for some societal reforms.

All feminists criticized male-dominated institutions in society--marriage, religion, law, politics, and economics. Men, they said, derived economic as well as political and psychological benefits from their superior status and therefore were not willing to relinquish their position. Women's rights groups saw men as oppressors who used social institutions to hold down women. Liberationists went a step further by stating that men suffered oppression from the same institutions as did women.[11]

Thus, to carry out their more extreme criticism of society's basic institutions and power relationships, the liberation groups participated in conventional as well as in unconventional actions. Guerrilla theater and the protest demonstration staged at the 1970 Miss America Pageant were examples of the latter.[12]

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[10] Barbara Polk, "Women's Liberation: Movement for Equality," in Toward a Sociology of Women, ed. Constantina Safilios-Rothschild (Lexington, Mass.: Xerox College Publishing, 1972), p. 322.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Hole and Levine, The Rebirth of Feminism, p. 125.

The two basic groups influenced the organizational development of the overall women's movement by spreading their theory and literature across the country. As a result, women in all parts of the nation began to form small-scale liberation groups. Many of these women had no clear knowledge of the divisions within the larger movement but had in some way been touched by the ideas and philosophy of women's liberation. Intra-movement differences of structures and strategies worked to complement and strengthen the movement's overall foundation and influence on the American woman.[13]

The report issued by President John F. Kennedy's Commission on the Status of Women in October 1963 was one factor that did much to create the atmosphere and engender the momentum by which women came to question the roles and popular social images that depicted the female. Fundamentally, the report said that the nuclear family unit is vital to the stability of American society and that women have a unique and immutable role in that family unit. Married women and mothers who work are forced to play a dual role in society to a much greater degree than are working fathers and husbands. Thus, the report concluded, every

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[13]Freeman, "The Origins of the Women's Liberation Movement," p. 35.

obstacle to women's full participation in society has to be removed.[14]

Many feminists argued against the commission's basic assumptions. Nevertheless, most of those women hailed the very existence of such a commission as the most significant step forward in the direction of women's rights in more than half a century. Between 1963 and 1967, commissions on the status of women were formed in every state, all of which called for legislation to deal with women's equality in employment and education.

In 1963 Congress passed the Equal Pay Act. This required that men and women receive equal pay for equal work performed under equal conditions. Title VII of the Equal Employment Opportunities section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibited discrimination based upon race, color, religion, national origin, or sex by private employers, employment agencies, and unions.

Another mandate that aided the women's cause was Executive Order 11375 in 1965, which prohibited discrimination due to race, color, religion, national origin, or sex by federal contractors and sub-contractors as well as by federal employment agencies. No doubt, both of these

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[14]President's Commission on the Status of Women, American Women (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), p. 13, quoted in Hole and Levine, The Rebirth of Feminism, p. 24.

measures have helped produce improved economic positions for women.

The national Women's Bureau, created in 1920, has been concerned for years with women workers. Routinely, the Bureau has published reports and pamphlets on the status of women workers and throughout its history has promoted state protective legislation for female employees. However, until the 1970s, its directors had strong ties to the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, which also supported protective legislation but opposed the Equal Rights Amendment.[15] In 1964 the Bureau's anti-feminist bent was evident:

> It is not the policy of the Women's Bureau to encourage married women and mothers of young children to seek employment outside the home. Home and responsibility are considered married women's most important responsibilities. But the fact is that married women are working outside their homes in increasing numbers . . . most often to add to the family income.[16]

Much of the Bureau's primary research, however, was used by feminists to support their interpretation of women's status. Thus, the Bureau, somewhat against its will, served as the feminists' prime source for legal and economic materials and thereby facilitated the spread of the

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[15] Freeman, The Politics of Women's Liberation, p. 209.

[16] U.S. Department of Labor, Wage and Standards Administration, To Benefit Women at Work, April 1969, pp. 5-6.

women's movement during the 1960s.[17] With the appointment of Elizabeth Duncan Koontz as Bureau director in 1969 as well as with declarations made by the courts that state protective laws were pre-empted by Title VII, the Bureau became involved in the mainstream of the women's rights movement and became a staunch defender of the Equal Rights Amendment.[18]

This amendment, stating that "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex," is another milestone which, if and when ratified by the required three-fourths or 38 states, will have a definite impact upon the American woman, her domestic relations, her property, her education, and her job.[19] The Equal Rights Amendment was passed by Congress in March 1972 and ratified by 28 states within a year. However, by early 1973 strong right-wing opposition on the state and local level drove a wedge into any hopes of a speedy ratification. Critics of the amendment pointed to the possibilities of drafting women and denying wives the support of their husbands.[20] Regardless

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[17]Freeman, The Politics of Women's Liberation, p. 52.

[18]Ibid., p. 209.

[19]"Equal Rights for Women: ABC's of the Big Fight," U.S. News and World Report, March 26, 1973, p. 34.

[20]Freeman, The Politics of Women's Liberation, p. 220.

of its ultimate outcome, however, the battle to move the amendment through Congress from 1970 to 1972 had two beneficial results. Most important was the surfacing of strong, serious, national constituent support for women's rights. Second, was the subsequent establishment of liaisons between feminist organizations and the congressional staff.[21]

These and other socio-economic influences of the period seem to have had at least a minimal influence on the position of women. In fact, extraordinary economic and social change in the status of women has occurred during the last three decades. One report credits this change to the greater number of married women in the labor market, an increase in the need for white-collar workers, supportive attitudes toward careers for women outside the home, an increase in the number of households headed by women, and legislation prohibiting sex discrimination in employment.[22]

Statistics indicate that women have been slowly improving their status in the labor force during the last 30 years. In 1940, slightly more than 14 million women, or 28 percent of the total female population, were employed.

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[21] Ibid., p. 222.

[22] Elizabeth Waldman and Beverly Y. McEaddy, "Where Women Work--An Analysis by Industry and Occupation," Monthly Labor Review, May 1974, p. 3.

In 1960, 23 million, or 41 percent of all women in the United States, were employed. These women composed 32 percent of all persons working. By 1973, more than 34.5 million women in the United States were employed outside of the home and accounted for nearly 46 percent of the total female population 16 years of age and older. This figure represented 38 percent of the country's total labor force.[23]

In late 1969 working wives held one of every five jobs in the country, one-fourth of which were part-time. Wives represented 60 percent of the total female labor force. This situation affected one in every three families.[24]

The substantial growth in the proportion of young working mothers represented another development in the national labor force during the last decade. In 1974 it was reported that the number of working mothers had continued to rise since 1970. Although by March 1973 there were one and a half million fewer children in families than

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[23] U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States (Washington, D.C., 1974), p. 341.

[24] "Working Wives: Revolution in American Family Life," U.S. News and World Report, November 17, 1969, p. 95.

in 1970, 650,000 more children had mothers who were employed.[25]

Women--single women, married women, and mothers--contributed to an increased labor force during the 1960s and 1970s. Out of the total female labor force in 1973, those women from 25 to 34 years of age composed 20.8 percent of all females employed while the second largest group were the 45 to 54 year olds (19 percent). These figures, compared to those of 1960, show an increase in the proportion of younger women workers in the total female labor force from 1960 to 1973. In 1960 the 35 to 44 age group ranked first at 22.8 percent followed by the 45 to 54 year olds at 22.7 percent. The 25 to 34 age bracket totalled only 17.8 percent of the entire number of women employed.[26]

Several reasons are cited for the steady increase in the number of married female workers. Women have gained greater freedom from household chores through labor-saving appliances, improved home products, and precooked foods. Jobs have increased rapidly because of the expansion of service industries and their many opportunities to women.

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[25] Elizabeth Waldman and Robert Whitmore, "Children of Working Mothers, March 1973," Monthly Labor Review, May 1974, p. 50.

[26] U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1974, p. 337.

Also, changing social customs have made it more acceptable for wives to venture into business or industry. Higher pay, aided by minimum wage requirements, has lured many women into employment. As the cost of living continues to rise, wives have found still more reasons to supplement the family budget, to make ends meet, or to raise the living standards of their families.[27]

Recent findings indicate that women in the United States are moving into professional training--architecture, dentistry, engineering, law, medicine, optometry--in increasing numbers as an absolute group and in relative proportion to men. The same source predicts that more women will enroll in the traditionally male-dominated professional and technical fields of study in the 1970s.[28]

In the late 1960s, however, the service industries maintained their position as the principal employer of women and by 1973 these industries, which included food services, practical nursing, librarianships, dietetics, physical therapy, and social work, employed more females (6.8 million) than any other industry.[29] The

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[27]"Working Wives: Revolution in American Family Life," p. 95.

[28]John B. Parrish, "Women in Professional Training," Monthly Labor Review, May 1974, p. 41.

[29]Waldman and McEaddy, "Where Women Work--An Analysis by Industry and Occupation," p. 5.

trades industry--sales jobs, clerical work, managerial and administrative sales positions, and dressmaking--ranked as the second largest employer of women (6.3 million).[30]

Projections for the decades ahead indicate that the labor force participation rate of women will continue to rise and will equal the male rate. As far as short-term monetary gains are concerned, the influx of women to the labor force depresses their earnings. Long-range projections, however, indicate female wages will rise as more women gain employment. Victor R. Fuchs, professor of economics and of community medicine at the City University of New York, contends that since women are increasingly prone to be in the labor force for a significant portion of their adult lives, they will, as a result, be more career-minded while attending school, choosing an occupation, and investing in themselves after they leave school. Fuchs believes that as a result employers will expect women to continue their careers while raising families. These changes in employer attitudes will result in improved job and training opportunities for women.[31]

At present, however, despite women's expanding participation rates in the labor force as well as their entrance into the traditionally male-dominated job

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[30] Ibid.

[31] Victor R. Fuchs, "Women's Earnings: Recent Trends and Long-Run Prospects," Monthly Labor Review, May 1974, p. 23.

categories, female earnings relative to those of men are down in all employment areas and at all levels.[32] Common assumptions that women do not need, desire, nor deserve the same salaries as men continue to exist. Claims of sex discrimination constitute more than one-fifth of all charges filed with the Equal Opportunity Commission.[33]

At present, a female college graduate can expect to earn about $8,925 annually. A man with less than an eighth grade education earns approximately $7,575 a year while a male college graduate earns about $14,660 per year.[34] Women's salaries, then, are not commensurate with increased female participation in the labor force.

Many researchers believe that the earnings differential results in part from the role that society has traditionally arrogated to women--working at home, bearing children, and raising a family. Fuchs, in a study using 1959 and 1960 Census of Population and Housing data, concluded that the differences in male-female wages can be attributed to the different roles assigned to men and women. Role differentiation, which begins in childhood,

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[32]Waldman and McEaddy, "Where Women Work--An Analysis by Industry and Occupation," p. 10.

[33]Janice Neipert Hedges and Stephen E. Bemis, "Sex Stereotyping: Its Decline in Skilled Trades," Monthly Labor Review, May 1974, p. 17.

[34]Waldman and McEaddy, "Where Women Work--An Analysis by Industry and Occupation," p. 12.

affects one's position or job category in the labor force, location and hours of work, postschool investment, consumer attitudes, and attitudes held toward fellow employees. Fuchs believes that much of the recent tension regarding sex roles arises from the failure to adjust laws, customs, and institutions to fit changing technological and economic conditions. He concludes that a reduction in traditional role discrimination will eventually result in a narrowing of the male-female differential in earnings.[35]

What is woman's role in society? Today the debate continues as to whether a woman's place is in the home, with her sole responsibility being that of a dutiful wife and loving mother. Statistics show that the role of provider is increasingly accepted as a legitimate female function. This is supported by the declining birth rate since 1957 (which cannot be totally attributed to the mass introduction of the contraceptive pill in 1960), the decreasing number of women supported solely by husbands, and the increasing educational opportunities for women.[36] Conceivably, increased employment has had a direct effect upon women's domestic roles in marriage and child rearing. Whatever the reasons, women's self-concept has experienced a gradual metamorphosis. A Smith College professor

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[35] Victor R. Fuchs, "Differences in Hourly Earnings Between Men and Women," Monthly Labor Review, May 1971, pp. 9-15.

[36] Freeman, The Politics of Women's Liberation, pp. 28-31.

recognized women's increasing awareness of the world when he said in 1966:

> In the 1950s, girls were interested in marriage, raising a family and living in suburbia. Something has happened. There has been a reaction and girls today are more serious about school. More of them than before want to work in the slums or join the Peace Corps. They are more interested in travel.[37]

Because women have tended to play the passive, adaptive role in the past, they have not been prominent as social and political critics of American institutions. In fact, the traditional roles of women have confined them to the most conservative positions--wife, mother, and homemaker.

One sex-role premise states that from infancy a child receives differential attention and reinforcement from others in his environment according to his sex. As he matures, these reinforcements gradually shape an individual's behavior into his appropriate sex role as defined by society. Therefore, this role, which is bestowed upon a person at birth, limits other roles that the individual may be allowed to achieve.[38]

The traditional roles of men and women, however, are questioned in contemporary American society largely

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[37] "How Women's Role in the U.S. Is Changing," U.S. News and World Report, May 30, 1966, p. 60.

[38] Barbara Bovee Polk and Robert B. Stein, "Is the Grass Greener on the Other Side?" in Toward A Sociology of Women, ed. Constantina Safilios-Rothschild (Lexington, Mass.: Xerox College, 1972), p. 14.

by those who are experiencing frustration, anxieties, and pressures with present sex-role definitions. The Women's Liberation Movement asserts that the social structure must provide a setting whereby women can obtain and hold roles as prestigious as those held by men.

Forces align themselves on both sides of the female role argument. Critics of the feminists, such as Anthony Storr, maintain that "women have no need to compete with men."[39] Storr says that women's unique qualities of loving, bearing children, and making a home are creative and vital to the survival of civilization. He believes that in no way can a man's ability to "compose nine symphonies, paint the Sistine Chapel, or reach the stars be even slightly compared to these feminine attributes.[40]

Writer Jean Guitton states that "woman is naturally made for two things: household and domestic tasks and the exercise of pure love and devotion." Woman should lean upon man, who as her support and master, is much "steadier and less easily shaken by life's jolts." However, Guitton adds that although motherhood and marriage are woman's most natural roles, she is not limited

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[39]Anthony Storr, "Aggression in the Relation Between the Sexes," in A World of Her Own, ed. John N. Miller (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1971), p. 196.

[40]Ibid.

to these. An intelligent, wilfull woman will "find fulfillment everywhere and always" whether it be with or without a man.[41]

This idea, that neither male nor female can derive ultimate gratification simply by pleasing or possessing the opposite sex, is fast becoming a basic tenet of many women today. Nevertheless, the single woman is still considered something of a social oddity. Feminist writer Karen DeCrow says that the concept persists that any woman who does not love is to be pitied.[42] However, the social stigma and moral with which the single woman must live are giving way to new freedoms either unheard of or not openly discussed 20 to 30 years ago. One example is increased sexual freedom due to more effective and mass-introduced contraceptives.

Women are told increasingly that their desires for a career are in no way reflective of failure as mothers. Furthermore, they are reminded that the very qualities which make them good workers make them good mothers.[43] The Women's Liberation Movement has sought to make woman realize her own potential worth and in the process to

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[41]Jean Guitton, Feminine Fulfillment (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1965), pp. 45 & 11.

[42]Karen DeCrow, The Young Woman's Guide to Liberation (n.p.: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1971), p. 153.

[43]Sidney Cornelia Callahon, The Working Mother (New York: Macmillan Co., 1971), p. 30.

free her from the culturally limited roles of wife and mother. At the same time, however, women are also reminded that although to be a career woman is the current trend, no woman sure of her own identity need bow to that trend if she does not desire to do so. Furthermore, the housewife is told that the true meaning of liberation is that a woman feel confident in herself both as a woman and as a mother. Childbearing is still a desirable, womanly attribute. Woman, the author says, must cultivate a life style which is right for her. She must not be ashamed to enjoy the satisfactions that are unique to women. The article concludes that a woman who truly enjoys the traditional roles of wife and mother does so, not because she is incapable of other roles, but because she derives the greatest satisfaction from this particular life style.[44]

This observation supports the theory of a woman's worth--both in human and in monetary terms--regardless of whether or not her sole responsibility is household tasks. (Economists for Chase Manhattan Bank have estimated that the economic value of the average housewife is $257.53 per week or $13,381 a year. With wages rising at least 6 percent a year, these figures are rapidly becoming dated.[45])

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[44]Marilyn Mercer, "The Guilty Housewife," McCall's, August 1974, p. 47.

[45]Marylin Bender, "How Much Is a Housewife Worth?" McCall's, May 1974, p. 57. Statistics stating a housewife's

Feminist leader Betty Friedan's concept of the ideal social role for women is one in which they are not completely independent of men and children. Friedan says she is relieved that a woman can now realize and admit her need for a husband and family responsibilities without giving up her own identity. "Society has become too large, cold, frightening, unfamiliar, too fast changing to endure without warmth and love to come home to," Friedan concludes.[46]

To a great extent, woman--whether she be a full-time homemaker or a career-wife--must live in a society that is abounding with ambivalent attitudes directed toward her. These inconsistent attitudes reinforce both positive and negative images of women. Some of these attitudes include society's support of the right of an able woman to choose a career of her own yet the admiration of the woman who fits the traditional norm of mother and homemaker; the low status attached to housewives but the conviction that there is no substitute for a mother's care of young children; the unspoken acceptance of male

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economic value are varied and contradictory. The Milwaukee Journal, January 18, 1976, section 6, p. 6, for example, quotes findings of the Social Security Administration which state that in 1972 the American housewife's average economic value for all age groups was $4,705 a year.

[46]Betty Friedan, "We Don't Have to Be That Independent," McCall's, January 1973, p. 18.

occupational superiority as opposed to the principal of equal opportunity irrespective of sex.[47]

In the final analysis of what is woman's proper role, the key word is "balance." A balanced female image--domestic and non-domestic--must be presented in society if a woman is to come to grips with what is right for her as an individual. This is the true basis of the women's movement.

Women and the Media

The women's movement has presented major social questions during the past decade. Assuming that the mass media reflect societal issues, it may be expected that the feminist movement and any subsequent concept or change in the concept of women and their roles in society will be reflected by the media of the society of which they are a part.

Writer John N. Miller maintains that the dominant attitudes toward women in Western society are based upon and strongly reinforced by fashions and individual works of literature. Authors draw their impressions of women from observations of the world, current events, people around them, and the works of other writers.[48]

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[47] Mirra Komarovsky, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles," in Changing Women in a Changing Society, ed. Joan Huber, p. 119.

[48] John N. Miller, "Reform and Romanticism," in A World of Her Own, ed. John N. Miller, p. 4.

Because of their pervasive and powerful impact on contemporary life, the mass media--advertisements, magazines, television, newspapers, and books--were one of the earliest focal points attacked by the women's movement in the 1960s and early 1970s. Hole and Levine list three issues that have been under fire: the media's coverage of the women's movement; the image of women portrayed by the media; and the professional status of women working within the media.[49] In general, feminists see themselves as the victims of the media that either ignore their campaigns entirely, exploit them, or report on them in a condescending manner. Feminists have accused the media--newspapers, magazines, and television--of creating a false image of women simply as a means by which to sell articles and programs to the public.

However, many moderate feminists blame not only the press but also radical members of the women's movement for their obscene language and violent tactics that provide the media with material that can be presented sensationally. Most moderate and conservative women initially realized the need to cooperate with the media in order to reach a large audience. However, by 1970 many of the more radical members took the extreme position of boycotting the establishment press either in part or completely.

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[49]Hole and Levine, The Rebirth of Feminism, p. 247.

Said one group:

> We have seen that letting any representative of the male establishment--man or woman--in to report on our meetings is as smart as it would be for black power men to invite Lester Maddox to their caucus.[50]

Objections to such treatment were voiced by male and female reporters and editors alike. Ruth Brine, reporter for Time magazine, was cut off by a Women's Liberation group after she attended one of its meetings. Brine said of the action, "There is a certain paranoia in this movement; not all of it is unjustified. Yet, I believe these women are quite wrong not to allow press coverage."[51]

Another event contributing to the strained relationship between women and the establishment media was the growth of independent women's newspapers and magazines, known collectively as the feminist press. By 1971, over one hundred such publications were in circulation, many of which originated from the moderate and conservative segments of the movement. These publications ranged from the extremely local and amateur--Notes From the First Year and No More Fun and Games--to the highly

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[50] Sandie North, "Reporting the Movement," Atlantic, March 1970, p. 105.

[51] Ibid.

professional and nationally distributed--Ms. and Women: A Journal of Liberation.[52]

At least two catalysts are suggested for sparking the forces that culminated in the feminist literature of the late 1960s and 1970s. One was the proliferation of an underground press and the second was the general condition of the traditional women's magazines. Writer-editor Anne Mather says that most importantly, the underground press proved that a market was available to papers that supported radical or alternate ideas. Also, she said she believes it gave many women authors an outlet for their work and a chance to develop a new trend of personalized journalism. Finally, articles on women's liberation appeared in the underground press long before they did in the mass media.[53]

Feminists maintain that during the past 30 years the mass media, particularly the traditional women's magazines, have reflected and reinforced, perhaps even created, a distorted image of women and their roles. These magazines, feminists charge, have created the image of woman as wife, mother, and housekeepr for man, as a sex object used to sell products to men, and as a person

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[52]Anne Mather, "A History of Feminist Periodicals Part II," Journalism History 1 (Winter 1974-75): 109.

[53]Ibid., p. 108.

striving to be beautiful for men.[54] Criticism of these role images extends not only to magazines but also to all media such as the news formats of both print and broadcast journalism and children's television programming.

Hole and Levine believe that the women's movement has forced the media to present a slightly more realistic and less condescending portrayal of women's images and issues. However, they say that "nothing resembling a radical change has occurred in any of these areas."[55]

The mass media are a major contributing factor in an individual's increased awareness of the world around him, its people and events. Improved methods of communication during the past 20 years have greatly expanded one's ability to come face to face with societal issues and to grasp an understanding of them as never before in history.

A general principle that has emerged from media audience studies is presented by Paul Lazarsfeld and Patricia Kendall and is referred to as "the all or none tendency."[56] This tenet states that most book readers also read a substantial number of magazines. In addition,

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[54]Hole and Levine, Rebirth of Feminism, p. 249.

[55]Ibid., p. 276.

[56]Theodore Peterson, Magazines in the Twentieth Century (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956), p. 48.

if a person has an interest in a particular subject matter, he will generally utilize as many media sources as possible that focus upon that subject. Lazarsfeld and Kendall suggest that this concept may be applied to magazines. The researchers found that anyone who regularly reads magazines is likely to read a number of them rather than just one.[57]

Since magazines are generally published for a homogeneous group of readers, each publication caters to the interests of a certain segment of society. Studies indicate that as the level of formal education rises, so does magazine readership.[58] Changes in population, purchasing power, and increased leisure also are influential factors.[59]

With these thoughts in mind, the question may be asked, "Are women's mass circulation magazines appealing to and truthfully representing their audience of American females?" Readership studies of nine leading women's magazines--Good Housekeeping, Better Homes and Gardens, Family Circle, Ladies Home Journal, McCall's, Parents', Reader's Digest, Redbook, and Woman's Day--indicate that the audiences of these magazines are composed predominantly

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[57]Paul F. Lazarfeld and Rowena Wyant, "Magazines in 90 Cities--Who Reads What?" Public Opinion Quarterly 1 (October 1937): 35.

[58]Peterson, Magazines in the Twentieth Century, p. 52.

[59]Ibid.

of women who are 18 to 34 years old, white, married, middle to upper middle class, either high school or college educated, and employed outside of the home.[60] Based on these findings, the expectation is that the subject matter of women's magazines will attempt to reflect and appeal to this readership. The primary goal of most of the contemporary leading women's magazines whether they be basically fashion, career, or home oriented, is to serve the American woman of the 1970s.[61]

A statement from Woman's Day voices the consensus of the woman-oriented publications:

> We have continued to change in order to meet our readers' needs. Today the average reader is better educated, manages a more complicated household, and lives in a complex world that presents her with a bewildering array of choices and decisions. The demands on her time, energy, and ingenuity are different and in many ways greater than they were in 1937, 1948, or even 1965, and so are her own demands and expectations. . . . The magazine continues to grow, and can be expected to continue to develop and change to meet the challenges that lie ahead as it has those of the past.[62]

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[60] W. R. Simmons, "1974-75 Standard Magazine Report Selected Characteristics of Adult Female Readers, Simmons Audience Bulletin No. 1 Revision No. 1," Good Housekeeping Research Department, December 1974. (Mimeographed.)

[61] The researcher has corresponded by letter with several leading women's magazines. Materials have been received from Glamour, Good Housekeeping, Ladies Home Journal, Mademoiselle, Ms., Redbook, Vogue, and Woman's Day.

[62] Roberta Gerry, public relations director, Woman's Day, Fawcett Publications, Inc., New York, New York, to Carole Newkirk, May 13, 1975.

Individuals in the social structure have a definite impact upon the magazine industry. Magazine editors know their readers and set their goals and basic philosophies accordingly. Magazines, in turn, serve a valuable social function by reaching large segments of the population. Values and images projected in magazines affect readers who come into contact with the medium.

Thus, by this cyclic process of the interaction and interdependence of social and cultural systems--in this case, the interaction between magazines and their readerships--a change in society's values develops. Therefore, studies investigating women's magazine portrayals are most significant and valid because they provide a two-way understanding of one's self and into one's society.

Magazine Studies

In 1963 Betty Friedan proposed that unfortunately the highest and the only commitment for women was the fulfillment of their own femininity, which was to be achieved by sexual passivity, male domination, and the nurturing of maternal love. In Friedan's words:

> The new image this mystique gives to American women is the old image: "Occupation: housewife." The new mystique makes the housewife-mother, who never had a chance to be anything else, the model for all women; it presupposes that history has reached a final and glorious end in the here and now, as far as women are concerned. Beneath the sophisticated trappings, it simply makes certain concrete, finite, domestic

> aspects of feminine existence--as it was lived by women whose lives were confined, by necessity, to cooking, cleaning, washing, bearing children--into a religion, a pattern by which all women must now live or deny their femininity.[63]

Singling out the mass media, especially women's magazines, as the creators and proponents of the mystique, Friedan said that a discrepancy existed between the reality of women's lives and the image to which they were forced to conform. Friedan, a contributor to many magazines, admitted her part in helping create this image. She explained that during the 1950s it had been taken for granted by editors and accepted by writers that women readers were not interested in politics, travel, the arts, or science. These subjects could be sold to women only by playing upon their emotions as wives and mothers. After witnessing for 15 years the attempts of American women to conform to the housewife image, Friedan could no longer deny her "own knowledge of its terrible implications."[64]

When examining and comparing the fiction in several women's mass circulation magazines for 1939 and 1949 to those of 1958 and 1959, Friedan discovered that the heroines in these publications were the prototypes of the feminine mystique. Although five of the magazines of the

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[63] Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1963), p. 43.

[64] Ibid., pp. 50 & 66.

1930s and 1940s had died and a few others were on the verge of collapse in 1963, Friedan was able to trace the development of the female role image in Ladies Home Journal, McCall's, Good Housekeeping, and Woman's Home Companion.

The 1939 magazine heroines had, for the most part, been career women. However, Friedan found that by 1949 only one out of three heroines in the magazines under study was a career woman and that this character was now preparing to renounce her career for her true calling as a housewife.[65] By 1958 and 1959 not one career woman heroine could be found in the magazines, and only one woman in a hundred even held a job. The happy housewife heroine who dominated mass fiction was younger than her counterpart of prior years and had no desire or vision other than to produce children. Careers, even for the unmarried girl, were presented as nothing more than a means by which to catch a husband.[66]

Realizing that in reality two out of three women were still housewives, Friedan nevertheless questioned why the feminine mystique was so strongly in evidence at a time when the proportion of American females working outside of the home had increased to one out of three women.

Friedan warned that women, whether they realized it or not, wanted something other than the image being

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[65]Ibid., p. 44. [66]Ibid. [67]Ibid., p. 54.

presented to them by women's magazines. The housewife's "problem that had no name" was simply the aching dissatisfaction which wives suffered when they realized that they needed something more in their lives than merely husband, children, and home. Perhaps most revealing was Friedan's observation that a highly atypical article, "The Mother Who Ran Away," appeared in a 1956 issue of McCall's and received the highest readership of any article in the magazine's history.[68]

Friedan found that during the 1940s and 1950s serious fiction writers, both male and female, disappeared from the mass circulation women's magazines. These included such writers as William Faulkner and Nancy Hale. Articles discussing issues and ideas were replaced by articles of household service, which stressed how to best perform the duties of wife and mother at home. These articles, Friedan said, were better written, more honest, and more sophisticated than the formula-written fiction appearing in the 1950s and 1960s. Perhaps the new image of women did not permit the honesty, the perception, and the truth essential to good fiction.[69]

A few years before, in 1949, writer Ann Grifith had also examined women's magazines for their fictional female heroines. Griffith's findings were similar to Friedan's, but in addition, she found that only ten out of a hundred

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[68]Ibid., p. 50. [69]Ibid., p. 55.

stories were concerned with a genuine, recognizable problem and believable people and settings.[70]

A similar study was conducted later by Margaret B. Lefkowitz, a master's student in communications at Syracuse University. This study was designed to test Friedan's and Griffith's findings for the 1957 to 1967 decade. By examining the same three magazines as Friedan, Lefkowitz sought to discover whether the increasing education and employment of women during these ten years was reflected by fictionalized heroines, or if these characters were merely continuations of the housewife image of the post-war fifties described by Friedan. In spite of changing social trends, Lefkowitz's study reaffirmed the earlier findings by revealing a movement toward younger heroines and their aversion to a career. Her statistics showed that in 1957 and 1967 the typical magazine heroine was 26 to 35 years old, attractive, married, and lived in a middle income bracket house in the city. Her main occupation was housewife and mother of one or two children. Although she had attended college, her life's goals were strictly love-oriented.[71]

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[70] Ann Griffith, "The Magazines Women Read," American Mercury, March 1949, p. 274.

[71] Margaret B. Lefkowitz, "The Women's Magazine Short Story Heroine in 1957 and 1967," Journalism Quarterly 46 (Summer 1969): 364.

While the 1957 heroine had romantic problems, her 1967 counterpart encountered psychological distress such as overcoming grief at a child's death. In 1957, 81 percent of the heroines were contented housewives with successful marriages. By 1967, the figure had increased to 93 percent. In addition, the study showed that 47 percent of the wives portrayed in 1957 had children compared to 66 percent in 1967. Career women decreased from 9 percent in 1957 to 4 percent in 1967.[72] Furthermore, career women were unfavorably portrayed as unwomanly or as a threat to another woman's marriage.

Lefkowitz found that even though the housewife heroine's problems were somewhat more realistic than before, she was still the reigning character in women's magazine fiction. In conclusion, Lefkowitz said that "changes in real life American women will probably have to be more definite before they are reflected in women's magazine short story heroines."[73]

However, Lefkowitz questioned how a magazine can claim to be responsive to society while at the same time it presents the professional woman in fiction as unfeminine.

A comprehensive content analysis study (excluding advertising) was conducted in 1970 to determine the overall image of women in McCall's, Ladies Home Journal, Playboy, and Cosmopolitan. The findings revealed no significant

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[72]Ibid., p. 365. [73]Ibid., p. 366.

break with traditional female role portrayals.[74] The fiction of McCall's and the Journal presented women as single girls still in search of "Mr. Right." Women's occupational roles followed much the same pattern in these two magazines as they do in real life. Stereotype characters appeared in roles as spinsters, librarians, and divorcees. However, the Journal's non-fiction ranked somehwat above that of McCall's for its more realistic treatment of today's working wife and mother.

The researcher, Lovelle Ray, found that the Journal's regularly appearing columns dealing with marital problems, psychological problems, and medicine "all recognized the tired housewife syndrome caused by psychogenic fatigue which was produced by boredom, monotony, and frustration."[75]

Findings indicated, however, that although the Journal provided more support for the "trapped housewife" who wanted to expand her world, it did not provide incentives for younger women, since most work-oriented articles dealt with either part-time jobs or with women's occasional breakthroughs into male-dominated areas such as veterinary science. In addition, most of the career articles portrayed the "fairy tale" worlds of royalty,

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[74]Lovelle Ray, "The American Women in Mass Media: How Much Emancipation and What Does It Mean?" in Toward a Sociology of Women, ed. Constantina Safilios-Rothschild, p. 41.

[75]Ibid., pp. 44-45.

fashion, and Hollywood and were not about successful women from the normal everyday work world.

Cosmopolitan, which attempts to appeal to the career woman reader, and Playboy, reported to be the most widely read magazine among employed women, do not cater to family concerns. These magazines stood apart from McCall's and Ladies Home Journal in their respective image portrayals of women.[76] Ray found that in all aspects Cosmopolitan was a magazine for women, but about men--how to attract them, how to catch them, and how to keep them. Most of its women were employed, and most worked in the typical female jobs such as secretaries. A few successful glamour types were mentioned including models and actresses. Nevertheless, the magazine's major concern was with men, not careers.[77]

Playboy, on the other hand, was described as being for men, about men, and by men. Women were prominently pictured and the male-female relationship was sexual. In both fiction and non-fiction the subject of women, excluding stories of romantic involvements between males and females, was rarely present. Missing also were women writers and interviews with women as featured personalities.[78]

Both McCall's and Ladies Home Journal expounded traditional values, occupational roles and sexual behaviors

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[76]Ibid., p. 41. [77]Ibid., p. 48. [78]Ibid., p. 49.

for women. McCall's was found more consistently conservative in its treatment of women's place in society.[79]

Playboy was described as less exploitive of women than what might be presumed upon a casual glance at the magazine. It also tended to reject the double standards for men and women as opposed to Cosmopolitan's treatment of this subject. Cosmopolitan portrayed women as caricatures in the traditional game of stress placed upon girls to marry as soon as possible.[80] The female tactic of man trapping by being sexy is one of the most often cited criticisms hurled by feminists against editor Helen Gurly Brown and the Cosmopolitan philosophy.

Similarly, feminists ridicule magazines published for teenagers, such as Seventeen, for reinforcing the notion that girls and women are dependent solely upon boys and men for their self-image. One such article appeared in the March 1971 issue of Seventeen entitled "The Male Mystique--500 boys rate you, your clothes, your looks." According to the magazine's survey:

> . . . 93.6 percent of the boys "say girls' legs should be seen and not hid (and the more they can see, the better they like it). Boys go on record to urge that minis are the most." On the other hand, "4.8 percent (a pretty ho-hum number) applaud the causes of the women's lib movement. Why aren't boys moved? They like more traditional roles: men in charge, girls in minis!"[81]

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[79]Ibid., p. 59. [80]Ibid., p. 50.

[81]Hole and Levine, The Rebirth of Feminism, p. 251.

Many critics charge that the lack of women in decision-making positions within the ranks of the media is a major factor contributing to the traditional stereotype image of women cast by the media. A survey conducted within the field of women's magazines found that women hold a majority of the news positions--55 percent--but that men almost always have the top jobs. Feminists charge that the reason women are not promoted to high-level jobs is that male editor-publishers believe women are essentially incompetent, emotionally driven, and neither desire nor deserve equality with men.[82]

The late 1940s witnessed an exodus of women writers from the profession. A women's magazine editor has said that with the end of World War II many women writers left their careers to raise families. The war veterans who filled the writing jobs were all men "who had been dreaming about home and a cozy domestic life."[83]

In 1963, Betty Friedan maintained that the deciding vote on most magazines was cast by men. Women, she explained, might edit the housewife service departments, but the formulas that dictated the new housewife image were the product of men's minds.

One male editor unknowingly supported Friedan's theory when he explained why his magazine was publishing

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[82]Ibid., p. 253.

[83]Friedan, The Feminine Mystique, p. 54.

90 percent service and 10 percent general interest articles. The magazine's readers, he said, were full-time housewives and were "not interested in the broad issues of the day." The editor contended that although the educational level of his readers was rising, women's interest in national and international affairs existed only to the extent that these subjects could be applied to an immediate need in their homes or to their children.[84]

Whether they wished to or not, however, the established women's magazines were soon forced to take notice of the criticisms directed their way, and hence, of the changing role of women in society. By 1969, Media Women was formed, encompassing a large number of women working in both the establishment and the underground media. Although varied in membership and philosophy, the group's basic concern was with the media's unacceptable attitude of and response to contemporary women's problems. The most publicized of its exploits occurred on March 18, 1970, when some one hundred Media Women, joined by other non-media feminist organizations, occupied the offices of the editor-in-chief and publisher of Ladies Home Journal, Mark Carer, for 11 hours.

In an attempt to unify the women's organizations as well as to force the whole magazine business into seeing the seriousness of the women's movement, Media Women

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[84] Ibid., p. 37.

attempted to negotiate a long list of demands with Carter. Led by Sandie North, a free-lance writer who had spent three years working at the Journal, the protest group presented a list of grievances against the magazine.[85] The women charged that the Journal's editorial comments encouraged females to be passive, second-class citizens, wives and mothers only. They also said that the majority of the Journal's top editors (three out of four) and writers were men, all of whom were out of touch with reality.[86]

In response to this and other charges, such as the claim that the Journal dealt superficially, unrealistically, or not at all with the real problems of today's women--job opportunity, day care, abortion--the protesters were granted rights to produce a supplement to the Journal's August 1970 issue. It was to be called "The New Feminism."[87] Carter issued a conceding statement admitting that the Journal had been guilty of attempts to sell products and life styles to women. Never again, he promised, would the Journal resort to "any sort of stereotyped formula or position concerning women.[88]

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[85] Hole and Levine, The Rebirth of Feminism, pp. 255-56.

[86] Ibid. [87] Ibid.

[88] "Liberating Magazines," Newsweek, February 8, 1971, p. 101.

The ultimate success of the event was debatable and seen differently by all involved. During this same period, however, many similar events took place across the nation, involving not only feminist groups but also intra-company female media personnel. For example, in the spring and summer of 1970, women writers at Newsweek and Time filed charges with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the New York State Attorney General's Office, respectively, against their publishers for sex discrimination and the general low status of women in hiring, job conditions, and promotions.[89] Although a number of staff promotions followed and attempts at non-discriminatory hiring practices were made, many women felt that such actions represented nothing more than tokenism in the long-range battle to improve the overall practices of the media.

It should be noted, however, that in all of the media, the image of women has changed most visibly in women's magazines due to the direct and indirect pressures exerted on them by feminists and the women's movement.[90]

A great number of women's magazines, however, hesitate to move too far in the new direction for fear of losing the millions of readers who still rate home and

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[89] Hole and Levine, The Rebirth of Feminism, pp. 258-60.

[90] Ibid., p. 265.

family well above a women's campaign for equal status with men. These magazines maintain that women still run houses and worry about serving nutritious food, improving the home environment, keeping fit, and dressing in an attractive way.[91] On the other hand, Pat Carbine, managing editor of McCall's, has commented on what may be a change in direction for many women's magazines. She believes that in order for a magazine to appeal to women it must be balanced and must fulfill its commitment to services, such as cooking, as well as enlarge its scope by becoming a little more contemporary in its presentation of the women's movement.[92]

Significance of the Study

Certainly, with the appearance of social questions posed by Women's Liberation, increased employment figures for women, and new opportunities open to women during the last decade, studies investigating the media's portrayal of these issues and the women they affect are valid. The general function of women's magazines can be investigated in order to determine if these magazines are keeping pace with the changing times and a changing audience.

Numerous content analysis studies of popular women's periodicals have been made based upon the assumption that the medium reflects society and reinforces

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[91] Ibid., p. 101.

[92] "Liberating Magazines," p. 102.

prevailing attitudes. Most studies examining magazine fiction have shown that the medium of women's magazines does not adequately portray today's woman. Many of these studies have been based on the premise that magazine fiction may be suffering from a cultural lag not present in nonfiction content.[93] Fewer studies have been conducted on the non-fiction of women's magazines than on the fiction and advertising content of those magazines.

It is important, then, to examine the non-fiction content of women's magazines to determine how it reflects the contemporary woman, whether she is a housewife or a career woman. A content analysis would seek to determine if the housewife is presented as the dominant character lacking competence in all areas beyond her front door, if the career woman is properly portrayed both in number and in attitude, or if a balance is maintained between these two roles, reflecting harmony rather than total incongruity.

By recognizing the images that seek to portray humanity, one can perhaps gain a better understanding of himself. For, whether it is argued that literature is merely a reflection of society or rather, that literature affects society, readers are caught in the middle of this process and are influenced by the medium.

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[93] Ray, "The American Women in Mass Media: How Much Emancipation and What Does It Mean?" p. 41.

Assuming that the media reflect societal issues and therefore, that they will reflect the feminist movement and any subsequent change in women's roles in society, the following content analysis should be significant for the following reasons:

1. It should determine the differences among the three magazines' portrayals of women's roles.

2. It should determine which magazines under study, if any, present the most balanced image of society's 20-to-34-year-old women.

3. It should discover the various roles in which women are predominantely portrayed by women's magazines.

4. It should contribute to the body of material pertaining to women's studies and the media.

5. It should determine any significant changes in the portrayal of women by the three magazines from 1966 through 1975.

Summary

It has been shown that women's roles in society and society's concept of those roles have been modified over the past few years. Today women, in turn, are concerned that accurate female images be reflected in women's magazines. The following content analysis study of three currently popular women's magazines will examine the portrayals of women as they are presented in the non-fiction articles of these three representative magazines.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Conflict Theory

The theoretical framework presented here will serve as the basic guide from which this study's theoretical assumptions and hypotheses can be derived. This framework will be based upon conflict theory and some of its basic tenets. Conflict is an inevitable part of every society.[1] Many sociologists adopt the notion that conflict and its resolution are a central fact of societal integration.[2]

Conflict theorists assume that society exists to serve man's interests, with self-interest being a normal part of an individual's personality. The sociologist Gaetano Mosca contended that rivalries and conflicts among groups are inevitable. These conflicts, however, are indispensable in promoting societal order and progress.[3]

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[1]Don Martindale, The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960), p. 147.

[2]Ibid., p. 129.

[3]James T. Duke, Issues in Sociological Theory (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Printing Service, 1972), p. 224.

Basically, divergent self-interest groups arise in society, only to find themselves in conflict with other groups. New groups continue to appear, constantly replacing those that are inevitably assimilated into larger, more powerful groups. This pluralism of different sectors in society allows for each group to maintain its own identity and interests. Each group is composed of individuals with divergent interests and definite statuses. Therefore, each group also has access to certain privileges. This situation generates conflicts of interest among groups. Furthermore, any consensus among the groups pertaining to life styles, interests, and values is merely a part of the ideology of the powerful or ruling class.[4]

Power, influence, and resources in society are not equally distributed to all groups.[5] Mosca stated that in every society a group or ruling class is present that holds power and makes major decisions. Below this segment are the masses, those divergent groups which have little power or control over the destiny of society. Mosca asserted that the most significant conflicts in society are those among the various groups to obtain membership in the

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[4]Percy S. Cohen, Modern Social Theory (London: Heinemann, 1968), p. 168.

[5]Duke, Issues in Sociological Theory, p. 233.

ruling class.[6] To maintain social control, those in power must combine their influences by establishing rules and regulations to which all of society must adhere. Maintenance of power may be achieved through many methods, one of which is control over the means of communication and ideology.[7]

The established regulations, no matter what form they may take, act to protect the vested interests of the group in power and thus, are contrary to those of the less powerful groups. No single group or individual is ever totally self-sufficient. Groups in power must, therefore, depend upon alliances and support from other groups. These alliances and coalitions usually result in greater social organization, integration, and control. As new social forces or groups arise in society the powerful or dominant group must find a place for the aspiring groups within the ruling structure. By establishing such an alliance, the dominant group is assured of maintaining its societal control. If this responsiveness to emerging groups were not the case, the dominant group's power would be jeopardized. Non-elite or less powerful groups gain power since the dominant group depends on them for support and alliances.[8]

Groups in control attempt to legitimize their power in order to lessen any challenges posed by weaker

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[6]Ibid., p. 225. [7]Ibid., p. 234. [8]Ibid., p. 235.

groups. Among the techniques used by the dominant group to sanction its power is the promulgation of an ideology or belief system which justifies the rule of the elite and serves to motivate people to voluntarily obey commands.[9]

The mass media play a most significant role in presenting and diffusing the power group's ideologies and standards to society. Thus, by controlling and operating the media, a group is able to exert untold influence and become a dominant force in society. All groups, therefore, will attempt to gain access to and control over the media. James T. Duke, outlining the concepts of conflict theory, has said that the ideology presented via the communication system must:

> . . . present a well articulated system of values, explain the nature and organization of the social world, and justify the present arrangements of power. In addition, it must be well articulated within the total cultural and normative system of the group.[10]

Duke explains that when a social force gains power, this group must next seek consolidation and expansion of its power if it is to make its influence felt. However, at the same time, to maintain control, the elite group must incorporate into its ranks some of the more talented, influential, and able members of the non-elite groups. The peaceful incorporation of the new rising social force

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[9]Ibid. [10]Ibid., p. 235.

into the present political structure helps to assure the dominant group that it will not be overthrown. Therefore, the elite group's power and influence over society is safeguarded as is its ability to control social change.[11]

Social change may result in a redistribution of the dominant group's power by the less powerful group. Mosca demonstrated that societies that adapt best to their own survival and to that of the total society are those that achieve a balance of social forces.[12] Thus, by holding societal control and remaining the embodiment of status quo, the dominant group maintains its position of power.

Members of the non-elite are likely to accept the rule of the elite as legitimate because they have been socialized to accept this authority as legitimate. People conform to and cooperate with groups and power structures all of their lives. This is essential to the socialization process carried out by the dominant group. The possibility exists that people may not be totally manipulated and subjugated by the elite who seek to manipulate and exploit them. Such deviance may be due to several factors, among which is either social change or gradual changes of values and legitimating norms in society.[13]

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[11]Ibid., p. 229. [12]Ibid. [13]Ibid., p. 236.

In sum, effectively institutionalized and legitimized power structures exhibit order and integration.[14] The women's magazines' image of women in contemporary American society may be examined in terms of conflict theory. As the researcher discussed in Chapter I, the epitome of womanhood, as portrayed by most mass circulation women's magazines during the past 20 years, has been that of a domestically minded wife and mother. Those in power--the predominating male group in control of the communication medium--have predicated the ideology and stereotype of "a woman's place is in the home." Because this has been the dominant group's philosophy upon which many social norms and values have been based, women may be considered as a minority group. Women have been subordinated to the cultural institutions and beliefs of the dominant group and to its domestic female imagery.

As societal conditions and outlooks have changed, however, women have been attempting to change their position by gaining more power and influence in society. Women's Liberation groups have demonstrated numerous techniques that have been effective in exerting pressure on the dominant male group.

For one thing, women are increasingly realizing the importance of the mass media. Hence much pressure has

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[14] Ibid., p. 237.

been applied to the communications industry, especially women's magazines. These efforts have resulted in many major magazines re-examining their traditional formats. As a case in point, Pat Tregellas, promotion director for Ladies Home Journal, has written that the Journal's goals reach beyond the domestic scene to include the world of business, ideas, and values. She says that the Journal has tried to anticipate the needs and answer the questions of its reader who is often a homemaker, wife, mother, job holder, and community leader. "We'd have to say that our changes have been just as gradual, but just as dramatic, as the changes the American woman has experienced in these past ten years."[15]

Also reflective of the conflict theory is the emergence of women's magazines since 1970, such as Ms. and Sportswoman, whose births and successes are due to their lack of conformity to the traditional and dominant power structure. This lack of conformity can be attributed to the change in social values.

One of the main elements of conflict theory states that the dominant group will attempt to maintain its power and influence by responding to the demands of minority groups and subsequently extending power to them.

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[15]Patricia Tregellas, promotion director, Ladies Home Journal, Downe Publishing, Inc., New York, New York, to Carole Newkirk, May 19, 1975.

Any changes that may occur as the result of such action, however, are minimal in order to insure that the power and influence of the dominant group is not in jeopardy. In other words, minimal change allows the dominant group to keep its power.

With these tenets in mind, one would expect that editors and publishers of women's magazines, in their response to minority pressures for increased exposure and a more contemporary and realistic portrayal of women, would allow only minimal changes to take place in their magazines' images of female roles.

This study will investigate the change in female portrayals in three representative mass circulation women's magazines over the past nine years. Because of the large number of women working outside of the home and the rise of feminist groups, it would appear that women are aspiring to gain increased influence in society.

After examining conflict theory and its tenet of the maintenance of power, one would expect that the dominant group will be responsive to the demands of women's groups. Likewise, one would expect that a certain number of women and their philosophies will be accepted into the ranks of the dominant group. This would give women more power in the social structure and help to legitimize their demands. In turn, changes can be expected to occur in the medium's portrayal of women even though such change

may be only minimal. This will allow for the dominant group's maintenance of real power and hence, social stability will result.

To retain its ultimate authority and to lessen the threat to its status, the dominant group will be expected to limit the amount and type of exposure given to the minority group of liberated women. Hole and Levine support this premise by saying that although most women's magazines are still primarily concerned with portraying the traditional woman, an increasing number of them are including articles dealing with abortion, child care, higher education for women, and profiles of women who have careers outside of the home. In general, however, the medium has developed only a "slightly raised consciousness" toward the feminist issues.[16]

The stereotyping of women into certain set images is a major method whereby magazines control the type and amount of exposure given the minority group. Stereotypes are defined as standardized concepts or images invested with special meaning and held in common by members of a group.[17] They are concocted images based on exaggerated caricatures of people, racial groups, and ways of behavior

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[16]Hole and Levine, The Rebirth of Feminism, pp. 265 & 276.

[17]Minako Kurokawa Mayhovich, "Reciprocity in Racial Stereotypes: White, Black, and Yellow," American Journal of Sociology 77 (March 1972): 876.

which are accepted over time. Based on limited information, one would relate and react to another person in terms of the general image or stereotype associated with a specific type of position in society, e.g., female school teachers given the image of old maids.

Negative stereotypes serve as an element in the power group's legitimization of its power over the minority. Sociologist Minako Kurokawa Mayhovich states that:

> . . . stereotypes are essentially social norms for describing recognized groups, reflecting the power relations of dominant versus minority groups in a given social structure. A dominant group usually establishes the social norms to which the rest of society conform.[18]

Today, negative stereotyping of minority groups will continue, no doubt, to be a part of the magazines' female role portrayals. The housewife will continue to be cast as the ideal while the role of career woman will be pictured as least desirable. However, such imagery should show a marked decrease during the time period under study.

In summary, conflict theory deals with the conflict that arises among different interest groups, each with the goal of acquiring power and influence within the social structure. The mass media are a prime disseminator of ideologies. Because of this, all groups, both powerful and non-powerful, attempt to control the media. Such

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[18] Ibid.

influence and control aid the dominant group in legitimizing its position in society.

As new, smaller power groups arise, the dominant group must adjust itself to them to maintain ultimate power and to assure societal stability. The selected integration of the subordinate group into the more powerful group provides for a legitimized increase in the assimilated group's power and hence, gradual change in society.

As women, a minority group, have become increasingly aware of their desires and abilities to change their societal status to something more than merely homemakers, they have also attempted to voice their views via the media. Realizing the importance of the mass media, many women are concerned that the female images projected by them be true to reality. One medium under scrutiny is that of women's mass circulation magazines. As women exert pressures on the magazine industry, one would expect a change in the frequency and in the treatment of the domestic image of women appearing in this medium.

Stereotyping may function as an important element in the relations between groups. One means by which the dominant group is able to reinforce and maintain its power is by depicting the less powerful group in prejudicial, stereotype roles. One would expect, however, that women's increasing exertion of pressure on the medium of magazines

would result in a change, no matter how insignificant or gradual, in its stereotype imagery of women. This limited change will be granted by those in control of the medium, if for no other reason than again, to reinforce their ultimate control and to provide reassurance that any resultant change in society will be gradual.

Assumptions

In view of the background material presented in Chapter I and the theoretical framework of this chapter, the following assumptions are derived:

Assumption 1: It is assumed that women's roles in society have changed since 1966.

Assumption 2: It is assumed that the formation of the National Organization of Women in October 1966 acted as a catalyst for the changing roles of women because of the subsequent increase of women in the national labor force, feminist demonstrations, and the passage of legislation dealing with women.

Assumption 3: It is assumed that magazines will reflect the values and issues of society and hence, any change in women's roles.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses pertain to the non-fiction articles found in the three women's magazines examined in this study:

Hypothesis 1: There will be a significant difference in the distribution of women portrayed in non-domestic roles between Mademoiselle and Redbook during the 1966 through 1969 and the 1970 through 1974 periods.

Hypothesis 2: Ms. will show a significantly greater number of non-domestic roles compared to either Mademoiselle or Redbook during the 1972 through 1974 period.

Hypothesis 3: There will be a significantly greater number of professional and managerial roles shown in Ms. than in Mademoiselle and Redbook combined during the 1972 through 1974 period.

Hypothesis 4: There will be a significant difference in the number of professional and managerial roles between Mademoiselle and Redbook during the 1966 through 1974 period.

Hypothesis 5: There will be a significantly greater number of domestic roles shown in Mademoiselle and Redbook combined during 1966 through 1969 than during 1970 through 1974.

Hypothesis 6: Ms. will show a significantly greater number of self-identity roles than will either Mademoiselle or Redbook during the 1972 through 1974 period.

Hypothesis 7: Ms. will show a significantly greater number of social activist roles than will Mademoiselle and Redbook combined during the 1972 through 1974 period.

Hypothesis 8: Mademoiselle and Redbook will each show a significantly greater number of self-identity roles during the 1970 through 1974 period than during the 1966 through 1969 period.

Hypothesis 9: There will be a significantly greater number of female authors in each of the two magazines--Mademoiselle and Redbook--during the 1970 through 1974 period than during the 1966 through 1969 period.

Hypothesis 10: There will be a significantly fewer number of male writers in each of the two magazines--Mademoiselle and Redbook--during the 1970 through 1974 period than during the 1966 through 1969 period.

Hypothesis 11: Ms. will show a significantly greater number of female authors than either Mademoiselle or Redbook during the 1972 through 1974 period.

Hypothesis 12: Ms. will show a significantly less number of male authors than Mademoiselle and Redbook combined during the 1972 through 1974 period.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Background

Mademoiselle, Redbook, and Ms. magazines were used in this study to demonstrate if and to what extent contemporary women's magazines portray the woman's role in society. Examination of Audit Bureau of Circulation reports and correspondence with the leading women's magazines enabled the researcher to select these three monthly magazines for examination.

From the accumulated material, the researcher narrowed the field of study to three distinct types of women's magazines--beauty and fashion, general interest and fiction, and liberation-feminist. Then one representative magazine was chosen from each of the three types of magazines. Mademoiselle is fashion and beauty oriented while Redbook emphasizes general interest and fiction. Ms. is representative of the feminist and Women's Liberation orientation.

Circulation, readership, and philosophy of each women's magazine were also considered in the selection process. All three magazines ultimately selected had to: (1) show increased circulation from 1966 through 1974;

(2) appeal to the same basic readership age group (25 to 34 year olds); and (3) strive to portray today's woman and the issues affecting her.

Despite the fact that they represent different types of magazines, Mademoiselle, Redbook, and Ms. appeal to the 20-to-34-year-old female. All three claim to comment and report on today's woman and the current issues affecting the female population. This readership and philosophy are important elements when considering the impact that a magazine has on society. Significantly, women aged 25 to 34 make up the largest percentage of women in the labor force--20.8 percent.[1] This is a vibrant age group of women who are making their influence felt today and who will be in evidence for some years to come.[2]

The researcher first examined Mademoiselle. According to the Audit Bureau of Circulations' Audit Report for October 1974, Mademoiselle's average total paid circulation each month was 829,098 copies. The report

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[1]U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States (Washington, D.C., 1974), p. 341.

[2]The researcher corresponded by letter with and received useful information pertaining to circulation figures for 1966-74, philosophy, readership, and history from the following magazines: Glamour, Good Housekeeping, Ladies Home Journal, Mademoiselle, Ms., Redbook, Vogue, and Woman's Day. Cosmopolitan was the only magazine that did not send any materials. Its editorial office reported that the above-requested information was not available for mailing.

indicated that Mademoiselle was edited for the college and career woman. It included articles of fashion, beauty, jobs, travel, and subjects of interest to women between the ages of 18 and 30.[3] Mademoiselle reported that its yearly circulation had risen from 670,485 copies in 1966 to 819,890 in 1974. The magazine conducted a study based on a sample of 3,832 readers which showed that the woman who buys Mademoiselle is young, affluent, and college educated.[4] Fifty-nine percent of its readers are single, while 30 percent are married. Seventy percent hold full- or part-time jobs, 53 percent of which are office and clerical positions, and only 17 percent are categorized as professional.[5]

When Mademoiselle appeared in 1935, it was the only magazine edited specifically for the young woman. It included short stories, fashion, and non-fiction articles. Under editor Betsy Talbot Blackwell from 1935 to 1971, the magazine maintained an editorial policy in all areas--fashion, beauty, travel, vocations, education, entertainment, and art--that "related to the real lives of

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[3] ABC Audit Report--Magazine (Chicago: Audit Bureau of Circulations, 1974), p. 1.

[4] June Boivin, Research Department, Conde Nast Publications, Inc., to Carole Newkirk, May 13, 1975.

[5] Mademoiselle Reader Characteristics, 1973 (n.p.: Mark Clements Research, Inc., 1973), p. 2.

intelligent young women."[6] To accomplish this goal, Mademoiselle has published a special college issue each August since 1937. This issue presents back-to-school fashions and feature articles relevant to college students. Also, since their inception in 1943, the annual Mademoiselle awards recognize the achievements of outstanding young women whom the magazine believes will make significant contributions in the arts, sciences, politics, community work, and sports. Today, under editor-in-chief Edith Raymond Locke, Mademoiselle features articles that explore current and coming topics.[7]

The second magazine examined in this study was Redbook. As of August 1974, the Audit Bureau of Circulations credited Redbook with an average total monthly paid circulation of 4,804,345 issues. Its non-fiction articles, fiction, and service features are written for the 18-to 34-year-old young married woman, 31 percent of whom are mothers of children under six years old.[8] Readers of Redbook are affluent and active in political, religious,

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[6]"A Short History of Mademoiselle," mimeographed material sent to Carole Newkirk from Mademoiselle magazine, May 13, 1975.

[7]Ibid.

[8]ABC Audit Report--Magazine, p. 1.

and social community affairs. Twenty-seven percent of the magazine's readership is college educated.[9]

From its birth in 1903 to the 1930s, Redbook published mainly fiction--short stories and serialized novels. In the mid-1930s the magazine became a medium for important and timely non-fiction as well. In 1949, when Wade Nicholos became editor and E. Phillips publisher, Redbook shifted its editorial focus from general interest to the young adult. By 1951 the magazine emphasized non-fiction articles dealing with marital subjects and current national topics of interest to the reader 18 to 34 years old. Robert Stein became editor and Charles S. Thorn publisher in 1958, with the result that Redbook's editorial focus sharpened to the young married woman. More service materials--food, beauty, fashions, home furnishings--were included.[10]

Under the editorship of Sey Chassler since 1965, Redbook has published both fiction and feature articles on subjects of interest and importance to young women.[11] In an address, "The Changing Role of Women," given before the Atlanta Press Club, Chassler stated that Redbook had a

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[9]Linda Plants, assistant to the managing editor, Redbook, Redbook Publishing Company, New York, New York, to Carole Newkirk, May 14, 1975.

[10]"A Brief History of Redbook," mimeographed material sent to Carole Newkirk from Redbook magazine, May 14, 1975.

[11]Ibid.

15-year history of dealing with the emerging independence and the rising uneasiness of women in a man's world. Believing that the magazine has dealt with women's problems and their solutions in non-fiction as well as in short stories and novels, Chassler said, "We carry the message of liberation in our pages almost every month. We may be good and conscientious, but we have a long way to go."[12]

Ms. was the final magazine included in this study. As of June 1974, Ms. showed a monthly average paid circulation of 380,263 issues. The Audit Bureau of Circulations described it as a "magazine devoted to the exploration of how women can realize their full potential as human beings."[13] Ms., the report continued, investigates the traditional topics of interest to women only from a new point of view. Editor Gloria Steinem and publisher and editor-in-chief Patricia Carbine have stated that "Ms. isn't just a magazine, it's a state of mind."[14] Carbine and Steinem describe their magazine as one of "celebration." "What we are celebrating in every issue is that

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[12]Sey Chassler, "The Changing Role of Women," speech given to the Atlanta Press Club at the White House Inn, Atlanta, Georgia, January 17, 1974.

[13]ABC Audit Report--Magazine (Chicago: Audit Bureau of Circulations, 1975), p. 1.

[14]The Results of a New Study of "Ms." Subscribers (New York: Mark Clements Research, Inc., 1973), p. 3.

women are changing their lives to realize their full human potential."[15]

A Ms. survey revealed from a sample of some 1,298 readers that nearly 50 percent are single. The overwhelming majority of readers are affluent, college educated, and employed full- or part-time. Sixty-six percent of these employed readers work at professional, technical, or managerial occupations. Nearly 45 percent have no children, while 42 percent have only one or two.[16] Other studies indicate that the Ms. reader is an active participant in school, local government, charity, and politics.[17] Again, the average Ms. reader fits the 18-to-34-year-old category.

Ms. was conceived in 1971 when Steinem, a feminist and journalist, and several other women writers met to discuss the possibilities of creating a national magazine edited entirely by women. Steinem formed a corporation called Majority Enterprises, Inc., in conjunction with Elizabeth Forsling Harris, formerly a Newsweek editor and a vice-president of CRM, Inc., which published Psychology Today and Intellectual Digest. A 44-page introductory issue of Ms. appeared in New York magazine in December 1971. Later, in January 1972, New York published the spring 1972

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[15] "Ms.," The Most (New York: Target Group Index, 1974), p. 43.

[16] The Results of a New Study of "Ms." Subscribers, p. 3.

[17] "Ms.," The Most, p. 26.

preview issue of Ms., an expansion of its December introductory spread. The cost to New York for the preview and spring issues was reported to be $90,000. Ms. and New York split the profits.[18] A total profit of $40,000 from newsstand sales and more than 50,000 subscription orders came as the result of these preliminary issues. Ms. was boosted on in the coming years by Warner Communications, soon to become the major investor but minority stockholder in the magazine.[19]

Significantly, the policy at Ms. is to hire women at the magazine whenever possible--unless a woman positively can not do the job. Men will write and work for the magazine as long as their ambitions and goals are in line with those of the women running it. One article reported that the bias toward women demonstrated at Ms. should be part of all women's magazines.[20]

Indicative of the Ms. philosophy is Steinem's statement that "for too long women have been sanitized, deodorized, slicked up, and fixed up in the old magazines." Ms., she predicted, would not identify women in

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[18] Pamela Howard, "Ms. and the Journalism of Women's Lib," Saturday Review, January 8, 1972, p. 44.

[19] "A Personal Report From Ms.," Ms., January 1973, pp. 96 & 114.

[20] Howard, "Ms. and the Journalism of Women's Lib," p. 44.

terms of their roles as lovers, mothers, workers, or professionals but rather portray them as human beings.[21]

In sum, Mademoiselle, Redbook, and Ms. were selected for this study because of their substantial circulation and popularity, their representation of three distinct types of women's magazines, their similarities in readership age group, and their stated attempts to focus on the "real world," thereby presenting the image of today's woman.

Sampling and Data Collection

This content analysis examined women's roles as shown in the non-fiction of three leading women's magazines from 1966 through 1974. Trends were established in the magazines' depiction of women's changing roles in society. The magazines selected appear to the 20-to-34-year-old female group--the age group composing the greatest percentage of women in the national labor force.

The universe of this study is defined as all monthly issues of Mademoiselle, Redbook, and Ms. magazines from January 1966 through December 1974. The population was restricted to the non-fiction articles in these magazines that dealt with the variables of women's domestic and non-domestic roles in society.

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[21] Ibid.

The year 1966 was chosen as the starting point for the study because this date marks the formation of the National Organization of Women. NOW was an important catalyst that contributed to an increasing number of women in the national labor force, feminist demonstrations, legislation dealing with women's rights, general increased awareness of women as a social force, and hence, change in women's roles. The year 1974 serves as the most logical conclusion for this study because bound volumes of the three magazines are available for examination through December of that year.

Scanning was conducted separately over the universes of each of the three magazines. Each pertinent article was assigned a number and examined for sex of author, page number where it appeared in the magazine, woman's role portrayed, and the negative or positive treatment of that role. These data were recorded on a code sheet.

Using a random number table, three samples were then drawn--one sample from each magazine. Thirty-five percent random samples were drawn from each magazine, which provided for a 7 percent sampling error. This resulted in 49 articles drawn from the total Mademoiselle universe of 140 articles; 101 articles drawn from the total Redbook universe of 286 articles; and 45 articles drawn from the total Ms. universe of 127 articles. Each

article was carefully re-examined for the role variable portrayed. If more than one role was mentioned, only the most dominant role or overall theme of the article was recorded. Domestic roles were sub-categorized into mother, wife, and homemaker. Non-domestic roles were sub-categorized into employment outside the home, social activist, and self-identity.

Operationalization of Concepts

The following concepts and terms were used in this study:

1. Non-fiction article: A non-fiction article is any editorial, letter to the editor, regularly appearing advice column, or feature article dealing with the role of women in the United States. It does not include articles dealing with food, health, beauty, fashion, travel, the arts, entertainment, and decorating. Advertisements and photographs are also excluded.

2. Role: A role is a social position in which a woman is distinctly portrayed or a position toward which she should strive. This role is either specifically stated or implied.

3. Female role categories: The roles examined in the articles are divided into two major categories--domestic and non-domestic.

a. Domestic role: Domestic roles pertain to a woman's role in the traditional sense, in the home, as follows:

1. Wife: The role of wife deals with a woman's duties in marriage, her relationship with her husband, and the expectations of a wife.

2. Mother: The role of mother pertains to a woman's responsibility to and care of her children.

3. Homemaker: The homemaker role outlines a woman's place in the home--her care of the family and her attention to household chores.

b. Non-domestic role: Non-domestic roles portray women involved outside of the home in one way or another as follows:

1. Employment outside the home: The role of the employed woman deals with a full- or part-time job held outside of the home. It may also refer to a non-domestic career or volunteer work.

2. Social activist: The social activist role includes women who are participants and/or leaders in clubs, organizations, politics, and sports. This includes any position outside of the home where women are pursuing and assuming positions in the affairs of the world around them.

3. Self-identity: The self-identity role pertains to a woman who is portrayed as an entity or as a self in her own right. This is a socio-psychological role and will make use of such words as "modern woman," "femininity," and "womanhood."

This role shows woman as pursing and fulfilling her own goals and doing that which is most rewarding to her as a person as opposed to societal and traditional expectations of her.

4. Theme: The theme is the dominant or underlying and most emphatically expressed idea in an article pertaining to what should or should not be a woman's role in society. Theme serves to assign the portrayal of women into roles or categories.

5. Positive treatment: Positive treatment of woman's role in a non-fiction article supports the stated role. For example, benefits to be gained by adopting such a position may be mentioned.

6. Negative treatment: Negative treatment of a woman's role is not supportive of the stated role.

7. Labor market: The labor market is the actual distribution of workers according to labor statistics reported by the census bureau.

8. Census categories: Census categories are classifications of occupations used by the United States government. The following occupations are used in this study:

a. Professional and technical workers, e.g., doctors and lawyers.

b. Managers, officials, and proprietors, e.g., managers of small firms, middle-class persons who are self-employed.

c. Clerical workers, e.g., bank tellers and secretaries.

d. Sales workers, e.g., retail workers.

e. Service workers, private household workers, laborers, e.g., policemen, cooks, guards.

8. Distortion: Distortion is the degree to which the portrayals in the magazine articles are disproportionately over or under represented when compared with those in the actual labor market.

9. Type of occupation: Type of occupation is described in the Dictionary of Occupational Titles and then classified according to the categories utilized by the United States census.

Analysis Design

For each magazine article, the role portrayed, author, and the positive or negative treatment variables were classified into a two-digit code category system. For example, the role of wife was assigned the number 1, while the roles of mother and homemaker were coded as the numbers 2 and 3, respectively. This aided in collection and tabulation of data.

Analysis of the data was facilitated by the use of the Michigan State University Computer Center. Frequency distributions were obtained according to the number of articles portraying the designated women's roles, the types of roles shown, and the sex of the articles' authors.

The chi square test with the Yates correction of continuity factor applied was utilized on the data. This enabled the significance of difference to be tested among the (1) number of articles portraying certain roles, (2) types of roles shown, and (3) sex of authors in the three magazines from 1966 through 1974. Any significance of change in these three items was also shown.

Inferential statistics were used to describe any trends in the portrayal of women's roles in each and all of the three magazines from 1966 through 1974.

Tests for Validity and Reliability

This study measures only the manifest content of the non-fiction articles in Mademoiselle, Redbook, and Ms. It is assumed that it meets the validity requirements and measures the material as intended.

Categorization of roles is subjective. However, criteria were established to ensure objectivity in the categorization of the roles examined in this study. Roles were not classified subjectively by the researcher. Only after scanning the universe and carefully analyzing the duties and characteristics of each role portrayed was it possible to identify and assign the domestic and non-domestic roles into their sub-categories. The Dictionary of Occupational Titles was also used to increase validity

in identifying types of non-domestic roles by correlating descriptions of certain jobs to those mentioned in the articles.

It is assumed that this test has content validity in that the samples of articles represent the universe of the three magazines because of their randomness and the fact that 35 percent of each magazine's universe was utilized in the study.

An independent researcher tested the reliability of this study in terms of objectivity. He independently read 20 percent of the total sample of articles. Roles portrayed and treatment of those roles were examined. Findings were compared to those recorded by the researcher. The two researchers agreed in 95 percent of the cases. The researcher contends that her means of classification and sampling are valid and reliable.

Summary

A total random sample of 195 non-fiction articles was drawn from three popular women's magazines--Mademoiselle, Redbook, and Ms.--representing 35 percent of the total universe. Data were gathered for each article relative to type of role portrayed, sex of author, and treatment of the role. The chi square test was used to determine if significant differences and trends existed among the magazines' portrayal of women's roles from 1966 through 1974. The data appeared to be valid.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

General Findings

A total of 195 female roles were found in the sample of the non-fiction of Mademoiselle, Redbook, and Ms. Of these, 71, or 36 percent, were domestic oriented (wife, mother, and homemaker). One hundred and twenty-four, or 64 percent, were non-domestic (employment outside of the home, social activist, and self-identity).

Mademoiselle featured 7 domestic and 42 non-domestic roles. Redbook had 64 domestic portrayals and 37 non-domestic portrayals. No domestic roles were found in Ms. but 45 roles in this magazine were considered non-domestic.

Data collected on role portrayals were classified by specific duties and/or occupation involved in the performance of the roles. Roles depicting employment outside of the home were classified according to major census categories which were collapsed into: professional-managerial, clerical-sales, and service workers.

Sex of authors for each article in each magazine was also categorized, resulting in an overwhelming number of females as opposed to males. From a total universe of 140 articles, Mademoiselle showed 112 articles written by women

and 9 by men. Redbook featured 153 articles written by women and 74 by men out of a total universe of 286 articles. Ms. followed this trend with 116 articles written by women and 4 articles written by men, drawn from a total universe of 127 articles. All roles mentioned in all articles of all three magazines were treated in a positive, supportive manner.

Tests of Specific Hypotheses

Each hypothesis pertaining to the non-fiction of the three magazines was either supported or rejected by the accumulated data.

Hypothesis 1: There will be a significant difference in the distribution of women portrayed in non-domestic roles between Mademoiselle and Redbook during the 1966 through 1969 and the 1970 through 1974 periods.

Data do not affirm this hypothesis. No significant difference was found between the two magazines in the number of women portrayed in non-domestic roles during both the 1966 through 1969 and 1970 through 1974 periods. (See Table 1.)

Although Mademoiselle showed a greater number of non-domestic roles than did Redbook during both periods, there is no significant difference between them.

Table 1.--Frequency distribution of non-domestic roles appearing in Mademoiselle and Redbook during 1966-69 and 1970-74.

Magazines	Years		Total N
	1966-69	1970-74	
Mademoiselle	14	14	28
Redbook	5	12	17
Total N	19	26	45

$X^2 = 1.9661$
Not significant

Hypothesis 2: Ms. will show a greater number of non-domestic roles compared to either Mademoiselle or Redbook during the 1972 through 1974 period.

This hypothesis is supported by the data in Tables 2, 3, and 4. In the comparison of all three magazines, Ms. showed a numerical and a statistical dominance in the portrayal of non-domestic roles for the 1972 through 1974 period.

Hypothesis 3: There will be a significantly greater number of professional and managerial roles in Ms. than in Mademoiselle and Redbook combined during the 1972 through 1974 period.

Table 2.--Frequency distribution of non-domestic roles appearing in Mademoiselle, Redbook, and Ms. during 1972-74.

Magazines	Years 1972-74	Total N
Mademoiselle	9	9
Redbook	10	10
Ms.	37	37
Total N	56	56

$X^2 = 27.07589$

Significant at .001 probability level

Table 3.--Frequency distribution of non-domestic roles appearing in Mademoiselle and Ms. during 1972-74.

Magazines	Years 1972-74	Total N
Mademoiselle	9	9
Ms.	37	37
Total N	46	46

$X^2 = 17.06522$

Significant at .001 probability level

Table 4.--Frequency distribution of non-domestic roles appearing in Redbook and Ms. during 1972-74.

Magazines	Years 1972-74	Total N
Redbook	10	10
Ms.	37	37
Total N	47	47

$X^2 = 15.53191$

Significant at .001 probability level

Data in Table 5 indicate that this hypothesis can not be supported. Combined, Mademoiselle and Redbook showed no significant difference and extremely little numerical difference from Ms. in the portrayal of professional and managerial roles.

Table 5.--Frequency distribution of professional and managerial roles appearing in Mademoiselle and Redbook and in Ms. during 1972-74.

Magazines	Years 1972-74	Total N
Mademoiselle & Redbook	10	10
Ms.	9	9
Total N	19	19

$X^2 = .10526$

Not significant

Comparison of Ms. to each of the other two magazines separately was impossible to analyze on a statistical level because of the low number of professional roles found in Redbook. Thus, for statistical purposes, data were collapsed for Mademoiselle and Redbook--the two magazines which the researcher expected to portray a fewer number of professional roles.

Numerically, the data show that Ms. and Mademoiselle lead Redbook in the portrayal of professional and managerial roles, featuring nine and eight articles, respectively. Redbook featured two such articles.

Hypothesis 4: There will be a significant difference in the number of professional and managerial roles shown between Mademoiselle and Redbook during the 1966 through 1974 period.

This hypothesis is supported. (See Table 6.) A significant difference exists between the two magazines' portrayals of professional and managerial roles. Also, the data do not support the hypothesis in a numerical sense, since Mademoiselle shows a definitely greater distribution of these roles than does Redbook.

Hypothesis 5: There will be a significantly greater number of domestic roles shown in Mademoiselle and Redbook combined during 1966 through 1969 than during 1970 through 1974.

Table 6.--Frequency distribution of professional and managerial roles appearing in Mademoiselle and Redbook during 1966-74.

Magazines	Years 1966-74	Total N
Mademoiselle	20	20
Redbook	3	3
Total N	23	23

$X^2 = 12.60870$

Significant at .001 probability level

Data in Table 7 indicate no support for this hypothesis. Mademoiselle and Redbook do not show a significantly greater number of domestic roles in 1966 through 1969 than in 1970 through 1974.

Table 7.--Frequency distribution of domestic roles appearing in Mademoiselle and Redbook combined during 1966-69 and 1970-74.

Magazines	Years 1966-69	Years 1970-74	Total N
Mademoiselle & Redbook	34	37	71
Total N	34	37	71

$X^2 = .14085$

Not significant

Table 8 illustrates that when taken separately, each of the two magazines shows no significant difference in the number of domestic roles for 1966 through 1969 compared to 1970 through 1974. However, Redbook shows a much greater number or distribution of domestic roles than does Mademoiselle during both periods.

Table 8.--Frequency distribution of domestic roles appearing in Mademoiselle and in Redbook during 1966-69 compared to domestic roles appearing in these two magazines during 1970-74.

Magazines	Years		Total N
	1966-69	1970-74	
Mademoiselle	5	2	7
Redbook	29	35	64
Total N	34	37	71

$X^2 = 1.84780$
Not significant

From the data relative to the first five hypotheses, it can be said of these magazines' non-fiction that:
(1) Mademoiselle and Redbook show no statistical difference in their portrayals of women's non-domestic roles.
(2) Mademoiselle shows trends of representing more non-domestic roles than does Redbook. (3) Ms. features the greatest number of non-domestic roles. (4) Both Mademoiselle and Ms. show a greater number of women in professional

and managerial roles than Redbook. (5) The number of domestic roles in Mademoiselle and Redbook in 1970 through 1974 has neither decreased nor increased from the number of these portrayals in 1966 through 1969. (6) Of all three magazines, Redbook appears the most domestically oriented.

Hypothesis 6: Ms. will show a significantly greater number of self-identity roles than will either Mademoiselle or Redbook during the 1972 through 1974 period.

Data indicate no support for this hypothesis. (See Tables 9 and 10.) No significant difference was found between Ms. and each of the other two magazines in the portrayal of self-identity roles. Also, no significant difference existed among all three magazines in this respect. (See Table 11.) Numerically, Redbook led the other two magazines slightly, which is unexpected since Ms., with its extremely strong feminist orientation, would be expected to dominate this category.

Hypothesis 7: Ms. will show a significantly greater number of social activist roles than will Mademoiselle and Redbook combined during the 1972 through 1974 period.

The data support this hypothesis. (See Table 12.) Both statistically and numerically, Ms. dominated the other two magazines in the portrayal of women as a social force. Again, data from Mademoiselle and Redbook were collapsed to draw the comparison, since the extremely low number of these

roles found separately in each of these magazines made statistical analysis impossible.

Table 9.--Frequency distribution of self-identity roles appearing in Ms. compared to those in Mademoiselle during 1972-74.

Magazines	Years 1972-74	Total N
Ms.	8	8
Mademoiselle	6	6
Total N	14	14

$X^2 = .35714$
Not significant

Table 10.--Frequency distribution of self-identity roles appearing in Ms. compared to those in Redbook during 1972-74.

Magazines	Years 1972-74	Total N
Ms.	8	8
Redbook	10	10
Total N	18	18

$X^2 = .27778$
Not significant

Table 11.--Frequency distribution of self-identity roles appearing in Mademoiselle, Redbook, and Ms. during 1972-74.

Magazines	Years 1972-74	Total N
Mademoiselle	8	8
Redbook	6	6
Ms.	10	10
Total	24	24

$X^2 = 1.09375$

Not significant

Table 12.--Frequency distribution of social activist roles appearing in Ms. compared to those in Redbook and Mademoiselle combined during 1972-74.

Magazines	Years 1972-74	Total N
Ms.	32	32
Redbook & Mademoiselle	5	5
Total N	37	37

$X^2 = 19.72973$

Significant at .001 probability level

Hypothesis 8: Mademoiselle and Redbook will each show a significantly greater number of self-identity roles during the 1970 through 1974 period than during the 1966 through 1969 period.

The statistics do not support this hypothesis. (See Table 13.) During both periods, each magazine has statistically maintained the same amount of self-identity portrayals. Numerically, however, both show the trend of increased portrayals of these roles during the 1970 through 1974 period. Also, in a numerical sense, Redbook led Mademoiselle slightly in self-identity portrayals in the earlier period but fell behind during 1970 through 1974.

Table 13.--Frequency distribution of self-identity roles appearing in Mademoiselle and in Redbook during 1966-69 compared to those roles appearing in 1970-74.

Magazines	Years		Total N
	1966-69	1970-74	
Mademoiselle	3	11	14
Redbook	5	15	20
Total N	8	26	34

$X^2 = .69271$
Not significant

Hypotheses 6 through 8 indicate that (1) all three magazines equally portray women and their self-identity; (2) there was no significant increase in the portrayal of the self-identity role in Mademoiselle and Redbook from 1966 through 1969 as compared to 1970 through 1974; and (3) Ms. is the definite leader in supporting woman as a social activist.

Hypothesis 9: There will be a significantly greater number of female authors in each of the two magazines--Mademoiselle and Redbook--during the 1970 through 1974 period than during the 1966 through 1969 period.

This hypothesis is supported by the data in Table 14. Both Mademoiselle and Redbook show a definite numerical and statistical increase in the distribution of female authors for 1970 through 1974 as compared to 1966 through 1969. Of the two magazines, Redbook shows the greatest numerical increase in female authors.

Hypothesis 10: There will be a significantly fewer number of male writers in each of the two magazines--Mademoiselle and Redbook--during the 1970 through 1974 period than during the 1966 through 1969 period.

Data in Table 15 indicate that this hypothesis can not be fully supported. However, a near significant decrease in the number of male authors is shown in both magazines during the 1970 through 1974 period.

Table 14.--Frequency distribution of female authors appearing in Mademoiselle and in Redbook during 1966-69 compared to those in 1970-74.

Magazines	Years		Total N
	1966-69	1970-74	
Mademoiselle	47	65	112
Redbook	44	109	153
Total N	91	174	265

$X^2 = 4.99043$

Significant at .05 probability level

Table 15.--Frequency distribution of male authors appearing in Mademoiselle and in Redbook during 1966-69 compared to those appearing in 1970-74.

Magazines	Years		Total N
	1966-69	1970-74	
Mademoiselle	7	2	9
Redbook	39	35	74
Total N	46	37	83

$X^2 = 2.25439$

Approaching significance at .10 probability level

By reviewing the findings of Hypothesis 9, it is interesting to note that Redbook features a distinctly greater number of female authors as well as male authors during both periods.

Hypothesis 11: Ms. will show a significantly greater number of female authors than will either Mademoiselle or Redbook during the 1972 through 1974 period.

As indicated in Tables 16 and 17, this hypothesis is supported. Ms. shows a significantly greater number of female authors than either of the other two magazines. Numerically, Ms. also shows a greater distribution of articles written by females than does either of the other two magazines.

Table 16.--Frequency distribution of female authors appearing in Ms. compared to Mademoiselle during 1972-74.

Magazines	Years 1972-74	Total N
Ms.	116	116
Mademoiselle	43	43
Total N	159	159

$X^2 = 33.52201$

Significant at .001 probability level

Table 17.--Frequency distribution of female authors appearing in Ms. compared to Redbook during 1972-74.

Magazines	Years 1972-74	Total N
Ms.	116	116
Redbook	68	68
Total N	184	184

$X^2 = 12.52717$

Significant at .001 probability level

Data in Table 18 show a significant difference among the three magazines in their number of female authors during 1972 through 1974. Redbook shows a greater number of female authors than does Mademoiselle but fewer than Ms. during this period.

Table 18.--Frequency distribution of female authors appearing in Ms., Mademoiselle, and Redbook during 1972-74.

Magazines	Years 1972-74	Total N
Ms.	116	116
Mademoiselle	43	43
Redbook	68	68
Total N	227	227

$X^2 = 36.38877$

Significant at .001 probability level

Hypothesis 12: Ms. will show a significantly fewer number of male authors than Mademoiselle and Redbook combined during the 1972 through 1974 period.

This hypothesis is supported. (See Table 19.) Ms. shows fewer articles written by men, both statistically and numerically, than do the other two magazines combined.

Table 19.--Frequency distribution of male authors appearing in Ms. compared to Mademoiselle and Redbook combined during 1972-74.

Magazines	Years 1972-74	Total N
Ms.	4	4
Mademoiselle & Redbook	25	25
Total N	29	29

$X^2 = 15.24138$
Significant at .001 probability level

Statistical analysis of Mademoiselle and Redbook separately was not possible because of the low number of male writers in each. However, numerically, Mademoiselle showed fewer male authors (one article) than Redbook (24 articles). More articles in Redbook were written by men than in Ms.

From Hypotheses 9 through 12 it can be said that: (1) Mademoiselle and Redbook have shown a substantial increase in the number of female authors and a decrease in male authors during the last four years; and (2) of the three magazines, Ms. shows the greatest number of female authors and the least number of male authors from 1972 through 1974.

Elaboration of Findings

As has been shown, the non-fiction articles in Mademoiselle and Redbook portray women in non-domestic roles statistically the same during both 1966 through 1969 and 1970 through 1974. However, Mademoiselle shows a greater number of these roles than does Redbook. Ms., on the other hand, shows a significant statistical dominance and a numerical dominance over the other two magazines in the portrayal of non-domestic roles.

Examples drawn from the data will serve to illustrate these points. In total, the majority of Mademoiselle's non-domestic articles deal with employment outside of the home. Redbook's stance in this category falls far below the other two magazines. Non-domestic roles in Ms. center around the role of social activist. (See Table 20.)

The number of non-fiction articles depicting employment outside of the home in Mademoiselle remained evenly distributed from 1966 through 1974. (See Table 21.)

Table 20.--Roles appearing in Mademoiselle, Redbook, and Ms. in the total random sample drawn for 1966-74.

Roles	Magazines		
	Mademoiselle	Redbook	Ms.
Mother	1	55	0
Wife	4	4	0
Homemaker	2	5	0
Employment outside home	23	6	5
Social activist	5	11	32
Self-identity	14	20	8
Total N	49	101	45

Table 21.--Roles appearing in Mademoiselle by year as drawn from the total random sample.

Roles	Years								
	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Mother	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Wife	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0
Homemaker	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Employment outside the home	3	5	2	3	1	0	3	2	4
Social activist	1	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0
Self-identity	1	0	1	1	3	1	2	2	1
Total N	7	5	6	4	6	3	9	4	5

Nevertheless, during the earlier years, the subject of many of these articles discussed the traditional female-oriented careers. For example, two articles appearing in 1967 describe the live of an airline stewardess and a New York fashion designer.[1]

Unique careers for women are examined in such articles as "Protocol in Practice" by Bonnie Angelo and "Jobs in the Disc Biz" by Robin Watt. Angelo, however, continues to make domestic-flavored statements such as, "Weighing the advantages against the disadvantages, girls in the Foreign Service are unanimous; they wouldn't trade it for any other career in the world--except marriage."[2] Watt's article limits the jobs open to women in the record industry to those of secretary, receptionist, and production assistant. Eventually, she concedes, women may become engineers and producers.[3] Indicative of most of Mademoiselle's and Redbook's non-fiction articles appearing in the mid- to late-1960s, the theme of home and family is presented as an important element in a woman's life. Women who have the courage to venture into the world of male careers are pictured as a minority who at the same

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[1]Rita Hoffmann, "Up in the Air," Mademoiselle, February 1967, pp. 128 & 179-84; Annette Grant, "You Can Make It Only If It Sells," Mademoiselle, September 1967, pp. 122-24 & 184-87.

[2]Mademoiselle, February 1966, p. 168.

[3]Mademoiselle, November 1968, p. 165.

time hold visions of ultimately settling down to the safety of marriage.

By 1970, Mademoiselle was dealing more with women in the changing times. Anne Guitar, in her article "Ecology: New Cause, New Career," describes the life and views of the first woman to graduate from the School of Forestry at Yale University:

> For those who want to do more than protest, perhaps make a career out of saving the earth, there are new job opportunities in the once dominated male bastions of wildlife management, civil engineering, and public health.[4]

At times, authors of the non-fiction articles in Mademoiselle admit that, unfortunately, the road to editorial heaven is still paved with the keyboard of the secretarial pool.[5] In 1974, the reader finds, "Executive Jobs: How You Can Land Them," which reports that women are not being hired in great numbers to fill management positions. The author advises women to remedy the situation by getting a master's degree in business administration.[6] Other articles portraying women in medicine to women in oceanography appear in these later editions of Mademoiselle.

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[4]Mademoiselle, April 1970, p. 190.

[5]Nancy Axelrad, "Magazine Jobs U.S.A.," Mademoiselle, September 1970, p. 160.

[6]Nancy Axelrad Comer, Mademoiselle, September 1974, p. 160.

The non-fiction articles that feature women in non-domestic roles appear sparingly in Redbook from 1966 through 1969 but increase slightly in 1970 through 1974. (See Table 22.) However, when the roles of working mother and social activist do appear, they are dealt with in a definite, positive manner. One article, "Five Million Children With Part-Time Mothers and Nowhere to Go," predicts that by 1980, 5.3 million mothers between the ages of 20 and 44 and with children under 5 will be working. Behind these statistics is the philosophy that society must accept the fact that millions of mothers are working, that millions more would like to work, and that society both "needs their services and owes their children as much help as it gives the aged and infirm."[7]

Margaret Mead, renowned anthropologist and columnist for Redbook, frequently encourages more women to enter politics and other women to actively support those who do.[8] She is convinced that women as homemakers will soon disappear. A changeover is occurring in society, she maintains, that will result in women shifting focus from their own homes and small communities to a concern for the world.[9]

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[7]Victor H. Bernstein, Redbook, November 1969, p. 86.

[8]"Women and Politics," Redbook, November 1970, p. 50.

[9]"Women and a Plundered Planet," Redbook, April 1970, p. 57.

Table 22.--Roles appearing in Redbook by year as drawn from the total random sample.

Roles	Years								
	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Mother	6	9	6	5	7	6	5	6	5
Wife	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Homemaker	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
Employment outside the home	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	2
Social activist	0	2	1	0	2	1	2	0	3
Self-identity	1	0	1	3	3	2	6	4	0
Total N	9	12	9	9	13	11	15	12	11

Six articles representing women employed outside of the home appear in Redbook during the entire nine-year period under study. (See Table 22.) These are rather token attempts. For example, "I Like Watching Things Grow, Especially Me," tells the story of a female marine biologist who works on her research at home part-time while caring for her young daughter. "While Vince is young my work must be secondary in my life," the author writes.[10] Directly and indirectly, the traditional homemaker-mother image continues to appear in Redbook.

The non-fiction articles in Ms. frequently portray women as a social activist. Articles showing women fighting for equality on the job through political reform, such as the Equal Rights Amendment, and for equalized educational opportunities, are featured in the magazine.

"Organizing From Within," by Susan Davis, is an excellent example of the how-to-do-it spirit behind many Ms. articles. Davis explains the procedures involved in organizing women's caucuses from within a corporation and reminds the reader that "Self-doubt, mistrust, and diffidence have often kept women from joining forces to fight for their rights on the job."[11]

Ms. also shows a significant number of articles on widely known women sports figures such as tennis champion

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[10] Redbook, September 1973, p. 20.

[11] Ms., August 1972, p. 92.

Billie Jean King as well as the stars of the future. "Americans just haven't gotten around to recognizing that women can sweat and strain and achieve on a smaller scale, as much as men," a Ms. contributor writes.[12]

On the domestic scene, Ms.'s handling of the roles of mother, wife, and homemaker is nonexistent. (See Table 23.) Although Mademoiselle and Redbook show no statistical difference in their portrayals of domesticity, Redbook contains an overwhelmingly greater number of these role portrayals than does Mademoiselle. Distribution of the mother image is definitely most pronounced in Redbook compared to either of the other two magazines. (See Table 20.) If Ms. voices strong support for social activism, Redbook is predominantly mother-role oriented. Through its regular columns, "Young Mother's Story," "Expectant Mother," and "Doctor Spock," the image of woman is of a devoted homemaker and mother.

"One Job Too Many" by Phillis B. Card is representative of Redbook's articles. In this story, a recently remarried divorcee tells of the problems involved with keeping her secretarial job while attempting to raise five school-age children. A near catastrophe involving her six-year-old son playing with matches finally convinces this woman of her "failure" as a mother. Describing

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[12]Lucinda Franks, "See Jane Run," Ms., January 1973, p. 98.

the results of her decision to quit her job, she says, "I have been a housewife for nine months and I have never felt so complete, content, or useful in my life."[13]

Table 23.--Roles appearing in Ms. by year as drawn from the total random sample.

Roles	Years		
	1972	1973	1974
Mother	0	0	0
Wife	0	0	0
Homemaker	0	0	0
Employment outside the home	1	3	1
Social activist	6	15	11
Self-identity	4	4	0
Total N	11	22	12

"Young Mother's Story," a two- to three-page column appearing each month in Redbook, is a narrative written by a reader describing the problems she has faced and overcome while housekeeping, raising children, or relating to a marital situation. The housewives contributing to the "Young Mother's Story" are usually committed to making a home and catering to their husbands' needs. Mention of

[13] Redbook, February 1966, p. 8.

any kind of non-domestic employment is limited to the routine of a mere 8 to 5 job as opposed to a rewarding, planned for, and on-going career.

Sentiments supporting motherhood are echoed in a majority of feature articles in Redbook. In "The Sweet Smell of Baby Powder," for example, Ethel Gordon asks, "Why is it that I am envious of mothers with small children? Why do I wish I had it all to do over again?"[14]

Another Redbook contributor, Edith Hunter, comments on the "variety" that the role of mother offers. "What," she asks, "is more important than being there with the growing children of a generation, acting as an information center, a teacher of values, and a cheering squad?"[15] In the non-fiction of Redbook the mother image appeared consistently from 1966 through 1974. (See Table 22.) In their article, "Sleeping Beauty--The Problems of the Unawakened Woman," Rollo May and Robert Levine epitomize Redbook's chief non-domestic role portrayal, self-identity. (This is one role portrayal which has increased in number in Redbook from 1970 through 1974.) (See Table 22.) Modern woman, the authors say, does not know how to develop and become a woman:

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[14] Redbook, February 1968, p. 44.

[15] "You Used to Say You'd Marry Me," Redbook, August 1967, p. 59.

> Marriage, children, career, divorce, love affairs--all these are for her to decide. None are prescribed for her as they once were for her grandmother, by family or cultural tradition. She must forge new values and new beliefs by herself.[16]

Interpretation of Findings

A summary table (Table 24) is presented to demonstrate to what extent the findings of this study fit the theoretical predictions. Explanations need to be given where the findings of this study differ from the predicted results.

Conflict theory, the theoretical approach to this study, duscusses the inevitability of conflict between groups in a pluralistic society. This conflict centers around the struggle for power and influence within the system. Magazines are one form of the mass media through which members of society are influenced and by which particular beliefs are propagated in this struggle between and among groups. No group is completely stable. To maintain its ultimate authority and power, the dominant group will incorporate members of other rising influential groups into its ranks. As the result, favorable but minimal changes for the minority group will take place.

From the theoretical framework of this study, it was assumed that magazines would reflect the changing values and issues of women in today's society. It was expected that rising minority groups--those supporting women's

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[16] Redbook, September 1966, p. 62.

Table 24.--Summary table.

Magazine Comparisons	Prediction	Finding	Trend Statistically Significant	Trend Not Statistically Significant
I. Comparisons of non-domestic roles among the three magazines:				
Mademoiselle vs. Redbook	difference	no difference		x
Ms. vs. Mademoiselle	difference	difference	x	
Ms. vs. Redbook	difference	difference	x	
II. Comparisons of professional and managerial roles:				
Ms. vs. Mademoiselle and Redbook	difference	no difference		x
Mademoiselle vs. Redbook	no difference	difference	x	
III. Comparisons of domestic roles:				
Mademoiselle and Redbook 1966-69 vs. Mademoiselle and Redbook 1970-74	difference	no difference		x
IV. Comparisons of self-identity roles:				
Ms. vs. Mademoiselle	difference	no difference		x
Ms. vs. Redbook	difference	difference		x

Table 24.--Continued.

Magazine Comparisons	Prediction	Finding	Trend Statistically Significant	Trend Not Statistically Significant
V. Comparisons of social activist roles:				
Ms. vs. Mademoiselle and Redbook	difference	difference	x	
Mademoiselle and Redbook 1966-69 vs. Mademoiselle and Redbook 1970-74	difference	no difference		x
VI. Comparisons of female authors:				
Mademoiselle and Redbook 1966-69 vs. Mademoiselle and Redbook 1970-74	difference	difference	x	
Ms. vs. Mademoiselle	difference	difference	x	
Ms. vs. Redbook	difference	difference	x	
VII. Comparisons of male authors:				
Mademoiselle and Redbook 1966-69 vs. Mademoiselle and Redbook 1970-74	difference	no difference		x
Ms. vs. Mademoiselle and Redbook	difference	no difference	x	

changing roles in society--would use the magazines as an instrument through which to relate their arguments and concerns to the general public. In turn, the dominant groups--those in control of the magazines--were expected to allow for a change in their portrayal of women from domestic to non-domestic images.

The three magazines in this study are similar because they are directed to a female audience aged 20 to 34. Each has a distinct history, but regardless, each purports to portray today's woman and current topics to its readers. In addition, all three magazines claim the same affluent readership--women who are college educated, employed full- or part-time, and socially involved.

Applying conflict theory to the events which culminated in the formation of Ms. as a national magazine, the researcher expected that Ms. would be least conservative in its portrayals of women's roles followed by a more conservative Mademoiselle and Redbook. Change in role portrayals was expected in the latter two magazines as they responded to increasing pressure from Women's Liberation groups to revamp their existing formats. However, a much more liberal stand toward women's roles in society was expected in Ms. because it is a "cause" magazine. Its birth and progress have stemmed directly from a vocal power group--those supporting the women's movement and the

feminist philosophy.[17] Data collected in this study seem to support these assumptions.

No significant statistical difference was discerned in the portrayal of non-domestic roles between the non-fiction articles in Mademoiselle and Redbook, although numerically, Mademoiselle emphasized more non-domestic roles. Ms. led the other two magazines outstandingly in this respect.

Ms., in accordance with the researcher's expectations, showed slightly more professional and managerial roles during 1972 through 1974 than did Mademoiselle and Redbook. Mademoiselle ranked second and Redbook ranked third in this category. As expected, Ms. did not portray domestic roles. However, domestic roles appeared in Mademoiselle and Redbook with no significant difference between them. (See Tables 6 and 8.)

Non-domestic roles appearing in the three magazines may be categorized according to job status. (See Tables 21, 22, and 23.) As indicated, professional and managerial roles appear consistently in Mademoiselle for both the 1966 through 1969 period and the 1970 through 1974 period. No such jobs appear in the non-fiction articles in Redbook during the earlier period, while a slight increase of these roles occurs in 1970 through 1974.

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[17]Howard, "Ms. and the Journalism of Women's Lib," p. 54.

No significant difference was found among the three magazines in their portrayals of the self-identity role during the 1972 through 1974 period. Also, no great numerical difference was found. The slight numerical difference which did exist showed Redbook leading the other two magazines in the area of self-identity.

Social activist roles were most evident in Ms. Little difference was shown between Mademoiselle's and Redbook's portrayals of this role. It is evident that the distribution of self-identity and social activist roles in Mademoiselle and Redbook showed a marked increase during the 1970 through 1974 period from that of 1966 through 1969. (See Tables 21, 22, and 23.) In Mademoiselle, domestic roles decreased slightly for the 1970 through 1974 period, while Redbook showed a slight increase during the same period.

Change toward a more non-domestic portrayal of women was occurring in the three magazines but at a slow rate. As conflict theory states, a minority group is gradually and selectively incorporated into the power structure. The fact that Ms. did not begin publication until 1972, when it hit the market with a strong non-domestic flavor, is itself an insightful piece of data contributing to the researcher's findings. The appearance of such a magazine during the early 1970s is strong support for the fact that change was occurring and magazines

reflected the changing social sentiment during the period. Ms. appeared and survived amid the already existing and powerful mass media structure.

It appears that the three magazines in this study have been reflecting women's changing roles in society, if ever so slightly. Some have been doing a better job at this than others. It is 1970, however, before any real change can be noted in the treatment of these roles.[18] Even then, as before, no significant differences can be found between the two magazines which were published during both periods--Mademoiselle and Redbook. Only numerical trends exist, which show slight changes, if any, toward Mademoiselle's and Redbook's more non-domestic bent in their role portrayals. (See Tables 21 and 22.)

The data relative to the number of male and female authors in each magazine point to the trend of more female writers in both Mademoiselle and Redbook during the last four years. (See Tables 25, 26, 27, and 28.)

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[18]The year 1970 seems to be a turning point in more ways than one. It is interesting to note that on August 26, 1970, NOW initiated and largely organized a national women's strike to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. This event was a turning point for the entire Women's Liberation Movement. The power of the movement became public knowledge and after 1970, the movement came of age. This was also the first time the press gave a feminist demonstration purely straight coverage. Freeman, The Politics of Women's Liberation, p. 84.

Table 25.--Sex of authors in Mademoiselle, Redbook, and Ms. appearing in the total random sample.

Authors	Magazines		
	Mademoiselle	Redbook	Ms.
Female	112	153	116
Male	9	74	4
Other	19	59	7
Total N	140	286	127

The conflict theory, which underlies this study, is supported by Mademoiselle's and Redbook's concessions to the demands of those calling for women to be portrayed in more non-traditional roles. However, any changes are minimal and appear to have been taking place gradually since 1966.

The results also bear out the fact that within the three magazines' combined general reading audience, each magazine appears to cater to the desires of its own special readership--Redbook to the young mother, Mademoiselle to the working and/or college woman, and Ms. to the professional woman and social activist. The economic considerations for each magazine attempting to appeal to its specific audience cannot be ignored. Realistically, no doubt, a magazine must cater to and, in turn, be supported by a definite readership. However, for purposes of this study the purported philosophy of each magazine

Table 26.--Sex of authors appearing in Mademoiselle by year.

Authors	Years								
	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Female	13	14	10	10	15	7	21	10	12
Male	4	1	2	0	1	0	1	0	0
Other	4	0	4	1	2	2	3	1	2

Table 27.--Sex of authors appearing in Redbook by year.

Authors	Years								
	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Female	8	13	10	13	19	22	25	21	22
Male	12	10	9	8	7	4	9	9	6
Other	6	11	10	6	7	5	8	4	2

Table 28.--Sex of authors appearing in Ms. by year.

Authors	Years		
	1972	1973	1974
Female	27	57	32
Male	3	1	0
Other	0	5	2

was viewed and its non-fiction content examined for success or failure at presenting that philosophy to the reader. It is important that a magazine's philosophy be recognized by the public as being either mere ideology or ideology set into practice.

Each of the three magazines basically maintains its devotion to presenting the contemporary image of women and enlightening readers to current and controversial topics of interest to women. Feminists argue that most traditional women's magazines fail to carry out this promise. This study contributed data that do not completely support the feminist position against the magazines. Also shown, however, was the fact that all three magazines could present a more balanced view of today's woman whether her self-identity spirit favors the life of a career woman, a homemaker, or both.

Summary

Support was found for the conflict theory discussed in the theoretical chapter of this study. The non-fiction articles in Mademoiselle, Redbook, and Ms. reflect the changing roles of women in society through their portrayals of women's roles.

The data, both numerical and statistical, show that Mademoiselle represents the domestic and non-domestic roles of women approximately the same. Redbook is most traditional in its domestic role portrayals, while Ms. most clearly exemplifies non-domesticity.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the last few years the medium of magazines has been scrutinized and increasingly attacked by feminist groups concerning its image portrayals of women. These groups have charged that women are being cast into roles as mere subservient housewives and mothers with no real identity or potential of their own. Furthermore, feminists argue that domestic and subservient female images have become so engrained in women's minds that these roles are accepted unquestionably as women's proper place in society.

The purpose of this study was to systematically examine the non-fiction content of three popular women's magazines to determine: (1) the extent of change in the portrayal of women in each of the three magazines from 1966 through 1974; (2) to measure the difference among the three magazines' portrayals of women's roles from 1966 through 1974; (3) to determine how accurately each of the magazines reflects the changing role of women in society; and (4) to determine any trends that may have been developing during the past nine years concerning women's role images in the three magazines.

Data were gathered from the universe of non-fiction articles in Mademoiselle and Redbook for the period 1966 through 1974 and in Ms. for the period 1972 through 1974. A random sample of 35 percent of the total defined universe (195 articles) was analyzed for roles within the domestic and non-domestic categories.

The specific findings of this study are: (1) there is no statistical difference in the portrayals of women's non-domestic roles in Mademoiselle and Redbook; (2) more non-domestic roles are shown in Mademoiselle than in Redbook; (3) Ms. shows the greatest number of non-domestic roles; (4) Mademoiselle and Ms. show a much greater number of professional and managerial roles than does Redbook; (5) Redbook is the most domestically oriented of the three magazines; (6) the number of domestic roles in Mademoiselle and Redbook from 1970 through 1974 has neither decreased nor increased from the number of these portrayals from 1966 through 1969; (7) the self-identity role of women is equally portrayed in all three magazines; (8) Ms. shows the greatest number of social activist roles; (9) Mademoiselle and Redbook show no significant increase in self-identity roles from 1970 through 1974 compared to 1966 through 1969; (10) the number of female authors increased and male authors decreased in Mademoiselle and Redbook for the 1970 through 1974 period; (11) Ms. shows the greatest number of female authors and the least

number of male authors during the 1972 through 1974 period.

The findings reveal that Mademoiselle and Redbook show no statistical change in their portrayal of domestic roles during the nine years under study. The numerical change in the portrayal of women in Redbook and Mademoiselle during these years has been slight. Such, for example, is the case in these two magazines' use of the self-identity role. These findings help to support the feminist criticism against women's magazines.

Mademoiselle and Redbook also show no statistical difference from Ms. in their portrayal of the self-identity role. It can be argued that magazines such as Ms., which contain no domestic portrayals, do not represent the total woman any more adequately than does Redbook with its strong emphasis on the motherhood image. In addition, Mademoiselle and Redbook show a distinct increase in women authors and a decline in articles written by men.

With these thoughts in mind, the researcher concludes that feminist criticism of these three magazines is unfounded. As explained by the conflict theory, change in the images of women would be expected to occur gradually --and this is what appears to be taking place in magazines today. In addition, feminists' criticisms of and pressures exerted on the established magazines have done much to effect this change.

Meanwhile, however, each magazine should strive to accomplish its major goal--representing those women 18 to 34 years old--as accurately and fairly as possible. Of the three magazines in this study, Mademoiselle has most consistently presented a balanced image of woman as homemaker, career person, and individual. Ms. definitely supports the Women's Liberation sector, portraying women employed outside of the home, committed to societal change, and made aware of self-identity. Redbook is most conservative, but presents a more positive treatment of the self-identity role of women than do the other two magazines. However, despite this fact and the fact that the magazine shows recent increases in the portrayal of social activist roles, Redbook continues to emphasize strongly the motherhood image.

Most important, both Mademoiselle and Redbook show slight trends of changing their image portrayals from domestic to non-domestic orientation from 1966 through 1974. The birth and survival of Ms. and its non-domestic flavor is evidence of societal influences on magazines and vice-versa.

Limitations of the Study

A few limitations to this study, if rectified, would improve future content analysis studies of women's magazines. One of these limitations is the fact that a

larger random sample could have been drawn, thereby increasing the validity of the study. Also, the independent researcher could have reviewed a greater percentage of the sample to increase the reliability of the study. Other limitations stem from defining the research problem. This study concentrates on only one aspect of the magazines--non-fiction. The magazines also could have been examined to discover women's roles as they were portrayed in fiction, advertisements, and photographs.

This study included a specific and limited number of women's roles. The six roles used could have been expanded to include others such as beauty, health, fashion, and home decorating. Other types of magazines--for example, news magazines--in addition to the three utilized in the study could have been included to obtain a more representative picture of the medium and its treatment of female images. Time and resources have limited the study to its present form.

A major limitation to the study was that statistical comparison of the magazines' portrayals of women employed outside of the home to actual census and labor statistics was unrealistic. This was because of the limited number of articles which depicted the role of outside employment in all three magazines. This limitation was compounded by the small yet valid sample drawn from the universe of the three magazines compared to the

female labor force that numbers in the millions. The researcher can only conclude that the three magazines show trends of portraying employed women more each year with slight decreases in the number of domestic role portrayals. Labor statistics indicate slight but steady increases of women in the labor force.[1] Thus, these correlating trends indicate that all three magazines as a group are adequately portraying today's working woman.

Recommendations

The major recommendation for the magazines in this study is that they continue to strive for accurate representation of today's women and issues. They must do so if they expect to fulfill their goals of relating to the changing times and changing women. Mademoiselle and Redbook should increase their portrayals of non-domestic roles. Redbook should portray women better in professional and managerial roles. At the same time, the magazine should be aware of its strong trend toward domestic orientation compared to the other two magazines.

Females should continue their criticisms of the magazines. Change away from a strong domestic stereotype is generally occurring, but at a slow rate and, if present, it is minimal. If portrayals of non-domesticity

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[1]U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1974, p. 337.

are to become significant, more pressure applied to those in charge of the medium by feminists and/or readers is needed. However, critics must carefully scrutinize magazines, such as Ms., to assure that a biased and distorted picture of women as liberationists does not become the standard of American womanhood. Ms., if it wishes to be an "experience" for all women, should more adequately portray domestic roles.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Table 29.--Status of roles appearing in Mademoiselle, Redbook, and Ms.

Roles	Magazines		
	Mademoiselle	Redbook	Ms.
Professional and technical workers	12	2	5
Managers, officials, and proprietors	8	1	3
Clerical workers	2	0	2
Sales workers	0	0	0
Operative workers, service workers, private household workers, laborers	2	3	1

Table 30.--Status of roles appearing in Mademoiselle by year.

Roles	Years								
	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Professional and technical workers	3	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	4
Managerial	1	1	1	0	1	0	2	1	1
Clerical workers	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Sales workers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Operative workers, service workers, private household workers, laborers	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 31.--Status of roles appearing in Redbook by year.

Roles	Years								
	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Professional and technical	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Managerial	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Clerical workers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sales workers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Operative workers, service workers, private household workers, laborers	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0

Table 32.--Status of roles appearing in Ms. by year.

Roles	Years		
	1972	1973	1974
Professional and technical workers	2	3	0
Managerial	1	0	2
Clerical workers	0	2	0
Sales workers	0	0	0
Operative workers, service workers, private household workers, laborers	0	1	0

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