FROM 1979 TO 1988

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Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate College of the Oklahoma State University in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE May, 1989

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CONTENT ANALYSIS OF WORKING WOMEN'S
PORTRAYALS IN MS. AND WORKING
    MOMAN ADVERTISEMENTS
    FROM 1979 TO 1988
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Thesis Approved:


## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I express deep gratitude to my thesis committee Chairman, Dr. Charles A. Fleming, for his intelligent guidance, encouragement, and invaluable aid throughout my graduate program and this project. Many thanks also go to Dr. Maureen J. Nemecek and Dr. Ed Paulin for serving on my graduate committee.

My husband, Richard J. Tuznik, provided moral support and encouraged me to always keep the end goal of this effort in sight. His patience, thoughtfulness, and love will never be forgotten.

Special appreciation is due my children, Jessica L. Tuznik and Ian S. Tuznik, for their love and understanding.

My sister, Dolores L. Giannini, encouraged and supported my educational efforts. Thanks go to her for her love and encouragement.

Finally, this work is dedicated to the memory of Frank J. Krecicki, Jr., my brother, who taught me to always attempt my goals.

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## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

Statement of Problem

The portrayal of working female roles in the mass media is a topic of increasing social importance. The number of women in the workplace is increasing. The increase in women workers accounted for 60 percent of the growth in the labor force in the past decade (1980s) and is expected to account for 70 percent of the growth in the next decade (1990s). ${ }^{1}$ The media portray these working women to society.

This thesis addresses the problem that despite the fact that numbers of women continue to increase in the labor force, the roles or images of working women, as they are portrayed by the media in working women's magazines, may not have changed over time.

## The Controversy

Controversy as to whether the media are responsible in portraying working women exists. For example: Margaret Gallagher wrote Unequal opoortunities: The Case of Women and the Media as part of a year-long study conducted by the

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (1975).

Gallagher investigated the ways in which women are portrayed by the mass media. A major focus of her study was the mass media as a cultural force do not simply reflect, but subtly and indirectly help to shape social reality. ${ }^{2}$ This idea places the media as a reactionary force in the development of social equity, and not in a neutral or even conservative role.

Using a comprehensive content analysis of television series, Gallagher reported the following concerning the portrayal of women in the mass media: Women are underrepresented in general, and occupy less central roles than men in television programs. Also, employed women are shown In traditionally female occupations, as subordinates to men, with little status or power. ${ }^{3}$ Gallagher concluded that a considerable amount of sex-stereotyping of occupations is still occurring.

In relation to magazine advertising, she reached the following general conclusion. In female oriented advertisements, women are encouraged to identify with the female who achieves success with men as a result of using a particular product. ${ }^{4}$

Carol Caldwell also investigated media portrayals of women. Caldwell wrote that despite the continual efforts of feminist groups to combat sexism in the mass media, unflattering stereotypes of women still persist in
advertising. ${ }^{3}$ Most of these unflattering stereotypes were found in television commercials.

Criticism of the media's portrayal of women was also cited by Gaye Tuchman. As a basis for her criticism, Tuchman referred to Laswell's statement, "the mass media transmit the social heritage from one generation to the next."6 Tuchman wrote that the media's portrayal of women often may be lagging in time, and negatively affecting future generations.

Arthur Asa Berger cited further evidence concerning the media's portrayal of women. Berger studied sex and symbols in fashion advertising. He concluded that advertisements that stress moisture may be symbolizing a desexualization of women. Berger stated that "dehydration is a metaphor for loss of sexual attractiveness and capacity, that is, desexualization."7

Such criticisms fit in with the Hutchins' Commission theory that the media have a social responsibility to project a representative picture of the constituent groups in a society, and a responsibility in the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of society. ${ }^{\circ}$

These Hutchins' Commission recommendations are used to support the assumption that the media should portray working women in a socially-responsible manner.

As previously cited, numbers of working women continue to increase in the labor market. Also, the trend is that these numbers will continue to increase. It is important
that the media factually represent working women to society.

## objectives

The purpose of this study is to determine whether the media are behaving in a socially responsible manner. For example: Have the media remained the same, behaved less responsibly, or behaved more responsibly in their portrayals?

This thesis studies working women's portrayals in two working women's magazines: Ms. and Horking Homan. It examines what dominant themes, roles, and social class images are advertised to working women over time and whether these have changed over time. It also evaluates the media in their performance of how accurately and positively they are portraying working women.

## Background

The 1960s were marked by the emergence of the contemporary women's movement. It was also, at this time, that federal policy and legal enactments favorable to the equalization of the status of women were being formulated. ${ }^{9}$

The following historical events influenced the roles and status of women, and working women, in particular:

1. The President's Commission on the Status of Women 1961 created an official interest in the area of women's rights.
2. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 concerned the issue of discrimination on the basis of sex.
3. The Equal Employment Opportunity section of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, color, creed, national origin or sex by any private employer or union.
4. The 1969 President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities made further recomendations for legislation to upgrade the status of women.
5. Congress passed the Equal Rights Amendment in 1972.
6. In 1978, only thirty-five states had ratified the Equal Rights Amendment. It was defeated in its final passage deadine in $1982 .{ }^{10}$

The National Commission on Working Women merged with Wider Opportunities for Women in 1987. Wider Opportunities for Women is a private non-profit organization that works to ensure economic independence and equality of opportunity for women. WOW efforts have focused on achieving changes in the employment policies, programs and practices to improve the economic status of women and their families. ${ }^{11}$

Concerning the historical context of the contemporary women's movement, Alain Touraine writes that women are dominated by men less, but by advertising more. ${ }^{22}$ He states that advertised portrayals of women are a means of controlling female sexuality.

Advertised portrayals of working women warrant evaluation. Advertising reflects the way society is, and shows people how they could or should be. ${ }^{13}$ The media possess a lot of power to reflect how working women are portrayed.

The media as a group help to represent women. Their portrayal of working women should attempt to accurately reflect reality and not contradict it. This is based on the Hutchins' Commission theory that the media have a social responsibility to project a representative picture of the constituent groups (working women) in a society.

In the 1970 , advertised women's images began to prompt attention. Pressure came from inside and outside advertising agencies. Sex roles and female images in advertisements kept improving, with occasional strong women and nurturing men, female executives and male babysitters being portrayed. ${ }^{14}$

In his book The Mirror Makers, stephen Fox quoted an article entitled, "In General," from a November 1974 issue of Ms. magazine, "advertisers have shown a willingness to change, an increased understanding that women's interests far exceed feminine products."ュs

However, as Franchellie Cadwell, of Cadwell Davis, noted, if an advertisement showed a woman giving a speech, or driving a race car, or sweating over a hot stove, the latter usually brought the best sales response. ${ }^{16}$

In analyzing an advertisement there are a number of factors to consider: the ambience, the design, the use of white space, the significant images and symbols, the use of language, the type faces used, and the item itself (and its role and function in society).17 Also, how the
advertisement attempts to "sell" and what roles (images) it offers to imitate. ${ }^{18}$

Jean Kilbourne wrote that advertisers attempt to set guidelines for who we are and who we should be. Advertising tries to influence our values, success concepts, and sexuality. It tries to define "normalcy" in our lives. ${ }^{19}$ Advertising creates a climate wherein we believe that products can fulfill us. This consumerism distorts the image of women and men. ${ }^{20}$ Advertising messages that portray women as powerless beings and men as dominant beings impact society in an unrealistic manner. ${ }^{21}$

Since the media reflect dominant societal values for many people, it seems beneficial to evaluate the portrayal of working women that society is receiving. As the values of society change, people usually expect the images of society presented by the media to change. However, the media's portrayal of women often may be out of date. 22

The sex roles the media offer are social guidelines for sex-appropriate appearance, interests, skills, behaviors, and self-perceptions. ${ }^{33}$ Working women's magazines direct these efforts to a specialized public.

Value of the Thesis

The value of this thesis is that it examines how the media have portrayed working women through advertising over a ten-year period, (1979 through 1988), in an attempt to
compare media performance with the principles of responsibility set forth by the Hutchins' Commission.

This thesis is based on the assumption that the media should portray working women in a socially responsible manner. The media are evaluated in their performance to responsibly project a representative picture of the working women constituent group of society, and the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of this group. The Hutchins' Commission Report is the basis for these assumptions.

The findings of this thesis may prompt interest in the portrayal of women in mass communication. It may also stimulate a concern and interest in the field of studies pertaining to working women.

If inadequacies are found in media portrayals of working women, this thesis will challenge the media to present a more positive image of working women.

Scope and Limitations of the study

The scope of this thesis is to investigate if the media are presenting images of women commensurate with their roles in society today.

This thesis examines the advertising in two working women's magazines: Ms. and Working Woman. The selected research period is a ten-year period of time, 1979-1988. This allows a specific comparison to determine if media portrayals of working women have changed over time.

Photographic advertisements actually containing women will be evaluated.

A limitation of this thesis is that it only examines photographic advertisements actually containing women. Also, it measures only two working women's magazines: Ms. and Working Homan.

Outline of the Remainder of the Thesis

Chapter II Literature Review-consists of studies that have been conducted in relation to working women's portrayals, other approaches involving the content analysis method, women's trends in the labor force, and focus on media responsibility in relation to the thesis topic.

Chapter III Methodology-consists of a description of the content analysis approach, data coding and collection plan, statistical tests, any methodological assumptions or limitations, and summary.

Chapter IV Analysis of Data-consists of tables, interpretation of collected data, evaluation of data findings, and summary.

Chapter $V$ Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendationsconsists of a summarization of everything covered in first three chapters and the findings portion of Chapter IV, conclusions of the content analysis findings, and recommendations based on findings for further research and implementation of the findings.

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\({ }^{2}\) National Research Council, Computer Chips and Paper Clips: Technology and Women's Employment Heidi I. Hartmann, ed., (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1987), Vol. I, 18.
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${ }^{2}$ Margaret Gallagher, Unequal Opportunities: The Case of Women and the Media from Hiebert, et al. "Impact of Mass Media: Current Issues," 1975, 428-429.
${ }^{3}$ Ibid. 430.
4 Ibid. 434.
${ }^{\text {s Carol }}$ Caldwell, Advertising, "You Haven't Come a Long Way Baby: Women in Television Commercials," 1977, 89.
${ }^{6}$ Gaye Tuchman, Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 56 .
${ }^{7}$ Arthur Asa Berger, Media Analysis Techniques (New York: Sage Publications, 1982), 139.
${ }^{5}$ General Report on Mass Communication: Newspapers, Radio, Motion Pictures, Magazines, and Books, A Free and Responsible Press Robert D. Leigh, ed., (Chicago \& London: The University Press, 1947), 26-27.

9 Sondra Farganis, Social Reconstruction of the Feminine Character (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman \& Littlefield Publishers, 1986), 56-57.

10Ibid. 57-58.
${ }^{11}$ National Commission on Working women of wider Opportunities for Women, "Women at Work" Newsletter, 1987, 1.

22Farganis 63.
${ }^{13}$ Carl P. Wrighter, I Can Sell You Anything (New York: Ballentine Books, 1972), 15.
${ }^{14}$ Stephen Fox, The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and Its creators (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), 322 .
${ }^{15}$ Ibid. 322 .
${ }^{16}$ Ibid.
17 Berger 136 .
19Ibid.
19Jean Kilbourne, Still Killing Us Softly: Women in Advertising Cambridge Documentary Films, 1988, videocassette.

20 Ibid.
21Ibid.

22 Tuchman. 8 .
23 Ibid. 6.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis examines the themes and roles that are portrayed for women through advertising in two working women's magazines: Ms. and Forking Woman. By using the content analysis approach, it measures whether these portrayals have changed over time, 1979 to 1988.

The media present portrayals of working women to our society. These portrayals have been studied over the years, especially during the 1970 s when the women's movement was popular, and as cited earlier many feminists criticized the media's representation of women.

Numbers of women in the workforce continued to increase during the 1970 s and 1980 s as previously cited in Chapter I. It is estimated that 60 percent of all women will be in the labor force by $1995 .{ }^{1}$

This study addresses the problem of whether the media are portraying working women's roles as changing over time. It also investigates the themes and roles that working women receive through advertising.

First, this chapter examines women's trends in the workforce and how these relate to our society. second, the
legislative changes that have occurred in relation to working women during the 160 s, 70 s, and 180 s are discussed. Third, documentation to support the assumption that the media should portray working women in a sociallyresponsible manner is presented. Finally, other related studies that have been conducted in relation to women's portrayals are discussed and how these support the basis for this study.

## Women's Trends in the Workforce

Women have traditionally worked in some form or another. For example, women have worked in the home and outside of the home, providing market goods or skills. However, one of the most dramatic economic changes of the last few decades has been the movement of American women into the labor market. ${ }^{2}$

Women continue to increase their participation in the paid labor force. ${ }^{3}$ As this happens changes in the economic status, behavior, and the structure of households will continue to occur. These changes seem to affect our society as a whole.

The female labor force as a percent of the total female population in 1979 was 50.8.4 In 1988, 53.7 percent of the total female population was in the labor force.s This is more than half of all American women. As previously cited, it is estimated that over 61 million
women will be in the labor force by 1995 , or 60 percent of all women. ${ }^{6}$

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported in 1987 the following demographic information concerning working women. In relation to age, 69 percent of women between the ages of 25-49 years old are working. 7 This age group makes up almost two-thirds of all employed women.

Fifty-five percent of all working women are married. There are more working wives (53 percent) than non-working (47 percent). ${ }^{3}$

Almost 20 million mothers with children under 18 years of age are working. ${ }^{\text {a }}$ This is over three-fourths of all married mothers.

For approximately 55 percent of all married couples, both husband and wife work. ${ }^{10}$ Affluent households usually mean the presence of a working wife. While 55.9 percent of married couples are dual-income, in households with incomes of $\$ 25,000$ the number jumps to 67 percent and in households with incomes of $\$ 50,000+$, that number increases to 74 percent. ${ }^{12}$

For the occupational levels of working women, the following information was reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Women in professional specialty or managerial positions account for 44 percent of the total market and nearly 64.7 percent of all technical, sales, and administrative support employees are women. ${ }^{12}$ This means
the number of women in professional or managerial positions has grown by 73 percent between 1977 and 1987 .

Many of the legal and legislative advances of the women's movement affected middle-class and professional women. For example, working-class women continue to suffer from low-paying jobs, low-status jobs, and their situation was compounded by minimal advances in federally assisted child care and homemaker support programs. ${ }^{23}$

In addition to inadequate child care provisions, women have been traditionally socialized into going into professions which then become low paying even where skills are required, such as nursing and teaching. The profile of female participation in the labor force suggests the existence, still of a dual-labor market. ${ }^{44}$ However, female employment is concentrated in clerical, secretarial, sales, health, and educational services. ${ }^{1 s}$

In 1970 , 97.8 percent of secretaries were female, and women accounted for 83.9 percent of elementary school teachers, 75.3 percent of office clerks, 70.4 percent of sales workers, and 97.3 percent of registered nurses. ${ }^{16}$

In 1980 these figures did change slightly. For example, 98.8 percent of secretaries were female, and women accounted for 75.4 percent of elementary school teachers, 82.1 percent of office clerks, 72.7 percent of sales workers, and 95.9 percent of registered nurses. ${ }^{17}$

## Legislation Affecting Working Women

Women have experienced significant changes in their role and status in the workplace, home, and society, and society appears more conscious of the problems that women face.

The government has sponsored affirmative action programs to help women achieve equality in the workplace. In 1961, the President's Commission on the Status of women created an official interest in the issue of women's rights, making legislative recommendations which, in several instances, became law.º

The following are examples of legislation that has affected women's rights.

The Equal Pay Act of 1963 addressed the issue of discrimination on the basis of sex and the Equal Employment Opportunity section of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, color, creed, national origin or sex by any private employer or union. ${ }^{19}$

The Equal Rights Amendment was passed by Congress in 1972. However, it was not ratified by enough states and was defeated in 1982.20

Under the Reagan administration, in 1981, William Reynolds, who headed the civil rights division, reported that the administration would emphasize the following: 1. Specific relief for individual victims of proven discriminatory practices, 2. Increased recruitment efforts
directed at the group or groups previously disadvantaged, and 3. Injunctive relief requiring color-blind and sexneutral non-discriminatory employment practices in the future. ${ }^{21}$

The National Organization of Women began to grow in strength. The National Commission on Working Women merged with Wider Opportunities for Women (WOW) in 1987. WOW is a private nonprofit organization that works to ensure economic independence and equality of opportunity for women. WOW efforts have focused on achieving changes in employment policies, programs, and practices to improve the economic status of women and their families. 22

The following events which occurred in 1987 relate to the issue of women in the workforce.

The Supreme Court, ruled for the first time in an affirmative action case involving gender-based preference (Johnson v. Transportation Agency, Santa Clara County [Californial), finding the use of affirmative action plans for women constitutional. ${ }^{23}$ The Court ruled that in order to achieve a better-balanced workforce, employers may sometimes promote women and minorities ahead of betterqualified white males even if the employer in question has never intentionally discriminated (March 25, 1987). 24

The introduction of the Economic Equity Act of 1987
(H.R. 2577/S.1309) was announced by Representatives Patricia Schroeder and Olympia Snowe. ${ }^{25}$ Schroeder and

Snowe are cochairs of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues.

A package of bills embodying the caucus's legislative priorities, the Economic Equity Act was first introduced in 1981 during the first session of the 97 th Congress and has been reintroduced in each subsequent Congress. ${ }^{26}$ Its provisions change over time as some become law and new ones are added.

The 1987 Economic Equity Act is designed to improve the economic status of American women by providing greater employment opportunities and child care options. It contains 17 individual bills that fall under two titles, "Work" and "Family" (June 2, 1987)27

On November 17, 1987, the House Education and Labor Committee reported a revised version of the Family and Medical Leave Act (H.R. 925). 2 A This legislation would require employers to provide job-guaranteed (unpaid) leave to employees who need to care for a newborn, newly adopted, or seriously ill child, or for a seriously ill parent. ${ }^{29}$ The revised bill covers fewer workers and provides fewer weeks of leave than the original bill. This was a compromise made to improve the chances of passage of the bill by the full House.

Support for the Assumption<br>of Media Responsibility

The Commission on Freedom of the Press established as a recommended requirement that the media should have a responsibility in relation to the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of society as a whole. 30 This recommendation is used to support the assumption that the media should portray working women in a socially-responsible manner.

As cited earlier, numbers of working women continue to increase in the labor market. Also, the trend is that these numbers will continue to increase. It is important that the media factually represent working women to society. The Hutchins' Commission Report explained a reason for this: the agencies of mass communication are an educational instrument, perhaps the most powerful there is; and they assume a responsibility like that of educators in stating and clarifying the ideas toward which the community should strive. ${ }^{32}$ In other words, the media should strive to factually present the goals of working women to society.

Another requirement recommended by the Commission on Freedom of the Press was the projection of a representative picture of the constituent groups in society. ${ }^{32}$ This recommendation supports the assumption that the media should present socially-responsible images of working women to society. The Commission stated that people make decisions in large part on the basis of favorable or
unfavorable images. In addition, people relate fact and opinion to stereotypes. ${ }^{33}$ These media images apply to working women who constitute a major part of our society. These requirements were suggested by the commission in relation to what our society should demand of its press. ${ }^{3}$. This information with regard to working women does indicate that society should be entitled to portrayals that authentically reflect the reality of working women's roles. In addition to the Commission on Freedom of the press requirements, the American Association of Advertising Agencies has adopted voluntary standards for advertising agencies.

The Standards of Practice of the American Association of Advertising Agencies, which were revised April 28, 1962, stated the following: We further hold that agencies must recognize an obligation, not only to their clients, but to the public, the media they employ, and to each other. ${ }^{3}$ The obligation stated by the Association of Advertising Agencies can refer to the obligation of advertisers to factually portray working women. However, it should be noted that this obligation is subject to various interpretations and judgments.

These recommended practices are an attempt by advertisers to set guidelines for ethical standards and conduct. It is further stated that false or misleading statements or exaggerations, visual or verbal will not knowingly be produced. 36 This can be related to the
portrayal of working women in a sense, since this study investigates visual representations of these women.

It seems significant to mention that when feminists cite advertising that is "acceptable" it is invariably print advertising. This is based on the fact that magazine advertisements are targeted to a specific audience. Television, on the other hand, commands a much larger and subsequently less definable audience. ${ }^{37}$

In the 1970s, the National Organization for Women (NOW) sent all major advertising agencies a position paper on the role of women in commercials. At that time most of the commercials on the air did not agree with NOW requirements. ${ }^{30}$

The National Advertising Review Board formed a panel consisting of the following members: the publisher of Ms., the coordinator of the task force on the image of women for NOW, the vice-presidents of broadcast standards for $A B C$ and NBC, and a number of officers of sponsoring companies. ${ }^{39}$

A 21-page directive was produced in 1975 as a result.40 It made a number of suggestions concerning ways in which advertisers could improve their portrayal of women.

Before airing a commercial, the panel urged advertisers to review the NARB checklist, which included the following questions:

1. Are sexual stereotypes perpetuated in my advertisements?
2. Do they portray women as weak, silly, and over-emotional?
3. Are the women portrayed in my advertisements stupid?
4. Do my advertisements portray women as ecstatically happy over household cleanliness or deeply depressed because of their failure to achieve near-perfection in household tasks?
5. Do my advertisements show women as fearful of not being attractive, of not being able to keep their husbands or lovers, fearful of in-law disapproval?
6. Does my copy promise unrealistic psychological rewards for using the products? ${ }^{41}$

Although this NARB checklist, was designed for broadcast advertisements, it can also support the assumption that advertisers, whether in print or broadcast should attempt to portray women in a factual manner.

Other Studies

## Related Portrayal Studies

In 1978, Gaye Tuchman wrote that there was surprisingly little communication research concerning the depiction of sex roles in the mass media. $\mathbf{4}^{2}$ However, Tuchman explained that this topic did gain strength in the late 1960 s and early 1970 .

Tuchman studied the symbolic representation of women in the mass media. Tuchman concluded that relatively few women are portrayed there, although at the time women represented 51 percent of the population and well over 40
percent of the labor force. ${ }^{43}$ The working women who were portrayed were condemned, Tuchman wrote. Others were trivialized: they were symbolized as child-like adornments who need to be protected or they were dismissed to the private confines of the home. ${ }^{44}$ In sum, they were subject to "symbolic annihilation."ss In other words, the symbolic representation of women may not be up-to-date.

Women's portrayals in television were studied. Linda Busby summarized in 1975 the findings of four major studies of television advertisements in 1975.46 The following are results of one such study:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& -37.5 \% \text { of the ads showed women as men's } \\
& \text { domestic adjuncts } \\
& -33.9 \% \text { showed women as dependent on men } \\
& -24.3 \% \text { showed women as submissive } \\
& -16.7 \% \text { showed women as sex objects } \\
& -17.1 \% \text { showed women as unintelligent } \\
& -42.6 \% \text { showed women as household } \\
& \text { functionaries } 47
\end{aligned}
$$

Busby noted, that this study had at least three weaknesses: 1. the homogeneity of the coders (all were Now supporters), 2. the uncertainty of professionally monitored and controlled coding techniques (these were not mentioned in the article), and 3. the simplicity of the data analysis.40

The strong points of this study were also noted. The large number of advertisements examined (1,241), the length of time over which the ads were monitored (1 and $1 / 2$ years), and the large number (100) of coders. ${ }^{49}$

Busby also summarized the Dominick and Rauch study. She reported the study revealed a similar concentration of
women as homemakers rather than as active members of the labor force. ${ }^{30}$ The advertisements portrayed women as being limited to the home and not as participants in the labor force.

Tuchman notes that the images of women in women's magazines were more responsive to change than were television's "symbolic annihilation and rigid typecasting of women." si However, a women's role is still limited. A female child is always an eventual mother, not a future productive participant in the labor market. ${ }^{32}$

During the 1970 s women activists complained about portrayals of women. Despite continual efforts of feminist groups to combat sexism in the mass media, unflattering stereotypes of women still existed in advertising. Advertising messages frequently contained the same old sell: More so than men, women are likely to be pictured as ideal consumers first, real people second. ${ }^{33}$

Margaret Gallagher wrote Unequal Opportunities: The Case of Women and the Media as part of the year-long study conducted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) during the 1975

International Women's Year Program. ${ }^{54}$ Gallagher's paper is in essence, a literature review of the media's treatment of women. It is presented as an analysis of the portrayal of women in mass media content.

Gallagher cited a comprehensive content analysis developed and tested by Jean McNeil.ss Gallagher concluded
the following five statements based on McNeil's research findings:

1. Women are under-represented in general, and occupy less central roles than men in television programs.
2. Marriage and parenthood are considered more important to women than to men; the traditional division of labor is shown as typical in marriage.
3. Employed women are shown in traditionally female occupations, as subordinates to men, with little status or power.
4. Women on television are more passive than men.
5. Television ignores or distorts the women's movement. ${ }^{56}$

As a part of the UNESCO program women's portrayals in magazines were also studied. It should be noted that magazines must respond to any changes in the perception of women's roles more quickly than broadcasting does. 57 This is based on the idea that women's magazines are directed to and read more by women.

Magazines are a vehicle for advertising. Gallagher cited Venkatesan and Losco's content analysis study (19591971) of magazine advertisement portrayals.sa The following general conclusions were reported. First, despite some increase in the percentage of women shown working outside of the home, in general women are portrayed as housewives or in low-status jobs. 59 Secondly, women are used by advertisers to sell products to both women and men on the basis of their sexual appeal. 60

Helen H. Franzwa also investigated the portrayals of women in a study entitled, Working Women in Fact and Fiction, conducted in 1971. Franzwa concluded the following in relation to a study of female roles in women's magazine fiction.

I found that women were portrayed in one of four ways: single and looking for a husband; housewife-mother; spinster; widowed or divorced (soon to remarry). In each of these portrayals, the one element defining all women was the presence or absence of a man in their lives. Instead of portraying women as individuals with specific defining characteristics, these stories presented them as creatures who were defined by the men in their lives. ${ }^{62}$

These results make a definite statement about women and work: it says that work plays a distinctly secondary part in women's lives. ${ }^{62}$ In other words, when work is portrayed as important to women, there is a concomitant disintegration of their lives. ${ }^{63}$ The results of this study seem to contradict or not reflect the numbers of women with careers.

Alice E. Courtney and Thomas W. Whipple conducted a content analysis study of women in television commercials. The study consisted of four separate studies where the results were used to assess the accuracy of feminist criticism concerning portrayals. ${ }^{64}$ The dates of the studies ranged from April 1971 to February 1973.

The following results were reported by Courtney and Whipple. They concluded that during the daytime there are significantly more female than male product
representatives, but during evening hours, males are significantly more likely to be shown as the salesperson. ${ }^{\text {s }}$ Men are announcing more than women, 87 to 89 percent of the voice-overs. ${ }^{6}$

In addition, when women are shown as part of the labor force, they are likely to be found in "women's occupations," usually those with low status. ${ }^{67}$ The results of the four studies provide evidence that women are not portrayed as autonomous, independent human beings, but are primarily sex-typed.co

Using the Courtney and Whipple study as a basis, it can be noted that women's roles continue to change at a faster rate than advertisers can respond to. ${ }^{69}$ In other words, advertisers seem to have been lagging a bit behind in presenting the changing roles of women.

In 1978, Shirley L. O'Bryant and Charles R. CorderBolz conducted a television content study concerning the effects of television on children's stereotyping of women's work roles.

Results from this study indicate that children do
learn about occupations from television content, that they also learn to stereotype or nonstereotype various occupations based on the sex of the $T V$ model, and finally, that girls will change their preference for various occupations based on the particular roles they view women portrayed in. ${ }^{70}$

These results could be used as a basis for other media to make a conscientious effort to avoid stereotyping. The study concludes, they should portray women not in traditional roles, but in diverse and challenging roles to all children.71

## Radio Advertising Portrayals

In 1984, Gary Warren Melton and Gilbert L. Fowler Jr. conducted a study of female roles in radio advertising. This research project examined the issue if males dominate radio ads to the same extent that other studies show they dominate television ads. 72

Melton and Fowler examined $2,000+$ commercial advertisements during the 156 hours of radio programming. Their results concluded that only 7 percent of the commercial slots were dominated by women. 73

Melton and Fowler also concluded that females were typically placed in consumer's or worker's roles, and advertised for a variety of products. Women were used to advertise for furniture, household goods, appliances, food, and make-up, but they were featured in ads for autos, travel and utilities. 74 women were significantly underrepresented in the areas of banking, employment and professional areas such as doctor, lawyer, etc. ${ }^{7 s}$

It was further reported that in advertisements featuring both sexes, females were generally given background roles with significantly more males than females
taking the dominant role. ${ }^{76}$ In addition, when females were given the lead, they were not identified as a owner of a business and there was some identification as housewives, but those instances were minimal. 77

It should be noted that the Melton and Fowler study is not representative of all radio. It only sampled three communities. However, with women making up almost 40 percent of the nation's workforce, it is apparent that women are not represented proportionally in radio advertising although a large portion of radio advertising must certainly be aimed at that target audience. ${ }^{78}$

## Similar Studies in Magazine

 Advertising PortrayalsIn 1970, Alice E. Courtney and Sarah W. Lockeretz studied the images of women in magazine advertisements. They examined general-audience type magazines. The magazines under study were: The New Yorker, Time, Look, Newsweek, Saturday Review, U.S. News \& World Report, and Reader's Digest. ${ }^{79}$

The researchers used cross-tabulation to record such data as the number of male and female workers in the ads; number of ads showing only men or only women; types of products with which males and females were identified.eo

Courtney and Lockeretz wrote:
The data suggest that feminists are at least partially justified in saying that advertisements do not present a full view of the variety of roles women actually play in American society.az

A reason for this conclusion is that not a single woman was portrayed as a professional or high-level business person. In fact, women were rarely shown in out-of-home working roles. ${ }^{32}$

Another similar study was conducted by M. Venkatesan and Jean Losco. These researchers investigated the portrayal of women during 1959-71. Magazines under study fell into three categories: male, female, and general. ${ }^{3}$

Ads for this study were required to be at least onehalf page in size and had to contain at least one woman.a4 This was due to the large number and variety of the advertisements in the magazines under study.

A total of 36,455 ads were found in the magazines and 14,378 of these ads were content-analyzed.ss

The Venkatesan and Losco study serves as a basis for this thesis. This study uses the same categories for analysis that were used by Venkatesan and Losco. In addition, the occupational categories of analysis for this study were used by Louis C. Wagner and Janis B. Banos. These categories for analysis are further explained in Chapter III.

The following categories for analysis were used by Venkatesan and Losco: 1. woman as dependent on man, 2. woman as overachieving housewife, 3 . woman as highliving, 4. woman as physically beautiful, 5. woman as sexual object, 6. woman as sexy, and 7. none of the above categories." This study will evaluate all of these
categories except: woman as overachieving housewife and woman as sexy.

The following results were reported by Venkatesan and Losco. The three roles most frequently represented during the 13 -year period under investigation were:

1. woman as sexual object, 2 . woman as physically beautiful, and 3. woman as dependent on man. ${ }^{87}$ The "woman as dependent on man" was well-represented throughout all 13 years. ${ }^{\circ 0}$

Women were portrayed as housewives more often in the 1959-63 period. ${ }^{\circ 9}$ Women were portrayed more often as being concerned with physical beauty during 1964-71. 0 However, the findings did suggest that the "woman as sexual objects" theme decreased.91 This perhaps could be explained by the women's movement having some impact on advertising.

The "woman as sexual object" category did appear more frequently in men's and general magazines. In men's magazines (53 percent) and in general magazines (65 percent).92 In women's magazines this category was found in 12 percent of the ads. 3

The "woman as physically beautiful" category was most frequent in women's magazines ( 61 percent). 34 This study also revealed that the portrayal of women as sex objects has decreased considerably since 1961.9s However, the "woman as dependent upon man" theme appears stable in all time periods, and was found in almost one out of every four magazine ads containing at least one woman. ${ }^{\boldsymbol{c}}$

Venkatesan and Losco write:
What seems to be needed is the portrayal of women in roles which actually reflect their positive attributes and their individuality, and which reflect the changing role of women in our society. ${ }^{27}$

These findings are noteworthy for the purpose of examining the portrayals of working women presented in Ms. and Working Woman, in 1979-88.

Louis C. Wagner and Janis B. Banos replicated the Courtney and Lockeretz study as a follow-up analysis of the roles portrayed by women in magazine advertisements. The same occupational and nonoccupational classifications of women were also used in this follow-up study.9. As in the original study, advertisements evaluated contained one or more adults.9 ${ }^{9}$

Wagner and Banos reported that during the 20 -month period since the Courtney-Lockeretz study was made, the percentage of advertisements portraying women in a working role has more than doubled. In 1972, 21 percent of the women were shown as workers whereas in 1970 this figure was 9 percent. 200 However, it should be noted that women were not portrayed in any high-level business executive positions and only were shown in 4 percent of the professional positions. ${ }^{101}$

Again, these findings seem noteworthy for the purpose of examining the occupational categories of working women. This study will investigate if changes in these occupational categories exist.

The conclusions that women were not shown as being employed as much as men and that men were shown in higherstatus occupations are supported by other studies. Butler and Paisley reported that Harold w. Fox conducted an analysis of 15 magazines and found 24 percent of women and 52 percent of men were shown in business roles. ${ }^{202}$ A larger percentage of the men (14 percent) than the women (2 percent) were portrayed as high-level business executives or professionals. ${ }^{103}$

Butler and Paisley also referenced a study conducted by Ahmend Belkaoui and Janice Belkaoui. 104 Butler and Paisley reported that Belkaoui and Belkaoui looked at the roles of women and men in magazine advertisements from 1958, 1970, and 1972.10s There was some increase in the percentage of women shown working outside the home; however, women continued to be shown as unemployed or in low-income jobs. ${ }^{106}$

It seems useful to analyze working women's portrayals to determine whether they have changed over time, 1979-88. This study will answer the following. Are the portrayals of working women's portrayals commensurate with their roles in the 1980s? This thesis is related to similar studies that have been conducted over time.

Similar studies that have been conducted in relation to working women's portrayals report the portrayals do not accurately reflect women's roles in society. It has been concluded the media remain outdated in their presentation
of women's roles. This outdated representation prompts attention to the media's obligation to reflect the realities of women in the workplace.

This thesis follows the methods used by Venkatesan and Losco, but goes further by adding the occupational categories used by Wagner and Banos. It compares the roles the media portray working women in and evaluates the characteristics of these portrayals. Also, it evaluates the media's performance to determine whether the media are meeting their obligation to present women in a sociallyresponsible manner.

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## CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study uses content analysis to determine what themes and roles (images) are portrayed to working women in the advertising of two working women's magazines and whether these portrayals have changed over time (19791988).

Richard Budd, et al. defined content analysis as:
a systematic technique for analyzing the overt communication behavior of selected communicators. ${ }^{2}$

As noted in Chapter $I$, women's portrayals were criticized for what some people comprehended as not reflecting reality or not changing over time. This study uses the content analysis approach to observe the media's portrayal of working women.

Fred Kerlinger described the content analysis approach
as a method of observation:
Content analysis, while certainly a method of analysis, is more than that. It is ... a method of observation. Instead of observing people's behavior directly, or asking them to respond to scales, or interviewing them, the investigator takes communication that people have produced and asks questions of the communication. ${ }^{2}$

Bernard Berelson further identified and classified types and applications of content analysis.

Content analysis is used to construct and apply communication standards and to audit communication against objectives. ${ }^{3}$

This thesis uses the content analysis method to evaluate the media's communication standards. This is based on the social-responsibility standards cited in Chapter I. It will also reveal the focus of attention that the media are giving to working women through their portrayals in advertising.

## Scope of the Study

The scope of this thesis is to investigate if the media are presenting images of working women commensurate with their roles in society today. This thesis examines the advertising in two working women's magazines: Ms. and Working Woman. The selected research period is a ten-year period of time, 1979-1988. This allows a specific comparison to determine if media portrayals of working women have changed over time. Photographic advertisements actually containing women will be evaluated.

## Media Selected

This thesis examines working women's portrayals in two working women's magazines: Ms. and Morking Woman. They were selected because they are specifically targeted toward working women. According to Ulrich's International

Periodicals Directory (1988-1989), Ms. has a current circulation of 482,921 and Working Homan has a current circulation of $850,000$. (See Appendix A for the editorial policies of the magazines.)

The market of Ms. magazine according to writer's Yearbook ' 89 is women, age 25-50, with or without a family, who are successful in business and interested in the world around them.s

According to Writer's Market, the market of Working Woman magazine is executive, professional and entrepreneurial women. ${ }^{\text {e }}$ In addition, readers are ambitious, educated, affluent managers, executives, and business owners with the median age of 34 years old. ${ }^{7}$

Issues were selected from the following months for both magazines: January, April, July, October, and December. This selection was made in order to insure that issues from each season of the year were adequately covered. A total of five issues of Ms. from 1979 and five issues from 1988 were used. A total of five issues from Working Woman from 1979 and five issues from 1988 were also used.

## Time Frame

The research period was a ten-year time period 19791988. This decision was made in order to cover an adequate period of time to reflect change. It allows a specific comparison to be made to determine if media portrayals of
working women have changed. The time period coincides with events including the Equal Rights Amendment and the contemporary women's movement. This time frame also corresponds to the growth of women in the labor force previously cited in Chapter I.

## Selection of Advertisements

An average of ten photographic advertisements per issue of both magazines was selected for analysis. Ten magazines from 1979 were chosen and ten magazines from 1988 issues. This totalled five issues of Ms. magazine for 1979 and five issues for 1988. Five issues of Working Woman for 1979 and five issues for 1988 were also used. A total of 200 advertisements were used for this study.

An advertisement was selected only if it contained a photograph with a woman in it. Advertisements for this study were required to be at least one-half page in size and had to contain at least one woman. This decision was made because smaller advertisements do not usually contain people in them. The unit of analysis was the photographic advertisement. Product advertisements that did not contain women were excluded.

Coding by Judges

Each judge was a college graduate. Coding was conducted by a panel of two fudges. A third judge was used to eliminate problems that could arise with the coding
process, e. g., if no consensus of the categories for analysis could be determined. The panel of judges looked at the photographic advertisements and, based on the categories for analysis, decided on the single mostdominate theme and overall role (image) that was portrayed.

The judges evaluated the following characteristics of the women in selected advertisements: 1 . Were women portrayed as being dependent on men? 2. Were women portrayed as showing a concern for high-living, luxury possessions? 3. Were women portrayed as showing a concern for physical beauty? 4. Were women portrayed as sexual objects? and 5. What were the various occupational levels that women were portraying?

Inter-coder reliability was computed.

## Categories for Analysis

This thesis uses categories for analysis that were previously used by M. Venkatesan and Jean P. Losco. ${ }^{\text {. }}$ The occupational categories were previously used by Louis C. Wagner and Janis B. Banos.' These categories were cited and discussed Chapter II.

Table I indicates the categories used in this study that were used to classify the selected photographic advertisements.

TABLE I
CATEGORIES FOR ANALYSIS

Woman as Dependent on Man

```
In order to complete a task a woman needs male
    instruction
Woman needs male encouragement or reinforcement
Homan requires male for affection, instruction,
    happiness, leisure
```

Woman as High-Living
Woman concerned with luxury leisure
Homan concerned with expensive adornments and material possessions
Woman concerned with decorative products
Woman as Physically Beautiful
Woman concerned with cosmetic products
Woman concerned with extraneous accessories to enhance physical beauty
Woman concerned with looking more youthful, slimmer, more appealing

Woman as Sexual Object
Woman presented in advertisement has no relation to the product except decorative

Occupational
High-level business executive
Professional
Entertainers, professional sports
Sales, middle-level business, semiprofessional
Nonprofessional, white collar
Blue collar
None of the above

Defining the categories

In order to further define the categories for
analysis, the Guidelines for Equal Treatment of the Sexes ${ }^{20}$ and Guidelines for Sex-Fair Vocational Education Material ${ }^{11}$ were used as a reference.

This was done in order to help clarify what coders should be looking for when evaluating the advertisements. A checklist format was used.

Woman as Dependent on Man
Are the women in the advertisements portrayed as the "classic" dumb "broad" or incompetent woman? For example: Is a woman portrayed as requiring a male for affection, instruction, happiness, or leisure? (i.e., hugging, kissing, needing help operating machinery) Are females portrayed as being competent in leadership roles? (i.e., leading without male or female intervention) Is a woman shown as needing a male in order to complete a task? (i.e., help from others)

## Woman as High-Living

Are the women portrayed as placing an emphasis on expensive adornments or products? For example: Is a woman shown with jewelry, furs, fine china, or crystal? Is a woman portrayed as placing an emphasis on luxury leisure? (i.e., yachts, cruise ships, airplanes)

## Woman as Physically Beautiful

Are the women portrayed as mainly young, attractive, and of a preferred-body type? (i.e., 25-30 years old, more appealing, slim) Is the woman portrayed as placing an emphasis on cosmetic products? (i.e., feminine hygiene, make-up, lotions, and shampoos.

Woman as Sexual Object
Are the women portrayed as having no relation to the advertised product? (i.e., no function in relation to the product, decorative enhancement)

Occupational
Are the women portrayed in a certain work related role? Is a woman used when dealing with traditional female occupations? (i.e., nurse, teacher, secretary) Is a woman portrayed as a boss, executive, or leader? (i.e., female managers, female physicians, female judges)

## Use of Tables

The data collected from the advertisements in relation to the categories of analysis is presented in table form. The following tables are included.

Table II indicates the percentage of advertisements portraying different roles of women, by year and for both magazines combined. Table III indicates the percentage of advertisements portraying different roles of women, by magazine for both years combined. Table IV indicates percentages of advertisements portraying different roles of women, for both magazines overall. Table $v$ indicates the percentages of advertisements portraying different roles of women, by year and magazine. Table VI indicates the percentages of advertisements portraying different occupations of women, by year and for both magazines combined. Table VII indicates the percentages of
advertisements portraying different occupations of women, by magazine. Table VIII indicates the percentages of advertisements depicting women in different occupations, by each year and magazine.

## Hypothesis of the study

The hypothesis predicts no difference in portrayals of working women of 1979 to those of 1988: Despite the increasing number of women in the work place, the roles (images) of working women, as they are portrayed in advertisements, have not changed over time.

## Statistical Method

Each advertisement was labeled according to the subcategory in which it was classified, raw scores and percentages for each subcategory were totalled for each advertisement. The scores for each subcategory were combined for each year. Figures for each magazine and for each year were calculated. The difference between the photographic advertisements from 1979 to 1988 issues were tested.

The data compiled in the above procedure was used to test the hypothesis. The hypothesis predicted no difference in the portrayals from 1979 to those of 1988. The complex chi square $\left(x^{2}\right)$ was used. The complex chi square was conducted for each magazine, then on both magazines overall.

The simple chi Square was used to calculate any differences among subcategories. In all chi squares, significance was sought at the . 05 confidence level.

## Methodological Assumptions

This study is based on the assumption that the media should portray working women in a socially responsible manner. The Hutchins' Commission Report is the basis for this assumption.
Limitations of the study

A limitation of this thesis is that it only examines photographic advertisements actualiy containing women.

Also, it measures only two working women's magazines: Ms. and Working Woman, for a limited period.
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FINDINGS

Hypothesis of the study

The problem investigated in this study was whether media portrayals of women in advertising contained in two working women's magazines, Ms. and Working Woman, have changed over time.

The following hypothesis predicted no difference between portrayals of working women of 1979 and those of 1988: Despite the increasing number of women in the workplace, the roles (images) of working women, as they are portrayed in advertisements, have not changed over time.

## Data Collection

A panel of judges evaluated the following characteristics of women in selected advertisements: 1. Were women portrayed as being dependent on men? 2. Were women portrayed as showing a concern for highliving, luxury possessions? 3. Were women portrayed as showing a concern for physical beauty? 4. Were women portrayed as sexual objects? and 5. What were the various occupational levels portrayed by women?

The judges looked at photographic advertisements and based on the categories for analysis listed in Chapter III, Table $I$, decided on the dominate theme and overall occupational role that was portrayed.

Multiple responses were pussibie ancny the categories. One advertisement could have depicted a woman in more than one role. The percentages in Table II through Table $V$ indicate the proportion of the advertisements containing a particular category.

The occupational categories in Table VI through Table VIII reflect the percentage of advertisements portraying different occupations of working women.

Inter-coder reliability was computed. Between coder 1 and coder 2 the reliability equaled .71. Between coder 2 and coder 3 the reliability equaled .78. Between coder 1 and coder 3 the reliability equaled .73. Overall, as a group the coder reliability equaled .74. This indicates a somewhat highly marked reliability among the coders.

Table II illustrates the percentage of advertisements portraying different roles of women, by year and for both magazines considered together.

TABLE II

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { PERCENTAGE OF ADVERTISEMENTS } \\
\text { PORTRAYING DIFFERENT ROLES } \\
\text { OF WOMEN, BY YEAR } \\
\text { BOTH MAGAZINES } \\
\text { TOGETHER } \\
\mathrm{N}=100(1979) ; 100(1988)
\end{gathered}
$$

| Category | 1979 | 1988 |
| :--- | :---: | ---: |
| Woman as dependent <br> on man | $14 \%$ | $8 \%$ |
| Woman as high-living | $12 \%$ | $15 \%$ |
| Woman as physically <br> beautiful | $50 \%$ | $58 \%$ |
| Woman as sexual <br> object | $3 \%$ | $5 \%$ |
| $\mathrm{X}^{2}=7.6$ with 3 df |  |  |

The percentages in Table II appear to indicate that the woman-as-dependent-on-man category decreased from (14\%) in 1979 to (8\%) in 1988. The woman-as-physically-beautiful category increased from (50\%) in 1979 to (58\%) in 1988. This category was also the most dominant role portrayed.

The complex chi square analysis with 3 df is 7.6 , which is not significant at the 95 percent confidence level. The tabled value at this level with 3df is 7.8. This indicates there is no significant relationship between years and the categories considered overall.

However, the simple chi square analysis indicates there is a real difference among the roles portrayed in
1979. This means that the differences among the roles were not due to chance. The simple chi square with 3df is 212.0, which is greater than the tabled value of 7.8 with 3df at the 95 percent confidence level.

A simple chi square analysis for the roles portrayed in 1988 also indicates there was a real difference. The computed simple chi square with 3 df is 282.0 , which is greater than the tabled value of 7.8 with 3 df at the 95 percent confidence level.

Table III illustrates the percentage of advertisements portraying different roles of women, by magazine and for years combined.

TABLE III
PERCENTAGES OF ADVERTISEMENTS PORTRAYING DIFFERENT ROLES OF WOMEN, BY MAGAZINE, BOTH YEARS TOGETHER

$$
\mathrm{N}=100(\mathrm{Ms} \text { ) }) \text {; } 100 \text { (Working Woman) }
$$

| Categories | Ms. | Working Woman |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Woman as dependent <br> on man | $11 \%$ | $12 \%$ |
| Woman as high- <br> living | $14 \%$ | $13 \%$ |
| Woman as physically <br> beautiful | $53 \%$ | $55 \%$ |
| Woman as sexual <br> object | $7 \%$ | $1 \%$ |

$\overline{x^{2}}=4.8$ with 3 df

The percentages in Table III appear to indicate both magazines were similar in portraying roles. However, Working Woman did depict fewer women in the sexual object category. This figure for Ms. was (7\%) and for Working Woman (18).

The complex chi square with 3 df is 4.8 , which is not significant at the 95 percent confidence level. The tabled value at this level is 7.8. This indicates there is no relationship between categories for analysis and the two magazines. This means that one magazine did not emphasize one category more than the other magazine.

The simple chi squares conducted for both magazines indicate a real difference not due to chance among the roles portrayed and the magazines. The simple chi square for Ms. with 3 df is 229.1. The simple chi square for Working Woman with 3df is 261.3. The compared tabled value with 3 df is 7.8 at the 95 percent confidence level.

Table IV illustrates the percentages of the advertisements portraying different roles of women for both magazines overall.

TABLE IV

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { PERCENTAGES OF ADVERTISEMENTS } \\
\text { PORTRAYING DIFFERENT ROLES } \\
\text { OF WOMEN, BOTH } \\
\text { MAGAZINES } \\
\text { OVERALL } \\
\mathrm{N}=100 \text { (MS.); } 100 \text { (WORKing Woman) }
\end{gathered}
$$

| Categories | Both Magazines |
| :--- | :---: |
| Woman as <br> dependent on <br> man | $11 \%$ |
| Woman as <br> high-living <br> Woman as <br> physically beautiful <br> Woman as sexual object <br> * simple $X^{2}=489.6$ with $3 d f$$\quad 4 \%$ |  |

A simple chi square analysis indicates that there is a real difference among the categories and the magazines combined overall.

The computed simple chi square with 3 d f is 489.6, which is greater than the tabled value of 7.8 with $3 d f$ at the 95 confidence level. The most dominant role portrayed by the magazines was the woman-as-physically-beautiful category. The least portrayed role was the woman-as-sexual-object category.

Table $V$ illustrates the percentages of advertisements portraying different roles of women for each year and for each magazine.

```
TABLE V
PERCENTAGES OF ADVERTISEMENTS PORTRAYING DIFFERENT ROLES OF WOMEN, BY YEAR, BY MAGAZINE
```

$$
\mathrm{N}=100 \text { (Ms.) ; } 100 \text { (Working Woman) }
$$

| Categories | $1979$ | 1988 | $\begin{gathered} \text { Working } \\ 1979 \end{gathered}$ | Woman 1988 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Woman as dependent on man | 15\% | 7\% | 13\% | 10\% |
| Woman as high-living | 12\% | 16\% | 11\% | 14\% |
| Woman as <br> physically <br> beautiful | 51\% | 56\% | 49\% | 61\% |
| Woman as sexual object | 6\% | 8\% | 0\% | 2\% |

These percentages appear to indicate some change in the categories for analysis by each magazine over time. The woman-as-dependent-on-man category portrayed in Ms. decreased from (15\%) in 1979 to (7\%) in 1988. This category also decreased in Working Woman from (13\%) in 1979 to (10\%) in 1988.

The woman-as-physically-beautiful category increased in both magazines. In Ms. it increased from (51\%) to (56\%). In Working Woman, it increased from (49\%) to (61\%).

However, the complex chi square with 3 df for Ms. is 6.4. The complex chi square with 3 df for Working Woman is 2.6. The compared tabled value with $3 \mathrm{~d} f$ is 7.8. This means there was no relationship between categories and the years for either magazine.

Table VI illustrates the occupational categories portrayed by working women in both magazines for the years considered. (See Appendixes $B$ and $C$ for Department of Labor Statistics.)

## TABLE VI

PERCENTAGES OF ADVERTISEMENTS
PORTRAYING DIFFERENT
OCCUPATIONS OF WOMEN,
BY YEAR, BOTH
MAGAZINES TOGETHER

$$
N=100(1979) ; 100(1988)
$$

| Occupational level | 1979 | 1988 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| High-level business <br> executive | $3 \%$ | $3 \%$ |
| Professional | $32 \%$ | $37 \%$ |
| Entertainers, <br> professional sports <br> Sales, mid-level <br> business, semi- <br> professional | $10 \%$ | $14 \%$ |
| Nonprofessional <br> Blue Collar | $37 \%$ | $37 \%$ |
| None of above | $10 \%$ | $0 \%$ |
| *X2 $\quad 4.3$ with 6df | $100 \%$ | $3 \%$ |

The percentages appear to indicate little difference between the portrayed occupational levels of women for both magazines combined. The high-level business executive role was (3\%) in 1979 and 1988. The professional level slightly increased from (32\%) in 1979 to ( $37 \%$ ) in 1988. The nonprofessional level decreased from (10\%) in 1979 to ( $0 \%$ ) in 1988.

A complex chi square was conducted for the occupational categories overall. The chi square with 6df is 4.3 , which is not significant at the 95 percent confidence level. The tabled value with 6af at this level is 12.6. This indicates there is no real (significant) relationship between the 1979 occupational categories and the 1988 occupational categories.

Simple chi squares were conducted for the occupational categories for each year. These were computed to help determine whether the years and the occupational categories showed any real difference.

The simple chi square for 1979 with 6 df is 31.1 , which indicates a real difference among the occupational categories. The simple chi square for 1938 with 6if is 35.8, which also indicates there is a real difference. Both computed chi square values were compared to the tabled value of 12.6 , with $6 d f$ at the 95 percent confidence level.

Table VII illustrates the percentages of advertisements depicting different occupations of women for both magazines.

TABLE VII

> PERCENTAGES OF ADVERTISEMENTS PORTRAYING DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS OF
> WOMEN, BY MAGAZINE

$$
N=100(\text { MS. }) \text {; } 100 \text { (Working Woman) }
$$

| Occupational level | Ms. | Working Woman |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| High-level business executive | 0\% | 5\% |
| Professional | 38\% | 32\% |
| Entertainers, professional sports | 12\% | 11\% |
| Sales, mid-level business, semiprofessional | 38\% | 36\% |
| Nonprofessional | 8\% | 5\% |
| Blue collar | 4\% | 5\% |
| None of above | 0\% | 6\% |
| $\mathrm{K}^{2}=3.4 \text { with } 6 \mathrm{df}$ | 100\% | 100\% |

The percentages in Table VII appear to indicate that women were portrayed most in the professional and sales, mid-level business or semi-professional levels.

A complex chi square analysis was conducted for both magazines. The computed chi square with $6 d f$ at the 95 percent level of confidence is 3.4. The tabled value at this level is 12.6 . This means there was no relationship between the magazines and occupational categories.

Simple chi squares were conducted for each magazine. The computed chi square with $6 \mathrm{~d} f$ for Ms. is 32.9 , which indicates a significant difference between occupational categories. The computed chi square with 6df for Werking Homan is 35.2 , which indicates a significant difference between occupational categories. Both computed chi squares were compared to the tabled value of 12.6 , with 6 df at the 95 percent confidence level.

Table VIII illustrates the percentages of advertisements depicting working women in different occupational levels for each year and magazine.

TABLE VIII

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { PERCENTAGES OF ADVERTISEMENTS } \\
& \text { DEPICTING HOMEN IN DIFFERENT } \\
& \text { OCCUPATIONS, BY EACH YEAR, } \\
& \text { BY EACH MAGAZINE } \\
& \mathrm{N}=100(1979) ; 100(1988)
\end{aligned}
$$

| Occupational level | Ms. |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Working } \\ 1979 \end{gathered}$ | Women 1988 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1979 | 1988 |  |  |
| High-level business executive | 0\% | 0\% | 5\% | 5\% |
| Professional | 25\% | 60\% | 36\% | 27\% |
| Entertainers, professional sports | 13\% | 10\% | 9\% | 14\% |
| Sales, mid-level business, semiprofessional | 44\% | 30\% | 32\% | 41\% |
| Nonprofessional | 12\% | 0\% | 9\% | 0\% |
| Blue collar | 6\% | 0\% | 4\% | 4\% |
| None of above | 0\% | 0\% | 5\% | 9\% |
| * $\mathrm{X}^{2}$ Totals Ms. ${ }^{\text {mor }}$ ( 79 vs. | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% |
|  | $8=3$ | with |  |  |
| *X ${ }^{2}$ for Working Hom | 179 v | ' 88 | 1.0 with | 6df |

The percentages appear to indicate that women were portrayed the most at the professional level by Ms. However, no women were portrayed as high-level business executives.

Working Woman portrayed women most in the professional and sales, mid-level business or semi-professional levels. However, Working Woman portrayed (5\%) of women in the highlevel business executive level in 1979 and 1988.

The complex chi square value for Ms. 1979 versus 1988 with 6 df is 3.0 , which does not indicate a relationship between the years and the occupational categories. The compared tabled value at the 95 percent confidence level is 12.6 .

However, the complex chi square for Working Woman 1979 versus 1988 indicates a significant relationship between the years and the occupational categories. The computed chi square with $6 d f$ is 21.0. This is greater than the tabled value of 12.6 with 6 df at the 95 percent confidence level.

A contingency coefficient of .57 was computed. This indicates that the relationship between the years and the occupational categories is not very strong.

A simple chi square analysis was conducted on the occupational levels overall. The computed chi square with 6df is 65.4. This indicates there is a difference among the occupational categories overall. The compared tabled value with $6 \mathrm{~d} f$ is 12.6 at the 95 percent confidence level.

Overall, no significant relationship was found between the years and the categories for analysis. This means no significant relationship was present. Therefore, the hypothesis of this study can be supported: Despite the increasing number of women in the workplace, the roles of working women, as they are portrayed in advertisements, have not changed over time.

However, there was a significant relationship found for Working Woman magazine between years and the occupational categories.

Also, simple chi square analyses indicated differences among roles and the occupational levels.

## CHAPTER V

## CONCLUSIONS

## Summary

This thesis was prompted by criticisms of whether the media are socially responsible in their portrayals of women. Portrayals have been studied over the years, especially during the 1970 s when the women's movement was popular. Working female roles in the mass media remain a topic of increasing social importance today.

The increase in women workers accounted for 60 percent of the growth in the labor force in the past decade (1980s) and is expected to account for 70 percent of the growth in the next decade (1990s). ${ }^{1}$ The media portray these working women to society.

The problem investigated by this study was whether advertising portrayals of working women have changed over time. The media's performance is compared to the principles of responsibility set forth by the Hutchins' Commission.

This study was written using the following principles of the Hutchins' Commission theory as a basis. The Commission on the Freedom of the Press established as
recommended requirements that the media should have a social responsibility to project a representative picture of constituent groups of society and the media should have a responsibility in the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of society. ${ }^{2}$ These recommendations relate to working women's portrayals since the media are a group that helps to represent women to society.

This thesis investigated whether media are presenting images of women commensurate with their roles in society today. A specific comparison was made from 1979 to 1988 to determine if the media presentations of working women have changed over time.

It was predicted that despite the increasing number of women in the workplace, the roles (images) of working women, as they are portrayed in advertisements, have not changed.

The content analysis method was used to examine two working women's magazines: Ms. and Working Woman. The analysis covered the advertising from both magazines from 1979 to 1988. Analyzed were photographic advertisements containing at least one woman. The unit of analysis was the photographic advertisements.

The categories for analysis used in this study were previously used by M. Venkatesan and Jean P. Losco. The following were the role categories: 1 . woman as dependent on man, 2. woman as high-living, showing concern for
luxury possessions, 3. woman as physically beautiful, and 4. woman as sexual object. ${ }^{3}$

In addition, occupational categories were examined.
These were previously used by Louis C. Wagner and Janis B. Banos. The following were the occupational categories analyzed: 1. high-level business executive, 2. professional, 3. entertainers, professional sports, 4. sales, mid-level business, semi-professional, 5. nonprofessional, 6. blue collar, and 7. none of the above.

A panel of three judges coded each photographic advertisement according to the categories for analysis. The judges evaluated the advertisements in relation to the investigated characteristics of the women in the photographs.

The results indicated overall from 1979 to 1988 that the advertised portrayals did not reflect significant change. Therefore, the hypothesis of this thesis is supported.

However, when the occupational roles were investigated for each magazine, the results for working Woman did reflect a relationship between years and the occupational levels. This relationship was found to be moderate. This means there was a significant relationship found for Working Woman magazine between years and the occupational categories.

When Ms. magazine was investigated it did not reflect any relationship between years and occupational roles.

It is noteworthy to mention that there were differences found for the years and the roles and occupational levels. This means that there were indicated differences among roles and the occupational levels.

In relation to the role categories, some similarities were found with the Venkatesan-Losco study. The Venkatesan-Losco study reported the three roles most frequently represented as: 1 . woman as sexual object, 2. woman as physically beautiful, and 3. woman as dependent on man. ${ }^{5}$

This study reports the women-as-physically-beautiful category as the most dominate. It is noteworthy to mention that the woman-as-dependent-on-man and woman-as sexualobject categories decreased as a percentage. However, over time no significant relationship was found between years and the categories for analysis.

The occupational category of this study indicates an increase in the percentage of woman portrayed in professional roles. This percentage was (32\%) in 1979 and (37\%) in 1988. However, no significant relationship was found between the years and the categories for analysis. The Wagner-Banos study reported in 1972, (4\%) of women portrayed at this level. ${ }^{6}$

It was reported that women in professional specialty or managerial positions account for 44 percent of the total
market and nearly 64.7 percent of all technical, sales, administrative support employees. ${ }^{7}$

This study did not reflect an overall significant relationship between years and the categories of analysis. However, some improvement was indicated by Working Woman indicating a moderate relationship between years and the occupational levels.

The lack of a significant change might be explained by several conditions. For example, the sample size of 200 advertisements might have been too small to indicate change. Perhaps selecting different years for evaluation might have produced different results. Also, selection of other issues of the magazines or other magazines targeted for working women might have shown change.

The findings of this thesis may prompt attention in the portrayal of women in mass communication. These results should stimulate a concern and interest in the field of studies pertaining to working women.

The apparent inadequacies found in the media portrayals of working women may indicate the media can improve in their representation of working women.

Recommendations

These results were a bit surprising because the magazines investigated were targeted for working women.

Future researchers may want to study the portrayals of working women since the trend predicts increases of women
in the labor force. It seems beneficial to society to continue researching female working roles in mass communication.

It may be worthwhile for other researchers, if possible, to select larger samples. Selection of different years may also be useful when analyzing portrayals.

In addition other researchers may want to investigate portrayals in the electronic media. The study of working women in television commercials is an example.

Using other magazines targeted for working women would also be practical. Another area worth investigating would be the portrayal of women in general audience magazines.

## Conclusion

The findings of this study indicate that readers received somewhat outdated information about working women roles. It remains that the media should attempt to accurately reflect changing women's roles in society.

The media have not fully met the recommended requirements set forth by the Hutchins' Commission previously cited. The responsibility to project a representative picture of constituent groups (working women) of society was not completely accomplished. Also, the responsibility to present and clarify the goals and values of society was not entirely fulfilled.

The media possess a lot of power in reflecting how working women are portrayed. Advertised portrayals show
many people how they could or should be. The media should strive to reflect women's roles in today's society in a socially-responsible manner.

The responsibility of the media accurately
representing working women should be shared by the media, women's organizations, and society.

## ENDNOTES

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${ }^{3}$ M. Venkatesan and Jean P. Losco, "Women in Magazine Ads: 1959-71," Journal of Advertising Research, Vol. 15, No.5, (October 1975), 52.
${ }^{4}$ Louis C. Wagner and Janis B. Banos, "A Woman's Place: A Follow-Up Analysis of the Roles Portrayed by Women in Magazine Advertisements," Journal of Marketing Research, Vol. X, (May 1973), 213.
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## APPENDIX A

EDITORIAL POLICIES
Ms.
The editorial policy of Ms. states the magazine is a monthly publication for women, age 25-50, with or without a family, who are successful in business and interested in the world around them. Ms. readers are career minded. Twenty-eight percent of readers are employed in professional or managerial occupations. In addition, thirty-one percent of female Ms. readers hold top and middle management job titles.
(Extracted from: Ms. media kit and 1989 Writer's Yearbook)

## Horking Homan

The editorial policy of Working Woman states the magazine is a monthly publication for executive, professional and entrepreneurial women. Readers are ambitious, educated, affluent managers, executives, and business owners. The median age is 34 years old.

Published material should be sophisticated, witty, not entry-level, and focus on work-related issues.
(Extracted from: Writer's Market 1987)

## APPENDIX B

## EMPLOYMENT, BY INDUSTRY, 1980 TO 1985, AND BY SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS, 1986

*In thousands, except percent

| Industry | 1980 | 1985 | 1986 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | Total | \% Female |
| Total Employed | 99,303 | 107,150 | 109,597 | 44.4 |
| Agriculture | 3,364 | 3,179 | 3,163 | 20.6 |
| Construction | 6,215 | 6,927 | 7,288 | 8.6 |
| Manufacturing | 21,942 | 20,879 | 20,962 | 32.1 |
| Public Utilities | 6,525 | 7,548 | 7,650 | 27.4 |
| Whlsale \& Rtl Trade | 20,191 | 22,296 | 22,813 | 47.4 |
| Fin., Ins., Realty | 5,993 | 7,005 | 7,401 | 59.2 |
| Banking | 2,568 | 3,135 | 3,263 | 64.9 |
| Services ${ }^{\text { }}$ | 28,752 | 33,322 | 34,337 | 61.6 |
| Bus. services ${ }^{1}$ | 2,361 | 3,999 | 4,306 | 49.3 |
| Advertising | 191 | 263 | 270 | 54.1 |
| Personnel supply | 235 | 590 | 618 | 75.1 |
| Bus. consulting | 307 | 395 | 446 | 50.7 |
| Automobile services | 952 | 1,322 | 1,280 | 11.6 |
| Personal services | 3,839 | 4,352 | 4,472 | 73.0 |
| Entertainment \& Rec. | 1,047 | 1,278 | 1,292 | 40.8 |
| Prof. \& Related ${ }^{2}$ | 19,853 | 21,563 | 22,174 | 67.4 |
| Hospitals | 4,036 | 4,269 | 4,368 | 76.5 |
| Elem./Second Ed. | 5,550 | 5,431 | 5,510 | 71.9 |
| Colleges \& Univ. | 2,108 | 2,281 | 2,342 | 51.0 |
| Social Services | 1,590 | 1,682 | 1,805 | 77.8 |
| Legal Services | 776 | 995 | 1,034 | 55.8 |
| Public Admin. 2 | 5,342 | 4,995 | 5,104 | 41.4 |
| I Includes industries not shown separately. <br> 2 Includes workers involved in uniquely governmental activities, e.g. judicial and legislative. |  |  |  |  |
| Source: U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Earnings, January Issue, 1987. |  |  |  |  |

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APPENDIX C
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS, 1987 ANNUAL AVERAGES
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| Occupation | 1987 |
| :--- | :--- |

Professionals \& managers ..... 44
Executives, managers, administrators ..... 38
Management-related occupations ..... 48
Financial managers ..... 44
Accountants \& auditors ..... 46
Architects ..... 13
Engineers \& related technicians ..... 17
Math \& computer scientists ..... 34
Psychologists ..... 55
Lawyers \& judges ..... 20
Real estate sales ..... 49
Advertising \& related sales ..... 49
Sales occupations ..... 48
Insurance sales representatives ..... 27
Securities \& financial service sales reps ..... 25
Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1987 Annual Averages; Bureau of Census, Report on Consumer Income, Series P-60 No. 157 , Advanced Data from March 1987 Current Population Survey.

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