

MADMOISELLE AND THE WORKING WOMAN, 1969-1981

By

Nancy Wingate

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of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts in Communication

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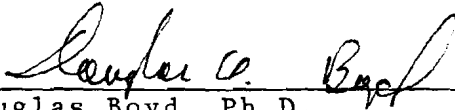
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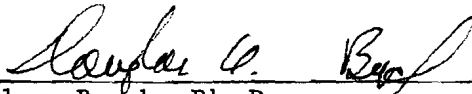
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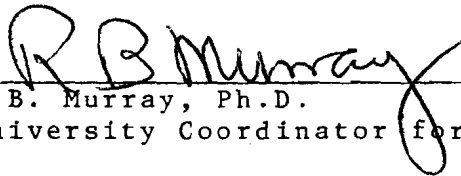
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To Cruce, who blackmailed me into finishing, and
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

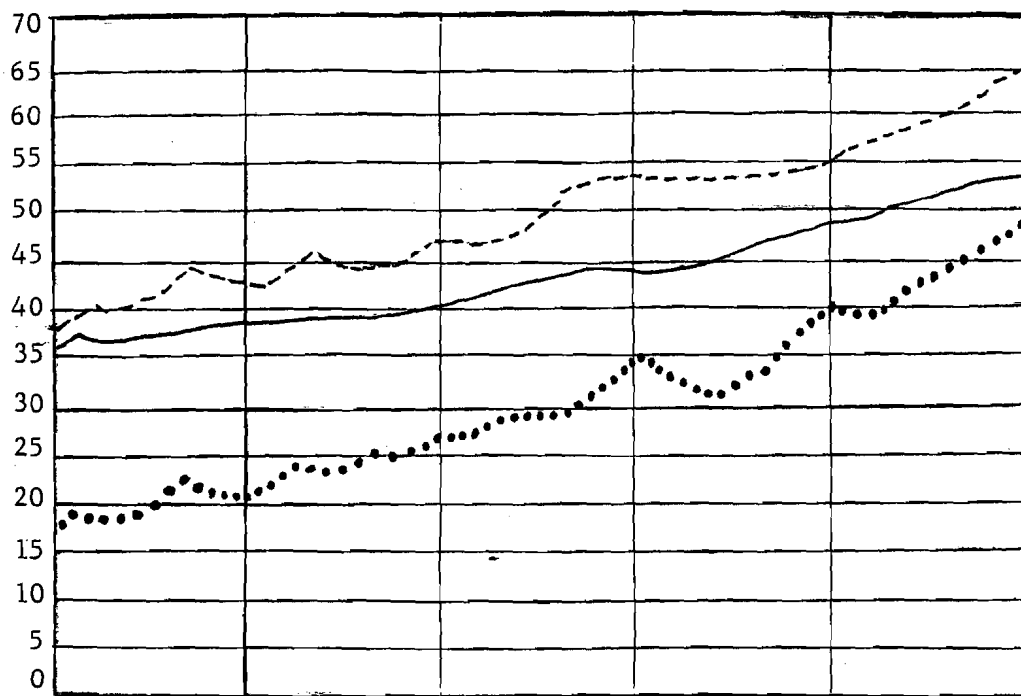
Nature and Purpose of the Study

Magazine scholars have long recognized that "the vast majority of women's magazines are...trend-followers rather than trend-setters," and that therefore, "no significant modifications in the formula for women's periodicals could take place without having been preceded by corresponding change in the social conditions of women" (White, 1970: 270, emphasis added).

Such change in the social condition of women did occur in the decade of the 1970's. More working wives and mothers, particularly mothers of young children, entered the labor force than ever before (See Table I-1). Women completed higher education and went on to professional schools in unprecedented numbers (Sweet, 1979). These events, plus a new national awareness of women's choices brought about by the women's liberation movement and the so-called "sexual revolution," inexorably led to changes in traditional women's magazine coverage,

FIGURE I-1. WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE, 1955-1980.

Labor force participation rate (in percentiles)



Ever-married women with children aged 6-17 -----
 Ever-married women with children under 6
 Women in general _____

Source: Mary H. Cooper, "Day Care Needs," in Editorial Research Reports, May 6, 1983, 1 (17): 341. Data from U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics and U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

(Diamond, 1974; "Liberating Magazines," 1971; Phillips, 1978; White, 1970).

Such changes in coverage came about in two ways. First, editors, like everyone else, were exposed to the general discussion of new ideas, and, as part of their job responsibility, considered whether coverage of these matters was appropriate for their particular publications. At the same time, their reader profiles began to reflect changes in various demographic categories: occupation, marital status, level of education, income. This led to a separate accounting of whether the readership had changed enough to require shifts in their previously successful formulas. At the same time, the appearance of new periodicals directed to specific interests of their readers accelerated such a reappraisal of their own product. By this time, television had caused a disastrous loss of advertising revenues to the entire magazine industry. This pressure made it imperative for editors to maintain a clear sense of reader tastes, to be able to convince advertisers that their particular publication was still an effective vehicle (Bogart, 1966).

But despite pressure to change, actually making any alterations in an established format is always

risky. Popular-magazine readers, like all mass media consumers, expect a high degree of consistency in a given product. As Wood observes:

A reader, on the basis of his experience with a given periodical, knows that he will find certain writers, at least writers of certain recognizable types, in one magazine; and that the magazine will consistently display attitudes which he approves or disapproves (1958: 393).

Put another way, the magazine editor has

a peculiar gate-keeping function dictated less by the surplus of material than by the rigid requirements of his particular audience. He must ruthlessly prune everything, regardless of intrinsic merit, which does not exactly fit... the overall format of the magazine (Whitney, 1975: 195).

This observation is far from original; it appears to be an editorial credo. Wolseley said the Hearst magazines all followed Hearst's own "simple-minded" dictum: "Find out what your readers want and give it to them... regularly" (1969: 211).

With this in mind, the present study is an examination of how a periodical gradually changes its successful, institutionalized format, when change is called for by market pressures and changing reader needs. It is a thematic study of shifts in magazine coverage, examining one magazine, Mademoiselle, and one aspect

of its coverage: women's careers. Mademoiselle was selected because, from its inception, it has been aimed at young working women (Blackwell, February, 1955; Fuchs, 1980), and because previous studies show that it has traditionally given serious consideration to women's careers (Hatch & Hatch, 1958; Miller, 1974; Singel, 1957; Wingate, 1979).

Although shifts in careers were only one aspect of the social changes taking place, there are several reasons for focusing on career coverage. First, the most crucial social circumstance for women in the 1970's was the resurgence of the feminist movement, which made the issue of women's equal opportunity to pursue careers its major early lobbying concern (Bird, 1969; Epstein, 1970; Sweet, 1979). This lobbying brought about many legal changes and court decisions which opened new employment opportunities to women (Freeman, 1975; Holmstrum, 1972). Further, the increased number of women working full-time, including mothers of under-school-age children, was one of the most dramatic demographic changes of the period and reflected a new economic reality (U.S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1981). A full discussion of these shifts is contained in Chapter II.

Changes in Mademoiselle's reader demographic profiles reflected these changes in national labor force statistics, as is discussed in Chapter V. Further, working outside the home is one of the most far-reaching choices in the lives of individual women (Clinton, 1981). When a woman works full-time outside her home, every other priority must be realigned: child care, spending, housekeeping, privacy, leisure time, even media use (Douglas, 1977; Sosanie & Szybillo, 1978). The present study examines how the double effect of changing reader demographic patterns in regard to employment, along with editorial awareness of new reader needs and interests, affected the editorial mix of the magazine, especially in its coverage of careers and career planning.

Statement of the Research Questions, Purpose, Limitations

Although Mademoiselle has served the 18-30 age group since its beginnings (Woodward, 1960: 151), clearly one of the reasons it has been successful for so long is that coverage has periodically shifted to reflect contemporary reader needs (Singel, 1957; Wingate, 1979). In the 1950's, when reader demographics reflected the then-current pattern of young married women working to put their husbands through school, the magazine ran

monthly profiles of working wives and mothers and frequent articles discussing their special problems. In the late 1960's, when more young women than ever before were going to college, and the "baby boom" generation was directing national attention to protest and to campus activities in general, the magazine lessened attention to careers.

This study examines how Mademoiselle's editorial coverage of careers changed from 1969 through 1981, in response to the rise in the number of women working outside the home, the rise in the number of employed mothers, and the increased number of women moving into job fields that had been traditionally male. These changes were reflected in reader demographics, even though only gradual changes occurred over the time period, since Mademoiselle had always had a high proportion of readers who were employed full-time (Singel, 1957; Morelock, 1971).

The study also examines Mademoiselle's unprecedented competition during the period. Mademoiselle and Glamour, with some slight competition from Seventeen, had been the only fashion magazines for young women for many years. During the 1970's, not only did traditional, homemaker-oriented women's magazines begin to include

more coverage on careers and related topics of interest to young working women, but also more than a dozen new specialty magazines targeted to women 18-30 appeared. Furthermore, both the changes in the women's magazine field and the changes in Mademoiselle's readers' lives occurred against the backdrop of the "women's liberation" movement, which was forcing a reexamination of the social contract between men and women at every level.

The study identifies thematic changes in the magazine's coverage of careers and relates them to these three factors: new competing women's magazines, changes in social mores wrought by the feminist movement, and changes in reader needs as evidenced by demographic and attitudinal surveys.

Purpose of the Study

This study provides insight into the gradual thematic shifts in coverage of a topic that, while a permanent component of Mademoiselle's "functional mix," is yet subject to changes in emphasis. The study will also help bring about a greater awareness of Mademoiselle's seriousness of purpose and depth of coverage. While some previous critics of the magazine have praised it as being a better than average women's magazine (Katz & Richards, 1978; McCarthy, 1950; Miller,

1974; White, 1970; Wingate, 1979), most have either criticized its coverage of careers as unrealistic (Clark & Esposito, 1966; Hatch & Hatch, 1958; Morelock, 1971; Newkirk, 1977), or dismissed it entirely as being of the "how to catch a man in the office" variety (Singel, 1957; Woodward, 1960). This study shows that, over the years, Mademoiselle has done an outstanding job of raising its readers' expectations of themselves and widening their horizons; that, rather than "delegitimizing alternatives," it has tried to expand its readers' sense of alternative career choices and encourage them in the pursuit of career goals.

The study is also an important contribution to the extremely limited body of research on American magazines, and, specifically, on the dialectical process that goes on between editors and readers in shaping magazine contents. (See Appendix A for a discussion of the paucity of scholarly research on magazines in America.)

Limitations of the Study

It was not considered necessary to interview individual editors and former editors of Mademoiselle, as their varying perspectives on the topic of women's careers are self-evident in the contents of the magazine.

Likewise, only two of the competing women's magazines were influential enough to be considered specifically for their impact on Mademoiselle's coverage. The remainder of the new women's magazines had so little direct effect that it was deemed unnecessary to relate their contents directly to changes in Mademoiselle's contents.

Method of the Study

The study follows the method of historical research, which traces changes in a given artifact over time, within the broader context of the social climate of the day. The philosophical perspective of such research is dialectical. The historian begins with a set of questions about a body of material to be researched. These questions guide the research, and in turn give rise to new questions. The end is social/cultural history.

Part of the relevance of this study of the editorial stance of this magazine on women's careers is to examine wherein it differs (or if so) from other forms of mass communication, and from other women's magazines, in its contribution to our cultural ideology about women and their "proper," "natural," or "suitable" sphere. The richness of the data gleaned by a historical study, as distinguished from, for instance, a content analysis,

permits a more vivid sense of how a given artifact of popular culture reflects the cultural ideology of its age. The present study interprets magazine content in the light of contemporary social values.

Procedure

The study began with the examination and analysis of all editorial material on women's careers from each issue of Mademoiselle for 1969, 1970, 1975, 1976, 1980, and 1981. It was anticipated that changes in coverage would be related to changes in reader demographics. Accordingly, these years were selected to correlate with the years during which reader demographic profiles were drawn up by the magazine and the years immediately following.

The contents of each issue were reviewed to identify career-related editorial material. Based on a preliminary study reviewing editorial content on careers in the March and May, 1975 issues, the June, 1979 issue, and the March and November, 1980 issues of Mademoiselle, the following taxonomy of career coverage was developed.

1. Profiles of successful women in various careers, their training, job satisfactions, and advice

to beginners; e.g., "Woman at Work: Sandra Cliff, Antiques Dealer" (Calvert, June, 1979) and profiles of career fields; featuring interviews with more than one person, such as "The World of Television" (Kevles, 1969).

2. Goal-oriented, "how-to" advice on getting ahead in a career, including beauty and fashion advice for women at work; e.g., "How to Get Paid What You Think You're Worth" (Sullivan, 1980), "How to Dress and Act on Your Interview" and "Job Hunting, the Right Way: What to Wear" (Calvert, June, 1979).

3. Articles discussing issues created by women's career commitments, e.g., "Success: How Much is Enough?" (Gross, 1975) and "Working Mothers: How They Juggle Their Lives" (Comer, May, 1975). This category includes articles by readers which appear in the semi-regular column "An Opinion," for example, "There's More to Life Than Nine to Five" (Amante, 1980).

The author then compared the coverage of the three periods, determining that each was typified by only one of the three genres of coverage. The prevailing genre was compared to the demographic data for each time period, to see if any direct relationship was discernible. Finally, the author related the changes in genres to the changing social climate of the decade, taking into

account women's labor force participation, contemporary social mores, and the competition from other women's magazines.

Organization of the Study

The remainder of this chapter outlines the theoretical framework from which the study proceeds and reviews the scholarship on Mademoiselle magazine.

Chapter II briefly summarizes the relevant social changes in American women's lives during the 1970's, focusing particularly on women's increased participation in the labor force, the reasons for increasing female labor force participation, changes in public opinion on women's status, and the motive power for much of the change, the contemporary women's movement--all of which provided a context for Mademoiselle's orientation on careers during the period.

Chapter III briefly summarizes the changes in the women's magazine field in the 1970's, describing the new magazines which competed with Mademoiselle for readers and advertisers, and directly or indirectly affected the magazine's content.

Chapter IV provides a short history of Mademoiselle and its circulation patterns, and a summary of thematic

content before 1969, which indicates that the magazine had supported women's careers from its inception, contrary to the findings of available studies.

Chapter V analyzes the findings of Mademoiselle's reader demographic surveys during the period studied, which show increases in the number of readers employed full-time, an increasing number of older readers, and more readers in professional jobs. These shifts and other slight changes in lifestyle indicate possible changes in reader needs, which in turn imply the need for a change in the magazine's orientation to careers.

Chapter VI analyzes Mademoiselle's coverage of women's careers from 1969 through 1981 in the light of the cultural context of the feminist movement, gradual shifts in reader demographics, and changes in the women's magazine field.

Chapter VII offers conclusions and suggestions for future research.

Theoretical Framework of the Study

As a preface, it is necessary to point out that communication researchers are hampered by the nonexistence of a generally-held theory of how the mass communication process works and how it operates its putative influence.

More than ten years ago, the noted communication scholar Melvin DeFleur came to the disheartening conclusion that most of what passes as theory in the study of mass communication "must more accurately be called assumption and speculation" (1970: 98). He decried the fact that even the four traditional mass communication "theories" (individual differences, cultural norms, social categories, and social relationship), when considered within a framework of more vigorous criteria are scarcely theories at all, in that they have little predictive power and are therefore inadequate for the scientific explanation generally required of research in many of the other social sciences.

Contemporary media critics find very little changed since DeFleur summed up the field and found it lacking. Thayer (1979) said:

We do not have a theory of mass communication. What we do have is a rapidly-increasing pool of assumptions, conjectures, rationalizations, hypotheses, after-the-fact explanations, and beliefs. What is often masqueraded as theory in all that is being written and said about mass communication is not theory at all; it is folklore and myth. (1979: 52)

Thayer went on to state that the limitations of the dominant conceptual framework of "sender-receiver" or "cause-effect" have inspired alternative formulations,

citing McQuail (1969), Innis (1951), Mendelsohn (1966), Katz (1959), Stephenson (1967), Brouwer (1967), Lippman (1922), and McLuhan (1962).

The British Marxist-feminist critic Baehr (1981) argues that the major problem with the study of the media in America is its fragmentation into exclusive areas such as institutions, producers, content, and audiences, within a "dominant paradigm" which looks at "the short-term behavioral effects of the media, defining 'effects' so narrowly, microscopically and directly that at most only very slight effects could be indicated" (1981: 143). This, in turn, deflects attention from "the media's relationship to the State and their role in constructing, mediating and distributing 'social knowledge'" (Baehr, 1981: 143)--that is, their ideological role. And yet, as Stuart Hall pointed out, the media are "the site of an enormous ideological labour" (1979: 341). They offer "preferred" meanings and interpretations which

help us not simply to know more about 'the world' but to make sense of it.... The media serve, in societies like ours, ceaselessly to perform the critical ideological work of 'classifying out the world' within the discourses of the dominant ideologies. (Hall, 1977: 346)

While not a study of media "effects," this study is grounded in the belief that magazine contents do

influence their readers' ideology and consciousness. That is one of the fundamental reasons for carrying out the study. If magazine contents--and by extension, the contents of all other forms of mass communication--did not have any influence on their audiences, there would be no point in carrying out detailed analyses of the readers' role in the editorial process--or any other communication analyses, for that matter.

Accordingly, in this section the argument outlined will be that the influence of women's magazines:

- 1) is limited in its general and individual effects;
- 2) takes the form of perceptual agenda-setting for readers;
- 3) takes place in the context of a reciprocal reader-editor relationship; and
- 4) does reflect a cultural ideology, albeit a non-conscious one.

Limited influence. The influence of a magazine, like that of any given specific communication, varies from individual to individual and depends on a concatenation of circumstances peculiar to that individual. The list of variables could be almost as long as one cared

to make it, but would include at least demographic and psychographic characteristics, the salience of the content to the individual, and the attitudes of the individual's reference groups and personal contacts to the content. The old "hypodermic-needle" theory of media effects, which grew out of World War II studies on propaganda, has long been superceded by studies which show how much individual differences, selective attention and perception, and reference group influences interact with the audience's reception of any message as intended by the communicator (Bauer, 1971; DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach, 1975). Clearly, these findings support Klapper's hardy dictum that, regardless of the content in question, the "media are more likely to reinforce than to change opinions" (1960: 8), particularly where readers are selecting from forms of communication, like magazines, which suit their predispositions. It is inarguable that individual differences limit the effects of any form of mass communication, and the study proceeds from the assumption that the effects of Mademoiselle, and other women's magazines, are limited.

But if women's magazines aren't leading readers down new paths of belief and behavior, what are they doing? How are they influencing their readers? They are telling their readers not what to think or do, but

what to think about. They are identifying reader options, and acting to "define the situation" for them.

Perceptual agenda-setting. Of all the various theories of how mass media forms wield an influence over their audiences, the most intuitively logical and the most strikingly applicable to the mode of influence of consumer periodicals are the various versions of the "agenda-setting" concept introduced by McCombs and Shaw in 1972. This predicates that although media do not and cannot tell readers what to think, they are "stunningly successful in telling us what to think about (1978: 97). Agenda-setting theory asserts that we learn from mass communication how much importance to attach to an issue or topic from the emphasis placed on it by the mass media. We learn "salience" from the news media, incorporating a similar set of weights into our personal agendas. While this theory was formulated to apply to political news, the concept also applies to the kind of consumer magazines with which this study is concerned, which identify and describe lifestyle choices for their readers. The same concept is behind the more recent term, that media forms in general can be said to "canalize" an audience's thinking into familiar and routine lines of concern (Cassata and Asante, 1979). An even stronger term, still rooted in the same line of

thought, is that of Altheide and Johnson: media emphases effectively "delegitimize alternatives" for their audiences (1980: 41). In other words, by only demonstrating a certain range of possibilities, a media form puts other possibilities "beyond the pale" of realistic consideration. Fashion writer Eve Merriam provides a witty illumination of this concept, describing the way fashion magazines "canalize" reader tastes:

The bulky sweater worn by an Irish fisherwoman is not fashion until it is photographed in Vogue. You may exist, but you are only an anonymous creature until God has given you a name. (1960: 71).

That this is no more than is achieved by any kind of established social practice or custom does not obviate the force with which repeated, cumulative mass-mediated communications institutionalize world-views and lifestyles. To use a mundane but vivid metaphor, it would be unthinkable for a well-socialized reader of traditional women's magazines to go out on a date without mascara, because that alternative--going without makeup--is unknown to her. In effect, it is not a "legitimate" choice for her, not an action that even occurs to her.

The traditional view of women's magazines is that they provide an accurate record of women's lives

and tastes because they play a large part in forming those tastes (Peterson, 1964; Wolseley, 1969; Wood, 1971; Woodward, 1960). This is simply another way of saying that women's magazines describe and delimit their readers' lifestyle alternatives. Another concept that provides a useful framework for examining the role of women's magazines is that of "mini-comm."

"Mini-comm" is a term formulated by Gary Gumpert in 1980 to describe what he perceives as the current state of many forms of American mass media. His contention is that the term mass communication, which requires by its textbook definition, "large, anonymous, heterogenous audiences" (Head, 1976: 81) no longer applies to certain mass media forms, because their audiences, while large, are homogenous in either demographic attributes or tastes. These forms, then, should more properly be called "mini-comm" than "mass comm." In Gumpert's typology, commercial broadcast television is "mass comm"; magazines are paradigmatic "mini-comm." That is, broadcast television's audience has always been large, anonymous, heterogenous, and diverse in the extreme. Virtually any magazine publisher, however, can provide a clear picture of his readers' income, education, professional level, sex, and age;

some even draw "psychographic" profiles (Fowles, 1974; Gross and Perle, 1973; Lieberman, 1977; Welles, 1972).

Gumpert's distinction between "mass" and "mini" forms of communication seems to have been prophetic. Recent trends in media use show an acceleration of the movement away from a truly "mass" audience, even for broadcast television, which is steadily losing viewers to cable, to pay-TV, and to video games. In the light of these changes, the term "mass comm" appears to be less meaningful, since it derives from the era before advertisers could carry out sophisticated, demographic and psychographic studies of their audiences. Advertisers can now do such studies for television audiences, as well as magazine and newspaper audiences. A more contemporary definition of mass communication, then, would focus not on aspects of the audience, but on the technology that makes a particular medium a mass medium, i.e., its potential for mass-production. In actuality, more and more media forms would now be more properly categorized as mini-comm. (For a discussion of new ways of defining "mass communication," see Budd and Rubin's Beyond Media, 1979.)

Women's magazines, then, are simply a prototypical form of "mini-comm," in which an identifiable group of

readers with similar demographic profiles is provided a relatively predictable product with every issue. Their tastes and interests lead them to choose the magazine; the magazine reinforces their values and perceptions.

Reciprocal Editor-Reader Relationship. This reciprocal relationship is summed up by Valdes and Crow, who state that women's magazines:

...obviously illustrate the two-way function of most of the popular media--namely, the encoding of current tastes, but also the directing of them to a great extent; the mirroring of prevailing attitudes and the forming--or at least solidifying--of them as well; the answering of basic needs, and the creation of pseudo-needs and consumer appetites. (1973; 147)

Not only women's magazines define roles and lifestyles for their readers. Noted magazine scholar Theodore Peterson (1977) defines all consumer magazines in these terms:

Consumer magazines have become trade and technical magazines but with a reverse twist. Instead of telling their readers how to save time and make money, they tell their readers how to fill time and to spend money. The great bulk of consumer magazines begun since World War II have been designed to help the reader cope with his increased leisure and his increased affluence. (1977: 260)

In an insightful 1972 essay, theologian Harvey Cox applies this concept to Playboy and its readers:

Playboy appeals to a highly mobile, increasingly affluent group...who need a total image of what it means to be a man. For the insecure young man with newly acquired time and money on his hands who still feels uncertain about his consumer skills, Playboy supplies a comprehensive and authoritative guidebook.... It tells him not only who to be; it tells him how to be it. (1972: 16-17)

Valdes and Crow (1973) sum up this concept of a magazine's role as "definer of the situation" for their readers by reminding us of the "you" who is constantly addressed in magazine copy and headlines:

A magazine creates through its articles and features an image of its reader--the "you" it keeps referring to. If you like the image and read the magazine, that particular image is constantly dangled before you, and you are given instructions on how to mold yourself into the man or woman that is the magazine's ideal. (1973: 149)

Sociologist David Riesman even goes so far as to assert that:

The responsibility for character formation in our society has shifted from the family to the peer group and to the mass media peer group surrogates.... This is especially true in the area of consumer values toward which the other-directed person is increasingly oriented. (quoted in Cox, 1972: 16)

Ideology Embodied in Women's Magazines. It is undeniable that women's magazines do present their readers with idealized models of women. This goes at least as far back as editor Edward Bok's shaping of the Ladies Home Journal at the turn of the century. John Tebbel (1969) attributed Bok's phenomenal success to his making "the magazine in the image of what women wanted to be instead of what they were" (1969: 183).

This gradual formation of stereotypes of "the ideal woman" and "woman's proper sphere" has long been recognized by magazine scholars. In 1973, Raymond Wolseley simply pointed out that

For years, leading magazines aimed at women have had long-range effects in creating stereotypes in their readers' minds. The American female, from young girlhood on, has been encouraged by these periodicals to believe in certain circumstances as normal...for example, that the primary goal is to be taken care of by a man, preferably through marriage.... For the most part, women have been portrayed by magazines as not really interested in public affairs, certainly not to the exclusion of what really touched their lives more personally. (1973: 110)

Working from an economic analysis of magazine advertising's cumulative impact, Ferguson points out that

Within a market orientation aimed at creating and maintaining a female demand and supply structure,

these media function to transmit cultural prescriptions of female role performance. They also overtly, or by implication, prescribe the male roles within society. (1978: 98)

Trever Millum (1975) identified the advertising in women's magazines as part of a culture's overall socialization process:

The advertising in women's magazines (as elsewhere) acts as a moulder of female outlook and does serve as a legitimation of those roles in which so many women find themselves.... [It] thus acts as a social regulator, to preserve the status quo. It is a part of the socialization of women, educating them to their roles. (1975: 179)

Although both of these analyses were concerned with women's magazine advertising, their general point that these repeated images help to socialize readers to their roles applies as well to overall women's magazine contents.

Ernest Dichter (1964), the pioneer of motivational advertising, believes this media provision of role-models to be particularly influential in times of great social change, like the twentieth century.

The ambivalent attitudes towards modernity and emancipation have created a new need for models and influentials. As women try to feel their way in a world which they may, at the same time, want and fear, the practical and emotional value of "models" increases. Trend-setters, thought-leaders and the like can help to turn cultural

concepts into humanised forms which assist the individual to imitate, to evaluate, to reject or to implement her own attitudes towards modernity, independence and the like. (1964: 31)

Leon Festinger (1954), more famous for his theory of "cognitive dissonance," provides a theory of social behavior which also fills in part of our picture of how and why magazine portrayals of women influence the behavior and choices of actual women. His "social comparison" theory asserts that

All human beings have a need to evaluate their own opinions and abilities and that when they cannot do so by objective nonsocial means they compare them with those of other people.... In other words, in the absence of objective criteria, you rely on the opinions of others to determine the validity of your own. (1954: 117)

Magazines fit into and feed this search for objects of comparison, providing a "consensual validation" of developing ideas and beliefs about oneself.

This is exactly the process that Dichter and Riesman outlined as happening to media consumers today. And, as Johns-Heine and Gerth concluded from their 1949 study of "Values in Mass Periodical Fiction 1921-1940," whether one considers magazines, or any form of mass communication, to be more "reflectors" or "shapers" of mass culture, it can safely be assumed that women featured

in magazines "become important vehicles of social values" (1949: 105).

As Johns-Heine and Gerth tacitly admitted when they begged the question of whether mass communication forms are "reflectors" or "shapers" of mass culture, the whole theoretical model which looks at "images" of women in media--and almost inevitably "discovers" and decries the "distortion" of the realities of women's lives--is problematic. It grew out of a misapplication of the literary term "realism," which simply means that a literary work reflects its society, where there is a naturalistic attempt to picture people and things as they exist. But even novelists are aware that any work can only attempt to reflect its cultural context, which must inevitably be portrayed only as it is filtered through an individual artist's sensibility--his or her perceptions, biases, and areas of ignorance.

But in virtually all of the studies contrasting things as they are for women and things as they are in the media, whether the specific medium under consideration is television, advertising, or women's magazine fiction, the idea of "reflection" transmutes the literary theory into the conviction that the media should (and can) reflect society and do not, and that things would

somehow be better for women if they did (e.g., Epstein, 1978; Friedan, 1963; Tuchman, 1978, and Weibel, 1977). The problems with this formulation lie in the assumptions that media can "reflect" social reality accurately and that somehow things would be improved if they did. It has been left to feminist critics themselves to point up the problems in this formulation, including some whose own earlier work itself implicitly accepted the paradigm (Tuchman, 1979). Baehr (1981) states categorically that much of the work on "images of women in the media" oversimplifies both women's complex relationship to the media and the processes involved in representation. She rejects this construct, stating that:

The media are not transparent. They do not, and cannot, directly reflect the 'real' world any more than language can.... These studies present a simplistic, unidirectional and reductive connection between media and behaviour.... This approach mistakes the relationship between the media and their users as a causal one. It is not the media in themselves that determine what women are. Women are constructed outside the media as well, and it is their marginality in culture generally and in the media which contributes to their subordinated positions. (Baehr, 1981: 149)

Gaye Tuchman, whose 1978 book Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media, is one of those Baehr cites as falling into this intellectual error, also now pokes fun at this idea that the media can "reflect reality":

By political references to our culture's normative expectations that news should transcend distortion, the dominant models of women's presentation in the media suggest that entertainment should also be a veridical reproduction of social life, an accurate representation, Proust's Remembrance of Things Past as CBS's "You Were There." (1979: 533)

She has now proposed that we

discard the idea of image, the term used to discuss the media's depiction of women and discuss the media and their contents as myths--ways of seeing the world that resonate with the conscious mind and the unconscious passions and that are embedded in, expressive of, and reproductive of social organization.... The entertainment media may also [as well as news] generate myths, not images; their myths may also absorb attempts to introduce radical change. (1979: 541)

The astute television critic, Jeff Greenfield, made an observation in 1978 about television that is apropos to this discussion:

[The exaggeration of television's power] leads to an unspoken premise that we can define reality by looking at what is on television and that therefore the way to change reality is to change what we see on television. (1978: 33)

His comment can, of course, be extended to the type of study Baehr and Tuchman are referring to, which tends to assume that if we could change the way "images" of women's lives are presented in the mass media, we would be changing women's lives.

The present study concurs in rejecting the pre-occupation with "images" and its underlying conceptual framework. What makes more sense is to bear in mind that the media do help to create our "non-conscious ideology." Bem and Bem (1973) developed the notion of a "non-conscious ideology" precisely to describe the widespread cultural stereotypes about women's needs and capabilities. They defined it as:

...a set of beliefs and attitudes which [an individual] accepts implicitly but which remains outside his awareness because alternative conceptions of the world remain unimagined, [as] only a very unparochial and intellectual fish is aware that his environment is wet. (1973: 89)

The underlying presence of this "non-conscious ideology" of women's roles in American magazines is demonstrated by the number of studies of magazine content which show that magazines tend not to reflect current statistical actualities about women's lives but to portray an idealized and/or stereotypical society (Hancock, 1968; Morelock, 1971; Schlesinger, 1946). Studies of the heroines of women's and other magazine fiction (Bailey, 1968; Ferguson, 1979; Flora, 1971, 1979; Franzwa, 1974a, 1974b; Lazer & Dier, 1978) report the same findings. For instance, Lazer and Dier (1978) examined 213 short stories from Atlantic Monthly and the Saturday Evening Post for the 12-month periods preceding the census years

1940, 1950, 1960, and 1970. In these stories, 25% of the women and 63% of the men were portrayed as working in paid employment. But these figures underrepresent women's actual labor force participation for all years. Between 1940 and 1970, women increased from 25% to 38% of the workforce. In the Saturday Evening Post, working women characters decreased from 17 to 12%. In the Atlantic Monthly, working women characters increased from 15 to 21%, but still fell behind the actual increases in women's participation in the labor force (1978: 175).

Those studies that show no "lag" behind statistics demonstrate that the fiction does reinforce women's traditional, homebound roles, typically proposing that a husband, a home and children are the solution to any woman's unhappiness. Ingles found in 1938 that though magazine fiction reflected some changes in women's employment, it still mirrored old attitudes and values, idealizing the home. Three other studies of women's magazine fiction found that the magazines studied between 1949 and 1967 (McCall's, Good Housekeeping, Ladies' Home Journal and Women's Home Companion) overwhelmingly cast housewives as heroines and working women as unhappy, despite rising education and employment levels (Bailey, 1968; Friedan, 1963; Griffith, 1949).

Curiously, studies of general magazine fiction do not seem to find this lag, but rather find positive relationships between current social attitudes and magazine content. For example, Middleton's (1960) study of fertility trends showed that actual fertility trends are paralleled by the number of children in fictional families. England's (1960) study demonstrated correspondences between fictional and actual courtship behavior. Albrecht (1956) concluded that with slight variations between social classes, popular magazine fiction does reflect widely-agreed-on cultural values. Similar studies by Berelson & Salter (1946), Johns-Heine & Gerth (1949), and Morgan & Leahy (1934), all demonstrated meaningful relationships between current social attitudes and magazine content. If the "lag" only appears in relation to women's roles, perhaps that's an indication of the Bems' (1973) "non-conscious" ideology at work.¹

The major drawback to such research for the purposes of comparison with this study is that they all

¹ It is interesting to speculate on whether the fictional contents of the new breed of women's magazines, described in Chapter III, would demonstrate the same "lag." It is arguable that they would not, since their raison d'etre is to support women's new endeavours. However, they print so little fiction, except for Ms., that there might not be enough data from which to draw inferences.

examine magazine fiction, in which hortatory content is subliminal, if present at all. Non-fiction magazine articles might presumably provide a more realistic connection with actual women's roles. The "Related and Previous Investigations" section below discusses the few studies available of women's magazine articles on women's careers. However, these studies also indicate clearly that such content is neither leading women into new ideas nor preventing them from making changes in their own lives, despite fictional fare which would seem to encourage them to remain in safe, old, acceptable roles.

A similar concept of how media content creates a non-conscious ideology is Chaney's (1977) idea of the "community of discourse", now gaining currency with British sociologists. This argues that what is important about media representations of reality is that they create a common language with which to discuss reality. Like a language, a community of discourse integrates and controls experience by providing common elements for strangers to use when they meet and creating expectations of what can be noticed or said. Americans of all religions, races, political predilections, ages and social classes can discuss Johnny Carson's divorce, Playboy's Playmates, Dan Rather's salary, and J.R. Ewing's ethics in a "community of discourse" that shares basic perceptions of their

"meanings." At the same time, they remain unconscious of the inter-connections of these various media forms to our "commodity culture." Intellectual critics point out that American mass culture provides "bread and circuses" to "narcotize" the public. And it's true that a populace preoccupied with gossiping about Johnny Carson's divorce or Dan Rather's salary has less time or inclination to worry about a nuclear freeze or who profits from our defense budget. But it is a profound intellectual error to assume that if we were not provided with "The Dukes of Hazard" we would all be sitting around discussing the theories of Jung or listening to Parsifal. As James Baldwin says: "We cannot possibly expect, and should not desire, that the great bulk of the populace embark on a mental and spiritual voyage for which very few people are equipped and which even fewer have survived" (Baldwin, 1978: 270). No, what is deplorable is not that ordinary people, most of us, have a limited desire and capacity for aesthetic response. What is depressing is that the homogeneity of what mass media typically offers us begins to limit our sense of life's possibilities and meanings; in effect, to "delegitimize alternatives." As poet Randall Jarrell (1978) said in his heartfelt essay "A Sad Heart at the Supermarket":

Here in the half-world [of the media] everything is homogeneous--is, as much as possible, the same as everything else: each familiar novelty, novel familiarity, has the same texture on top and the same attitude and conclusion at bottom; only the middle, the particular subject of the particular program or article, is different.... Heine said that the English have a hundred religions and one sauce; so do we; and we are so accustomed to this sauce or dye or style, the aesthetic equivalent of Standard Brands, that a very simple thing can seem perverse, obscure, without it. And, too, we find it hard to have to shift from one art form to another, to vary our attitudes and expectations, to use our unexercised imaginations. (Jarrell, 1978: 262)

As James Baldwin sadly decided:

What the mass culture really reflects...is the American bewilderment in the face of the world we live in. We do not seem to want to know that we are in the world, that we are subject to the same catastrophes, vices, joys and follies which have baffled and afflicted mankind for ages. And this has everything to do, of course, with what was expected of America.... The American way of life has failed--to make people happier or to make them better. We do not want to admit this, and we do not admit it. (1978: 271)

At a less metaphysical level, the citizens remain unconscious of the inter-connections of the various media forms to our "commodity culture." The capitalist economic context into which media forms fit and by which they are supported and, to a great extent, shaped, remains invisible, as the following anecdote illustrates.

During their first evening of hosting an exchange student from Hungary, an American family started to turn off the television sound during commercials, a fairly standard practice in many American households. When the exchange student stopped them, saying "But I want to see the propaganda," the family members were greatly taken aback. It had never crossed their minds that Mrs. Olsen and Mr. Whipple and the Ti-dee Bowl Man were agents of "capitalist propaganda," as of course they are, urging citizens to do their duty and consume products.

The ordinary citizen never stops to think, and would not like to be informed, that his favorite television programs, his favorite newspaper columnists, and his favorite radio deejays, all aspects of his social reality which have great personal meaning for him, exist so that he--and millions--like him--are guaranteed to be exposed to the advertisements surrounding them. A primary function of our media is to deliver audiences, at a cost of so much per thousand, to advertisers. This inevitably, though sometimes subtly, affects the content of the mass media. For instance, the director of market research for a large U.S.-based multinational corporation recently told two social historians who asked what his company thought of the trend toward women delaying

marriage and living alone:

There's nothing in this that business would be opposed to. People living alone need the same things as people living in families. The difference is there's no sharing. So really this trend is good because it means you sell more products. The only trend in living arrangements that I think business does not look favorably on is this thing of communes, because here you have a number of people using the same product. (Ehrenreich & English, 1978: 261)

He went on to explain that the way business dealt with the "commune threat" was by keeping communes out of the media. Thus there are no situation comedies about life in a commune, no ads, etc. But, as the historians noted: "The glamour of singleness, however, is continually extolled" (1978: 261-262). Thus the media's role as a "consciousness industry" propagating a "one-dimensional affirmative culture" harmonizing the inherent contradictions and ambiguities of life goes unnoticed (Marcuse, 1964).²

² Although we usually think of this "harmonization as a state of being rather than a conscious decision-making process, Schiller (1975) lists occasions wherein media gatekeepers deliberately suppressed or altered news stories in the interests of keeping the populace calm. He cites a Broadcasting article praising television for its "restraint" in coverage after Martin Luther King's 1969 murder. This "restraint" meant that in Baltimore, for instance, a news director said that "films of police firing on snipers, white men with guns in the trouble areas and black militants making inflammatory statements weren't used." And in New York, station officials "emphasized that views of militants were reported but not generally as voiced by them." In some cities, movies ran day and night. (Schiller, 1975: 211, emphasis added)

This is the point of view from which the present study proceeds. Magazine contents perform a perceptual "agenda-setting" function for their readers. At the same time, they embody a set of collective social values, approximating to some extent the common cultural context, even though the assumptions making up this cultural context may be so generally unexamined as to be "non-conscious."

The other tenet underpinning the present study is the conviction, as discussed above, that magazine influence on readers is part of a dialectical process. Reader responses determine which types of editorial material are published and the type of material published shapes and reinforces reader values, in an ongoing process of accretion and attrition. As Sentman concluded in her study of how Life magazines portrayed blacks: "Magazines both reflect the context of their society and serve as a socializing force within that society" (1981: 1).

Related and Previous Investigations. a review of the literature on women's magazines, fashion magazines, career advice in women's magazines and readership survey information.³ An extensive review of the literature has

³See Appendix A for a discussion of the scholarship on magazines in general.

revealed only limited information on Mademoiselle magazine. While there has been a great deal written about the phenomenon of changing fashions in women's clothing, articles or books on fashion magazines are relatively scarce. The only previous scholarly study of Mademoiselle contrasted it to Vogue and concluded that it had successfully competed with the older magazine because it functioned as a young woman's adviser not just on beauty and fashion, but on moral, political and career issues as well (Singel, 1957). This study is discussed at length in Chapter IV.

Only one study has examined American fashion magazines themselves; it determined that the amount of fashion coverage increased in all five magazines studied throughout the twentieth century (Tortora, 1973). This study, however, examined three now-defunct magazines and Harper's Bazaar and Vogue, not Mademoiselle.

Both Vogue and Harper's Bazaar have published anthologies of selected material from the magazines. In 1967, on the one hundredth anniversary of the first publication of Harper's Bazaar, a book was issued that reprinted selected features, pictures, and fiction from many different periods during the lifetime of the magazine (Trahey, 1967). The staff of the British edition

of Vogue prepared similar publications reviewing American Vogue (Holmes, 1963) and British Vogue (Holmes, 1962); Howell (1967) published a later analysis of British Vogue. Former editor Edna Woollman Chase also discusses the magazine in her autobiography (Chase & Chase, 1954). Seebohm's (1982) biography of Condé Nast discusses Vogue in the context of Nast's life.

The only book devoted exclusively to American women's magazines is Helen Woodward's 1960 memoir of her publishing career, which is extremely critical of the entire genre, disdaining them as virtual panderers for advertisers. Although there are several recent British studies of women's magazines (Adburgham, 1972; Dancyger, 1978; White, 1970), only White's study includes American women's magazines. She concludes that they are improving, providing more serious coverage and a wider array of topics, which indicates that they assume a greater desire on women's part for serious information. She credits Mademoiselle particularly along these lines.

The general magazine histories either ignore fashion magazines entirely (Tebbel, 1969, 1974), list their names (Ford, 1969; Wood, 1971), or mention Mademoiselle's rapid success (Wolseley, 1969), and its encouragement of unknown young writers (Peterson, 1964).

It is virtually de rigeur for any book about the fashion industry to include a chapter or so about the marketing role of the "big five" fashion magazines (Vogue, Harper's Bazaar, Mademoiselle, Glamour, and Seventeen) (Fairchild, 1965; Jarnow & Judelle, 1965; Hartman, 1980; Keenan, 1978; Levin, 1965; Merriam, 1960; Roshco, 1963; and Wills and Midgley, 1973). While these books are in the main either chatty, anecdotal memoirs or dull textbooks, Merriam's witty insights make her book fun to read, Levin's chapters on particularly influential fashion editors (including Betsy Talbot Blackwell of Mademoiselle) are fascinating for students of women's magazine, and Wills and Midgley outline the various fashion diffusion theories clearly. Likewise, studies of fashion history (Kemper, 1977) and clothing theory (Bell, 1976; Gurel & Beeson, 1979; Horn, 1968; Konig, 1973; Laver, 1952; Marra, 1976; Roach, 1973; Roach & Eicher, 1965; and Rudofsky, 1974) usually mention fashion magazines as "diffusion agents" helping to spread new ideas.

By far the most frequent scholarly use of fashion magazines has been the sociological study of changing trends in fashion and how they are related to broader social changes in women's status, employment, attitudes

toward marriage, etc. Tortora's 1973 article documented how fashion magazines have "mirrored the changing role of women" since the early nineteenth century, tracing their increasingly serious coverage of social issues. Joseph (1962) found a significant relationship between changes in women's daytime dresses and other selected factors of change during the first and third decades of the twentieth century. Noel (1960) found a significant relationship between changes in advertising for five types of dresses and changing social patterns from 1910 through 1959. Nugent (1962) looked at changes in women's dress and found them related to changes in women's status and employment from 1850 to 1950. Marra (1976) argued that not enough rigorous sociological research has been done, but concluded that clothing changes are linked to changes in social structures. Riegel (1963) studied such nineteenth century attempts at dress reform as the Bloomer outfit and concluded that women's clothing could only become more practical and comfortable after women's status had been improved by attainment of the right to vote.

Seven previous studies, however, do relate directly to the research topic: the career advice given to readers by selected women's magazines. In 1958, Hatch and Hatch studied the problems of married working

women as presented in 1956 by three popular working women's magazines (Glamour, Charm, and Mademoiselle). They found that too many genuine problems were ignored because of the magazine writers' determination to perceive all problems as solvable. Their criticism seems well founded, as witness their list of questions ignored by the 35 articles they surveyed:

What types of work for women lend themselves best to enforced geographic mobility? What vocations for women lend themselves best to periods of enforced unemployment because of obligations to home and children? How can the prospective career wife pick a husband who will cooperate wholeheartedly with her working plans? How can the woman who must withdraw for periods of months, or perhaps years, keep up her working competence? (Hatch & Hatch, 1958: 152)

Along the same lines, they point out that the magazines dodged the problem of women's dual burden (job and housework) by creating the "myth of the Superwoman." Hatch & Hatch state:

The implication is: any woman can combine marriage and an interesting career outside the home if she cares enough, and the proof is that certain individuals seem to do it. (1958: 152)

But despite the overall validity of their criticism, Hatch and Hatch have their blind spots. The worst is their refusal to admit that there was such a thing as sexual prejudice. Several of the articles they examined

assert that

Prejudice against women, and particularly against the married woman who chooses to work, is responsible for limitation of opportunities...and this prejudice stems largely from the jealousy and anxiety of men. (1958: 152)

Hatch & Hatch refer to three articles which cited specific instances of women being barred from positions for which they were otherwise qualified simply because of their being married women. To the modern reader, these are textbook examples of why this country has experienced ten years of successful lawsuits charging sex discrimination against employers. But in response to the magazine writers' labelling of such outright discrimination as "prejudice," Hatch & Hatch are patently skeptical:

The [magazine's] authors recognize the existence of what they term "prejudice" against women, but they make no attempt to designate reasons for such prejudice, implying that it will be a matter of education to enlarge opportunity for married women in advanced professional fields. (1958: 152)

The implication is clear, though Hatch and Hatch miss it: the writers of these articles knew that for the readers they were addressing, they didn't need to designate "reasons" for such prejudice. They could safely assume that their readers' own experience would fill in the blanks--as is more than adequately demonstrated

by women's memoirs of the period (Ginzberg, 1966; Shulman, 1973); and by anecdotal evidence from women who grew up then.

In sum, Hatch and Hatch (1958) correctly analyze the damaging consequences of a collective attempt to gloss over deeply rooted problems and conflicts, offering household organization hints instead of addressing the underlying problem: the fact that the working woman was expected to do two jobs, a paid one and all the housework. But their analysis is flawed by their disingenuous resistance to the notion that there was such a thing as "prejudice" against married women as workers. This puts them in the invidious position of criticizing the magazine writers of the period for their support of ambitious women's attempts to overcome some of the very real barriers against them. It is also worth noting that their analysis does not reveal that most of such articles ran in Mademoiselle; other critics have noted that both Charm (Woodward, 1960) and Glamour (Wingate, 1979) tended to run very safe, sex-stereotyped career counseling. Today one would fault such an analysis for its bland assumption that motherhood is inevitable and of first priority, and that women's careers come second to men's, but such criticism would be anachronistic.

The problems it raises--how women can combine careers and motherhood--are still unsolved, 25 years later. However, it is fair to say that the article serves today as an example of the prevailing "nonconscious ideology" about women's careers in 1958.

Clark and Esposito (1966) analyzed career advice in Mademoiselle, Glamour, and Cosmopolitan in 1963 and 1964; they betray similar blind spots about women in non-traditional work. The authors found by content analysis that the 19 articles they examined "made an extraordinarily heavy use of male motivational themes" (483, emphasis added). That is, they stressed "achievement" and "power" over "affiliation" as job satisfactions. The researchers consider this a "discrimination against feminine interests" and explain it away with the theory that these magazines are trying to reach an atypical audience, more "mannish" (their term) in career goals than ordinary women (1966; 483). Following their content analysis, they had 40 college girls Q-sort 30 typical statements of job rewards from the articles. Clark and Esposito found that the college girls' desired goals were strikingly opposite to those stressed by the magazines, with affiliation and diffuse energy (being "on the go") ranked most important, and power and

achievement goals least important. They concluded from this disparity that such articles must have been missing fire with their intended audience, who probably either skipped them entirely or read them as entertainment--like fiction. They further hypothesized that this use as entertainment might be "socially useful." "Identification with achievement and power-oriented girls in the magazines might serve as a catharsis for motivational needs that female readers are unlikely to satisfy in real life (1966: 481, emphasis added)."

They mention as suitably "feminine" such profiled jobs as housewives, office workers, stenographers, nurses and teachers, all of which are "accessible to women", and criticize as "esoteric" featured careers such as oceanographer, urban planner and filmmaker. But the fact that such "esoteric" careers were profiled and that one of the advantages writers specifically attributed to them was that they provided the "opportunity to succeed in a role considered out-of-bounds for women (1966: 481)" can be read as an editorial attempt to suggest alternatives to young women who might want to resist the push into suitably "feminine" jobs, even in the face of a society whose supposedly "objective" scholars openly dismissed such goals as "mannish." In short, it appears with hindsight

that this study, like the Hatch and Hatch study, reflects a non-conscious ideology and thus criticizes the magazines for the wrong things--for informing their young women readers of wider career opportunities and supporting those who chose them.

Woodward's 1960 memoir of her career as a woman's magazine editor contradicts this view somewhat, stating that although the editors of women's fashion magazines knew that their lives were different from those of the average woman, they tried to show in their pages "that the working woman was just like the home-staying woman (154)." Woodward does say, however, that Mademoiselle's success rested on its correct identification of young working women as a readership entity, and its direct appeals to this readership's need to be taken seriously.

In 1974, students at Northwestern University's Medill School of Journalism prepared a monograph, Magazine Profiles, under the direction of journalism teacher Robert Kenyon. Gwen Miller wrote a section on "Career-Oriented Women's Magazines," examining Ms., Mademoiselle, Glamour and Cosmopolitan. She concluded that all four magazines were, each in their own fashion, urging readers to wake up and move with the times,

stating that:

They only differ in their tone of voice. Cosmopolitan is soft and sexy; Glamour more "How to Wake Up," reporting the facts, not making them happen. Mademoiselle says it intelligently and a little ahead of the alarm clock. Ms. is the shocker: it pulls the covers off and you have no time to linger. (Miller, 1974: 161)

Morelock (1971) analyzed women's roles in four women's magazines, on the dimensions of premarital sexual behavior, employment, and egalitarian or subordinate roles in marriage. Her general thesis and finding was that all four of the magazines she studied (Good Housekeeping, Mademoiselle, Ladies Home Journal and McCall's) portrayed women's roles in ways which lagged behind the statistical actualities of women's lives at that period. She did not evaluate the content of the articles in any great detail.

Her findings on Mademoiselle's portrayal of working women were that while the magazine did not undergo an increase in the number of articles concerned with women's employment during the time period (1956-1970), it did contain more articles than the three "service" magazines. Morelock attributed this to the fact that 66% of their readers were employed, a figure considerably higher than that of the other three magazines.

She also found that the magazine's number of articles favorable to employment decreased over the time period. Her tables show that Mademoiselle carried 21% favorable articles from 1956-1960; 10% favorable from 1961-1965; and 5.3% favorable from 1966-1970. However, in her conclusions she does not point out that the magazine went from 5.3% unfavorable articles in 1956-1960, to none for the two later time periods. Also, Morelock neglects to take into account the demographic factors found by Wingate (1979) in her study of the same time period for Mademoiselle. That is, in the 1956-1965 time period, the magazine was serving an audience with many young married working women in it, whereas by the late 1960's, their readership was more heavily collegiate than careerist, an obvious explanation for a decreasing number of articles on jobs, favorable or unfavorable.

Newkirk (1977) examined the roles of women as portrayed in the non-fiction of Mademoiselle, Redbook and Ms., for 1972 to 1974. Coding the stories into four major types--domestic, nondomestic, self-identity, and social activist, she found that Redbook showed the greatest number of women in domestic roles (nine articles to Mademoiselle's two). Ms. showed the greatest

number of women in social activist roles (32 articles to Mademoiselle's and Redbook's combined total of five). Ms. had the greatest number of women in nondomestic roles (37 articles to Mademoiselle's nine). Redbook had the greatest number of articles featuring women in "self-identity roles," i.e., pursuing their own goals (ten articles to Mademoiselle's six and Ms.'s eight.) Newkirk concluded that although over time more women are being shown in non-domestic roles, these magazines still do not provide a balanced view of women. The "gap" between the statistical picture of women and their picture in women's magazines still appears, even in the 1970's and even in non-fiction.

Most recently, Prisco (1982) analyzed how Mademoiselle's coverage as a whole changed through the 1970's. Prisco concluded that the magazine did reflect the "changing woman in a changing society." This is acceptable as far as it goes, but the study is misleading on at least one specific issue: the question of editorial comment on women's careers. Prisco did a content analysis of one issue per year from 1970-1980, which consisted of recording column counts of all non-advertising material. She calculated the percentage of space given to various topics, arguing

that in this way the "editorial perspective is revealed" (1982: 132). The flaw in this design is that she elected to examine only the August issues, on the grounds that the August issue is traditionally one of the largest each year. This is true, but this issue is 1) edited by guest editors, rather than the regular editorial staff, and 2) traditionally (until 1981) the back-to-school issue. The conclusion that the magazine's typical editorial perspective is revealed in the August issue is therefore unwarranted. In fact, these factors may very well produce atypical editorial concentrations. Prisco finds, for instance, that education ranks third in coverage. This is not surprising in a back-to-school issue--but its generalizability to a whole year's coverage is questionable.

The other flaw lies in drawing conclusions from examining only one issue's content, regardless of which issue is used. Prisco found that Career Information ranked tenth out of 12 categories, on a par with hobbies (sewing, cooking, decorating, gardening, entertaining). She concluded from this that, "unlike the hard-line feminists who put away their sewing and cookie cutters, the Mademoiselle attitude "has been more tolerant of allowing women a full range of choices"

(1982: 132). Her breakdown of percentages of concentration in various categories may be close to accurate, but it's hard to tell without the content analysis's being extended to take in more typical issues from each year.

A final area relevant to the study--magazines' information about their readers, and any resulting influence on editorial policies--revealed relatively little information. The most informative study to date is Lieberman Research Company's (1977) study of how and why people buy magazines, which provided the industry a vastly improved knowledge of readers in general. For instance, it showed that there are really two different readerships: subscribers and newsstand buyers, with little crossover, suggesting the need for two different marketing strategies. There have been other attempts to see further behind the numerical data, including various studies done by the Magazine Research Development Council (1978a, 1978b) and Swann's 1975 study of regional variations in magazine readers' tastes, but none of these provide any data material to this study.

Of course, one of the major reasons publishers have sought more information on their readers is pressure

from advertisers (Dembner and Masee, 1968: 186). In 1960, Woodward attributed Mademoiselle's early success to its ability to pinpoint the advertiser's money, and this still holds true for specialty magazines today. Accordingly, in-depth studies of changes in reader demographics tend to be done as advertising research. For instance, Douglas (1977), Miles (1971), and Sosanie and Szybillo (1978), have all concluded that working women and working wives use magazines slightly differently from other women. They predicted changes in magazine content as a result, particularly a broadening of coverage away from household-oriented features, especially in view of the need to compete with the new magazines designed for working women (e.g., Ms., New Woman, Savvy, Working Mother and Working Woman).

Rentz and Reynolds (1979) have made a start at examining the phenomenon of audience overlap as it applies to magazines. That is, are readers of one magazine also readers of similar ones? They demonstrated through factor analysis that some adult, married females read Glamour, Vogue and Cosmopolitan. They concluded that there are groups of magazines for whom audiences

overlap substantially, and that this does appear to be because of the magazines' content.⁴

Mademoiselle has itself done surveys of its readers over the years, gleaning some attitudinal information. But such studies, as is typical with the publishing industry, are kept as strictly private in-house information if they relate to individual buying information.

A former magazine fashion editor, writing under a pen name on the "decline and fall of fashion," said that nothing is more important to fashion magazines than their relation to stores (St. Code: 1962). But this jaundiced insider's view notwithstanding, most writers take another view: that women's magazines are audience-centered and reflect audience beliefs and prejudices (Hancock, 1968; Morelock, 1971; Woodward, 1960).

⁴This may seem a very predictable finding, but in view of the lack of measurable evidence on reader habits, its implications are important. For instance, perhaps knowledge of such overlap was one of the reasons behind Conde' Nast's decision to bring out Self, a new competitor for its existing magazines' (Glamour's and Mademoiselle's) readers and advertisers. Knowing that some readers buy more than one magazine with similar content makes the decision seem more financially logical.

In short, there is no clear consensus on the reciprocal relationship between readers' attitudes, editors' perceptions of those attitudes, and the resulting editorial stances taken in fashion magazines for young working women. It is hoped that by drawing closer correlations between changes in reader demographics and changes in editorial stances, this study will add to our understanding of that reciprocal relationship.

In summary, the study proceeds on the assumptions:

- 1) that magazine editors influence their readers by "setting agendas" for them;
- 2) that editors are influenced by the information they get about their readers through demographic and attitudinal surveys; and
- 3) that both editors and readers are influenced --consciously or unconsciously--by the climate of opinion of the day, which the next chapter surveys.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL CHANGES IN THE 1970's

"What do women want?"

--Sigmund Freud

The 1970's was a decade of social upheaval and protest centered on women's roles in society. More women joined the labor force than ever before. More mothers of small children went to work. The conventional wisdom that woman's proper "place" was in the home began to be eroded by these actualities. The backdrop and catalyst to all this was the revived feminist movement. The women's movement created new thinking in all areas of American life and called into question long-held traditions, values and assumptions. It left no facet of private or or public life untouched, changing women's expectations themselves as it began to change society's expectations of what women could and should do.

An exhaustive list of "firsts" would quickly become repetitive, but it is sobering to remind ourselves that before this decade no woman had ever

been a U.S. general, been a Senate page, entered a military service academy, been president of a major university, been routinely invited to deliver newspapers, or been a telephone line repairer. Likewise, no man had ever had a paternity leave, collected Social Security benefits for his children or himself as a widower, or had a better than marginal chance of winning custody of his children in a divorce suit.

The women's movement urged economic changes, e.g., an end to discriminatory hiring and salary practices, and the removal of barriers against women's higher education. It argued for changes in family roles to reflect the new family patterns of working mothers. And it sparked intense political action, e.g., the movement to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment, intense lobbying for the election of women to public office, and attempts to reform social security and other laws. All of this process is continuing.

Though it is difficult to ascribe a label, by "women's movement" we mean the "whole range of contemporary organizations and groups committed to the purpose of implementing woman-enhancing social change" (Gallagher, 1973: iii). There has been a great deal of confusion about the terms "feminism,"

"women's rights" and "women's liberation," which feminist theoreticians use to document three distinct modes of thought in the current "women's movement." Gayle Yates (1975) suggests that the "feminist" strategy argues for equalitarian participation by women with men through reform of the existing structures of society. The "women's liberationist," according to Yates, argues for women separate from or against men, based on a Marxist analysis of "class antagonism" applied to sex, aiming for a totally new social order. Finally, the "androgynous" argues that "men should be equal to women as well as women to men," and blames women's inequality on attitudes and social institutions, proposing a revolution in human values through "the affirmation and cultivation of formerly sex-linked psychological and social characteristics in both men and women" (Yates, 1975: 117).

These arguments seemed radical when the definitions were written, in 1975, but their tenets are becoming commonplace at more and more levels of society in the 1980's. For instance, androgynous theory, seen as the most revolutionary when first enunciated, currently underlies much of the research now being conducted in anthropology, biology, psychology and the other social sciences. Often the research

proposes to answer the nature-nurture controversy by understanding the degree to which social institutions influence sex differences.

It's also evident that many of the planks of the "feminist" platform--"equal pay for equal work," "equal opportunity," "equal parental encouragement for development of ability--are near to institutionalization, at least at the level of goals. Equal pay and equal opportunity are now mandatory (though equal parental encouragement remains an ideal as yet unrealized). Just as birth control and population control, which in Margaret Sanger's time were thought to be purely "women's issues" are now seen as two of society's most profound humanist concerns, these issues of the 1970's are becoming more central social issues, not just "women's issues."

What is central to contemporary thinking is the need to change the way things are now. "It's not a simplification to conclude that all feminist groups have accepted the concept that 'sex-role conditioning' is a fundamental problem.... This is the common assumption that binds together the Women's Movement" (Peterson, 1975: 3).

This chapter traces the changes in women's labor force participation, examines the economic and social causes of those changes, and then describes the history of the modern-day women's movement, which provided so much of the impetus for women's movement into the labor force.

Changes in Women's Labor Force Participation

Sixty percent of all new workers between 1950 and 1979 were women (Office of Women's Affairs, 1980: 2). But women's participation in the labor force has been growing gradually for the past century. The number of women in the total labor force has grown from about 15% of all women aged 10 or over in 1880 to 51% of all women aged 16 and over in 1979 (U.S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1980a: vi).¹ But the greatest acceleration has come since 1965. Between 1968 and 1978 alone, women accounted for three-fifths of the total increase in the civilian labor force, and the 43 million women in the workforce in 1979 now constitute approximately two-fifths of all employed persons (USDOL, Women's Bureau, 1980b: 1). See Table II-1 for an outline of this growth.

¹The United States Department of Labor is hereinafter referred to as USDOL.

TABLE II-1. WOMEN IN THE WORKING POPULATION¹

Year	Number (Millions)	% Of Female Population	% Of Total Working Population
1880	2,647,000	14.7	15.2
1890	4,006,000	17.4	17.2
1900	5,319,000	18.8	18.3
1910	7,445,000	21.5	19.9
1920	8,637,000	21.4	20.4
1930	10,752,000	22.0	22.0
1940	12,845,000	25.4	24.3
1950	18,412,000	33.9	17.3
1960 ²	23,272,000	37.8	19.4
1970	31,560,000	43.4	22.5
1980	44,733,000	51.7	26.9

¹For 1880-1930, data refer to workers at ages 10 and over; for 1940, to ages 14 and over; for 1950 on, to workers at ages 16 and over.

²Beginning in 1960, figures include Alaska and Hawaii.

Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, and Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, from Information Please Almanac, Atlas and Yearbook 1982, 36th ed. N.Y.: Simon and Schuster, 1981: 49.

The most surprising increase to most observers has been in the number of mothers employed outside the home.² By 1979, 55% of all women with children under 18, or 16.6 million were in the labor force. Since the period just before World War II, the number of employed mothers has increased more than tenfold. By 1979, 45% of married women with preschool children and a husband present were working (USDOL, Women's Bureau, 1980b: 1). The labor force participation rate of married women with children and no husband present is even greater: 53.1% (ibid.: 1). See Table II-2 for a chart of this increase.

Six factors acted as "proximate causes" of this phenomenal growth:

- 1) the growth of crucial age sub-groups as a percentage of the female population;
- 2) economic changes, i.e., an increased demand for service workers, and families' increased need for two incomes;

²While perhaps cumbersome, the terms "women employed outside the home," and "women in paid employment" are preferable to the more common "working mothers." All mothers are "working mothers!"

TABLE II-2. LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF MARRIED WOMEN, HUSBAND PRESENT, BY PRESENCE AND AGE OF OWN CHILDREN, 1950-1980.¹

Year	Participation Rate (Percent of Population in Labor Force)				
	Total in Millions	With No Children Under 18	Total	With Children Under 18 6 to 17 Years, None Younger	Under 6 Years
1950	23.8	30.3	18.4	28.3	11.9
1955	27.7	32.7	24.0	34.7	16.2
1960	30.5	34.7	27.6	39.0	18.6
1965	34.7	38.3	32.2	42.7	23.3
1970	40.8	42.2	39.7	49.2	30.3
1975	44.4	43.9	44.9	52.3	36.6
1979	49.4	46.7	51.9	59.1	43.2
1980	----	----	56.6	64.4	46.6

¹Children are defined as "own" children of the women and include never-married sons and daughters, stepchildren, and adopted children. Excluded are other related children such as grandchildren, nieces, nephews, and cousins, and unrelated children.

Source: 1950-1979 data from Perspectives on Working Women: A Databook, Bulletin 2080, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, October 1980; 27. 1980 data from Information Please Almanac, Atlas and Yearbook 1982, 36th edition. N.Y.: Simon and Schuster, 1981: 49.

- 3) the opportunity to plan a career and defer pregnancy through the use of effective birth control, backed by legal access to abortion;
- 4) the increased numbers of women who had the benefits of higher education, and therefore were qualified for a greater variety of jobs;
- 5) the removal of specific barriers to employment and advancement by law; and
- 6) the changes in public attitudes about what activities were "appropriate" for women.

Population increases in young age groups. "From 1960 to 1980, females 18-25 increased 75%, from 8.2 million to 14.3 million; and females 25-29 increased 75%, from 5.6 million to 9.7 million." (Standard Rate and Data Service, 1981: 579). This has implications for the workforce, as these age groups make up a disproportionately high percentage of the total female workforce. In 1980, 69% of all women aged 20-24 were in the labor force (Fullerton, 1982: 15). Further, 65.3% of all women aged 25-34 were in the labor force, outstripping the Department of Labor's 1965 projection by 25 percentage points (Fullerton: 16). This meant

that between 1963 and 1980, the most rapid increase in women's participation in the labor force occurred among women in their prime child-bearing years, which put many mothers of young children into the labor market, as indicated in Table II-2. Such increases in the number of working mothers are beginning to make it clear that motherhood no longer automatically removes a woman from paid employment, a reversal of traditional economic predictors (Almquist, 1977).

Economic factors: increased demand for workers, increased need for more family income. Without the interactions of economic forces, women's activism could not have resulted in the kind of demographic changes that took place. First, the economy's transformation into a post-industrial structure created a demand for many new service workers, and many of those jobs were taken by women.

The increasing importance of service industries and white-collar occupations has provided more job opportunities for women within the framework of a rigidly sex-segregated labor market. This expansion, and the development of new female occupations in the postwar period, greatly exceeded the potential supply of young, single women, who had been the backbone of the labor force in the pre-1940 period. (Blau, 1978: 52)

Blau concludes that the recent great influx of married

women and mothers aged 24-34 into the labor force has simply been a natural consequence of the law of supply and demand.

This is, to an extent, in line with classic patterns of women's work. Traditionally, economists have considered women "a reserve army of labor," who could be brought into the workforce when needed, as happened in overwhelming numbers during the early Industrial Revolution and during World War II (Oakley, 1974: 59). Women have always been recruited into specific fields when a new work force was needed, with the accompanying rationalization that their "feminine nature and skills" made them particularly fitted for the work.

Factory work was considered "suitable" for women when they became needed to do it; likewise, when compulsory public education became the law in the nineteenth century, and there was a shortage of teachers, women were recruited on the grounds that teaching required "womanly" attributes like patience and nurturing skills (Benet, 1972: 35). In 1873, when the typewriter was introduced to offices, women were hired as typists on the basis of their "natural manual dexterity," as well as their "patience and docility" (Benet, 1972: 36).

Similarly, during the Public Health Movement of the nineteenth century, middle and upper class white women were recruited to serve as volunteer social workers and "uplifters" to the women of the poorer classes (Ehrenreich and English, 1973: 71-72).

The recent increase in women's labor force participation involved not only a growing service sector but a family economy which required two full-time wage earners. The poor economic situation of the country has, ipso facto, created a need for dual-earner families. From 1960 to 1979, median family income rose from \$5,620 to \$19,684. But when economists control for the actual buying power of the dollar, family incomes and standards of living are shown to have declined. Discretionary income (that is, disposable income minus expenditures for necessities like mortgage and car payments) fell by about 16% per worker between 1973 and 1979 (Currie, Dunn and Fogarty, 1980: 12). A desired living standard could only be maintained by increased wages. One-earner families fell about 7% behind the cost of living from 1969 to 1978, while those with two earners managed to keep about 6% ahead of the cost of living (Currie, Dunn and Fogarty: 12).

Increased Control of Family Planning. A third factor, whose importance cannot be overstressed, is the revolution in birth control practices that took place in the 1960's. Without the widespread availability and acceptance of the estrogen birth control pill and the IUD, many of the women who wanted careers and jobs would not have been able to enter or return to the workforce. As an unnamed analyst put it in Family Planning Perspectives:

It used to be said, "Women have jobs, men have careers." Increasingly, both men and women have careers. What is new is that with reliable contraceptives backed by access to legal abortion, women can, for the first time, control the timing and pattern of their work and child-bearing careers with confidence. This marks a revolutionary change in women's lives. ("Women and the Pill: From Panacea to Catalyst," Nov.-Dec. 1981: 261)

Women had always attempted to control their fertility, through less effective means and through illegal or self-induced abortions. What was different in the 1960's was 1) the effectiveness (96-100%) of the newly available methods (the pill and the IUD) and 2) their availability to single women, as well as married women. It had barely been acceptable for married women to seek birth control before, let alone single women. Suddenly, birth control measures were available in drugstores everywhere and were even advertised in women's magazines.

Increased access to higher education. Another prerequisite of the increase in women's entry into the labor force was the increasing number of women going to college and the professional schools. In 1978, for the first time in American history, more women than men entered college. Significantly, this number included many "returning women" who had skipped or quit college for marriage and child-rearing, and "displaced homemakers" returning for training necessitated by divorce or widowhood.

The number of women in the professional schools swelled as well. After Supreme Court decisions forced medical schools to abandon their traditional quotas limiting the number of women applicants, applications from women increased an astounding 87%. By 1977-78, women were almost one-fourth of all medical students enrolled in the country (Sweet, 1979: 90). By 1979, there were 10,000 women studying engineering--ten times as many as in 1970 ("Working Women: Joys and Sorrows," 1979: 67). This increased participation in higher education in turn helped increase female workforce participation.

Education is now a major determinant of whether a married woman goes to work outside the home. In March

1977, 33% of wives with less than four years of high school, 50% of wives who were high school graduates, and 60% of wives with four or more years of college were in the labor force (Hayghe, 1982). This fact has

eroded the simple inverse relationship between husband's income and wife's labor force participation. Now the relationship is curvilinear--with middle-income men more likely to have working wives than either low- or high-income men (Blau, 1979: 276).

Opportunities created through legislative action and judicial decision. The most crucial factor in the increased participation of women in the labor force was that the liberal feminist groups (National Organization for Women, Business and Professional Women's Clubs, American Association of University Women, etc.) focused almost exclusively on lobbying for equal work opportunities for women during the first part of the decade (Peterson, 1975; Gallagher, 1973; Yates, 1975). Figure II-1 lists some of the most important legal decisions affecting women's labor force participation, and shows the appalling number of barriers there were to overcome. (A fuller discussion of the activities of the women's movement follows.)

Changing public attitudes about women's roles.

One of the most striking aspects of the social changes

FIGURE II-1. SELECTED TIMETABLE OF COURT,
LEGISLATIVE AND OTHER ACTIONS INCREASING OP-
PORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN, 1963-1980.

- 1963 Equal Pay Act forbids wage discrimination on the basic of sex, along with race, in most occupations.
- 1964 Title VII of Civil Rights Act requires that employer must recruit, train and promote individuals on an equal basis.
- 1971 U.S. Supreme Court rules that companies cannot refuse to hire mothers with small children unless same policy applies to fathers.
- 1972 Congress passes the Equal Rights Amendment; states begin to ratify it.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Act empowers the E.E.O. Commission to go to court with sex discrimination cases.

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 prohibits sex discrimination in most federally assisted educational programs.

The Equal Pay Act of 1963 is extended to cover administrative, professional, and executive employees.

- 1973 Comprehensive Employment and Training Act helps target jobs and training for disadvantaged women, single parents and displaced homemakers.

Supreme Court outlaws sex-segregated classified ads.

AT&T signs a \$35 million settlement with the EEOC and the Labor Department, agreeing to back pay, goals and timetables for increasing the role of women and minorities.

Figure II-1 (Continued)

1973 Supreme Court outlaws discrimination against women officers and their husbands in military benefits.

1974 Supreme Court outlaws mandatory maternity leave for teachers.

Congress passes Women's Educational Equity Act, to provide funding for nonsexist training.

More than 1.5 million domestic workers are newly covered by amended minimum wage requirements.

1975 Equal Credit Opportunity Act prohibits discrimination in credit on basis of sex or marital status.

Pentagon outlaws automatic discharge of pregnant women from armed services.

Federal Court decisions give federal employees right to sue for sex discrimination.

Congress requires military service academies to admit women.

Working Women United Institute formed to fight sexual harassment on the job.

1976 Tax Reform Act (and later Revenue Act of 1978) allow tax credits for child care which enables parents to be employed.

Supreme Court requires federal agencies to end discrimination in the industries they regulate.

Amendments to the Education Act aimed at eliminating sex-stereotyping in vocational programs passed.

Figure II-1 (Continued)

1976 Air Force agrees to train women pilots (though not for combat).

Supreme Court rules that pregnant women cannot be denied unemployment benefits automatically in the weeks before and after childbirth.

National Aeronautics and Space Administration agrees to stop rejecting qualified women as astronauts; selects first ones in 1978.

Rhodes Scholarship Program admits women applicants and selects first women Rhodes Scholars.

1977 Supreme Court allows a widower who was dependent on his wife's income to collect survivor benefits automatically, just as widows do.

Women assigned as permanent shipboard crew members by Navy.

NBC signs \$1.7 million agreement with the E.E.O.C. for back pay and programs for women.

Women and minority employees of a San Francisco bank win landmark settlement of a job-bias suit, with no limit on amount the bank may have to pay those filing claims.

Reader's Digest agrees to pay more than \$1.5 million in back pay and immediate salary increases to 2,600 women employees.

Supreme Court affirms 5-4 court order requiring University of California Medical School to admit Alan Bakke, a white male who claimed "reverse discrimination."

Figure II-1 (Continued)

1978 Labor Department issues regulations to increase the number of women in blue-collar construction jobs.

The Federal Employees Part-time Career Employment Act calls on all government agencies to create part-time career-level jobs.

Congress passes Public Law 95-555, requiring pregnancy disability benefits for pregnant workers, and effectively banning discrimination based on pregnancy.

Monsanto Textiles Company pay \$10,000 in largest individual settlement to date of a sexual harassment suit.

U.S. District Court rules that women sportswriters cannot be barred from major league baseball locker rooms.

Congress allocates \$5 million to Labor Department to set up job retraining and counseling centers for displaced homemakers.

1979 Supreme Court rules that welfare benefits must be paid to families left needy by the mother's loss of her job, just as to families with a father left unemployed.

Supreme Court rules that Congressional employers may not require their female employees to wear uniforms if comparable male employees can wear customary business attire.

Supreme Court rules in the Weber case that employers and unions can establish affirmative action programs, including quotas, if they wish (not required to).

Figure II-1 (Continued)

1980 U.S. Census announces end of "head of household" designation beginning with 1980 census.

Data for this table are drawn from Ellen Sweet, "A 70's Chronology," Ms., December 1979, pp. 60-94; and "A Short History of Legislation Affecting Women's Employment, 1963-1980," Texas Tech Tips and Topics in Home Economics, Summer 1980, 2 (4), pp. 7-8.

brought about by the women's movement and by women's increased numbers in the workforce was the speed with which new attitudes were reflected in public opinion. In turn, attitudes more tolerant of women's widening sphere of activity enhanced women's participation in unfamiliar roles. As we've already seen, education is now the best predictor of whether a woman will attempt to enter the labor force, rather than the traditional indicators of husband's income or presence of children at home. Another stereotype now being superceded was that women who work are "career women"-- somehow different in values, aspirations and characteristics from other women in the general population. It's true that women workers are now younger, better-educated, more likely to be married and more likely to be mothers than their forerunners in the labor force. But, unlike the stereotype, women in the labor force clearly reflect the population as a whole, and spread into all possible demographic categories (Blau, 1979: 275).

One of the most pernicious stereotypes about working women (because it provides a rationale for discriminatory pay differentials) now being eroded by the evidence is that women work for "extra" money or

for a sense of fulfillment. Census data from 1980 show that most women work out of economic need. Forty percent of the women in the work force are single, divorced, or widowed; of the 45% who are married, about half are married to men who earn less than \$10,000 per years (USDOL Women's Bureau, 1980b: 1). Furthermore, national polls show that only 14% of American women work primarily because they want "something to do." (Andersen, 1983: 81) Most work either to support themselves or their family or to help the family keep up with inflation (USDOL Women's Bureau, 1980b: 1).

Such changes in women's participation in the labor force are beginning to change some of the popular beliefs about working women, held by both economists and the public at large. Helen and Alexander Astin's (1971) study of incoming college freshmen showed that over half of the men and a third of the women agreed that "the activities of married women are best confined to the home." By 1980, only 34.7% of the men and 19% of the women still endorsed this position (Goodman, 1981: D2). Similar studies carried out by the Office of Educational Research at the University of Delaware show even stronger changes. In 1968, 41% of the women and 67% of the men in the incoming freshman class

believed that women's activities are best confined to the home. In 1978, only 14% of the women and 29% of the men agreed (Office of Women's Affairs, 1980: 1).

Corroboration of this trend can be found in the 1970, 1972, 1974 and 1980 Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Polls, which survey 3,000 women (and a control group of 1,000 men). In 1970, a minority (40%) approved of efforts to strengthen and change the status of women. By 1980, 64% of all American women supported such efforts. ("Traditional Roles of American Women Seen Changing in 1980 Virginia Slims Poll," 1980: 85).

These attitudinal changes reflect the national "consciousness-raising" that took place in the 1970's. Millions of Americans realized that women no longer would accept being valued only by the standards of youth and beauty. Women no longer wanted to be arrogated exclusively to the roles of mother and housewife (though many women who could afford to would continue to choose those roles).

One of the crucial implications of these attitudinal changes is apparent when we reflect that in censuses and sociological studies, women had never had

any separate status of their own. Women's socio-economic status was determined by that of their husbands, who were considered "heads of household" and whose education, occupation, and income level determined the status of the rest of the family. Whatever a woman's own educational or occupational level, she would be counted as lower-middle-class if married to a blue-collar worker. But with women's new economic independence, and choice of single lifestyles, their status was becoming self-determined, rather than adopted from that of a propinquitous man.

To summarize, the factors that moved women into the workplace in the 1970's were the increased number of women aged 18-34; the inflationary need for two-earner families; the increased effectiveness and acceptability of birth control; a larger pool of educated women; removals of discriminatory employment laws and practices, and more tolerant public attitudes about working women. Behind these factors, and especially affecting the last three, was the catalyst of the women's movement, whose aggressive campaigns for change in these areas informed the whole decade.

The Historical Context of Modern-Day Feminism

Feminist movements have a long history in the United States (Hole and Levine, 1979), and have fought successfully for such diverse causes as the abolition of slavery, woman suffrage, prohibition, unionization, and more humane work laws for minors. Their greatest success was to win the right for women to vote, after many years of petitioning, lobbying, demonstrating, and stirring up public debate. But after the suffrage victory, there was a long period of quiescence in the political arena, and feminism all but disappeared as a social force from the 1920's through the 1960's.

Feminist theoretician Shulamith Firestone sees a connection between the rise of magazines like Mademoiselle to the "reprivatization" of women's struggle for emancipation which took place in the 1920's, the beginning of what she calls the "fifty-year silence."

The cultural campaign had begun: emancipation was one's private responsibility; salvation was personal, not political. Women took off on a long soul-search for "fulfillment."

Here, in the twenties, is the beginning of that obsessive modern cultivation of "style," the search for glamor (You too can be Theda Bara), a cultural disease still dissipating women today--fanned by women's magazines of the Vogue, Glamour, Mademoiselle, Cosmopolitan

variety. The search for a "different," personal, style with which to "express" oneself replaced the old feminist emphasis on character development through responsibility and learning experience. (Gornick and Moran, 1971: 673-674)

This search for "style," argues Firestone, degenerated into women's abandonment of self in order to serve and please their husbands and families, resulting in the ache of isolation described so compellingly by Betty Friedan (1963) in The Feminine Mystique.

The current Women's Liberation Movement came to the public's attention in August 1963, when a small group of women picketed the Miss America Pageant.

The group, which included some former members of the radical left as well as some professional women, wanted to express their dissatisfaction with the prevailing images, statuses, and roles of women in society. The media focused in on their symbolic (nothing was burned) destruction of bras, lipsticks, and other traditional feminine accoutrements. (Gallagher: 2)

and the popular image of "bra-burning radical men-haters" was born.

The soil out of which the new feminism grew is generally agreed to be the dissatisfaction of great numbers of women during the post-World War II years. Middle-class white women entered the workforce in great numbers during WWII (women of color and working-class

women had always worked in greater numbers than white middle-class women). Although most were pushed out of wartime jobs by returning veterans, three out of four remained in the workforce by taking lower-paying jobs (Weibel, 1977: 232). The 1950's continued to see a great demand for women's labor and their representation in the workforce continued to grow.

At the same time, the happy housewife and mother continued to be the social ideal. As Atwan, McQuade and Wright (1979) put it in their overview of American advertising:

The postwar generation quite understandably attempted to create a better society by preserving the shape and structure of social institutions as they existed before the conflict. The baby boom, the record number of housing starts--especially in the suburbs--and the rise in church attendance all indicate a desire to reaffirm the values of middle-class family life. In such a society women's traditional role of wife, mother and consumer could only be heightened in importance. (1979: 9)

This cultural ideal of women as consumer/housewife was reflected and encouraged by a flood of advertising images. With the unprecedented prosperity of the postwar period, the economic role of advertising took on new importance, and "in order to sell the enormous number of prosperity's products...the amount of dollars

devoted to advertising more than doubled" between 1950 and 1960 (Atwan, McQuade & Wright: 9). These ads frequently depicted women in cozy domestic scenes. Ironically, many showed women using one of the new "labor-saving" gadgets which, of course, in reality contributed to women's greater freedom to take jobs outside the home.³

There was an inherent contradiction between the myth of the happy housewife and the reality of women's increasing labor force participation. In the end the myth gave way. In 1963 Betty Friedan published The Feminine Mystique, the opening salvo in middle-class women's battle for social change. It attacked the myth that

makes housewife-mothers, who never had a chance to be anything else, the model for all women.... Beneath the sophisticated trappings, it simply makes 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. (1963: 376)

³The term "labor-saving" is somewhat misleading, as modern studies show that when these devices were introduced, the standards of cleanliness and general "good housekeeping" were revised upward, resulting in the same amount of workhours for women. The devices never truly save time, though they did change the nature of some of the labor. See Vanek, 1978: 401.

The book became a best-seller and "was reported by many women to have changed the direction of their lives" (Yates, 1975: 4). It had put into words what many women had long understood but had hesitated to proclaim: what Friedan called "the problem that had no name" was simply women's natural chafing at their limitations in their "assigned roles" as mothers and wives.

The women who responded to Friedan's formulation were primarily white, middle-class housewives; their thinking then and now was within the bounds of traditional feminism, as defined in the introduction of this chapter. Another group of women who had begun to reconsider their roles and who helped bring the idea of "women's liberation" to public attention were younger women, who had been active in the Civil Rights, antiwar and student movements and the New Left generally.

Thinking that through their participation in these movements that they were changing society, they slowly and painfully realized that the movement did not expect or plan to change their lives. They were "expected to play conventional subordinate roles of typing, making coffee, being available sexually for the movement's men, and keeping quiet in decision-making

meetings" (Yates, 1975: 6). As women formed caucuses within the various organizations, introducing the term "women's liberation," men's reactions ranged from derision to fury. When one of the female founders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) presented a serious paper titled "The Position of Women in SNCC" to an October 1964 meeting, SNCC leader Stokeley Carmichael remarked contemptuously: "The only position for women in SNCC is prone" (Seese, 1969: 70). In 1966, Students for A Democratic Society (SDS) women who demanded a Women's Liberation plank were pelted with tomatoes and thrown out of the convention (Morgan, 1970: xxi). Nevertheless, despite the obduracy of the various male establishments, the numbers of angry women had reached a critical mass. That same year, 1966, marked the true beginnings of an organized, united purposeful coalition of women all over the country.

On October 29, 1966, 32 people organized the National Organization for Women (NOW) under the presidency of Betty Friedan. In the summer of 1967, SDS adopted a Women's Manifesto, in which women compared their status with that of Third World People, and claimed that women's fight for their own individuality would strengthen the revolutionary movement. The first

women's liberationaist newsletter, called Voice of The Women's Liberation Movement, was published in 1967 (Peterson: 10). There was no going back, and as Atwan, McQuade & Wright (1979) observed:

The media hoopla that enveloped the women's movement during the late 1960's and early 1970's actually helped to obscure the fact that true social change had begun. While newspapers and television chose to show pictures of women marching and chanting, burning their bras...in reality the birth-rate dropped while the divorce rate soared, inflation skyrocketed, and wives and mothers returned to work in unprecedented numbers. The advertising community, like most social observers, failed to recognize the nature of the transformation taking place. (1979: 10)

In 1969, possibly due to this extensive, albeit often inimical, media coverage, there occurred a great leap in the number and groups of women involved, particularly in local organizations and small groups of women meeting informally. These groups were the original ones to use the term "consciousness raising" to describe the process of bringing women to reconsider their own lives in terms of sexism. The process involved groups of six to eight women in person discussion of questions such as

Did you ever pretend to be dumb? How many famous women do you know about (not counting Presidents' wives or movie stars?) Are girl with boyfriends winners? What did they win? (Hole and Levine, 1971: 330)

Hundreds of such groups were formed all over the country, with their total membership variously estimated at 10,000 to 500,000 ("Women's Lib: The War on 'Sexism'," 1970).

By the mid-1970's, "the movement" had become a sizable, cohesive social movement with a common body of theory drawn from hundreds of publications, several new national organizations, women's caucuses in many professional and political groups, and millions of women attuned to the new ideas, whether they were middle-class members of NOW or members of any of hundreds of other, more radical small groups. Figure II-2 lists the most salient events in recent feminist history.

Future Trends

But,

while the female labor force has changed dramatically in composition and volume in recent decades, some characteristics of women's participation remain amazingly resistant to change: their concentration in sex-typed jobs, their disproportionate share of low-ranking positions, and their relatively low earnings compared to men of similar training and experience (Stromberg & Harkness, 1972: xvi).

Table II-3 eloquently demonstrates how slight the changes

FIGURE II-2. TIMETABLE OF MODERN-DAY FEMINISM

- 1920 19th Amendment passed by Congress and ratified.
- 1923 Equal Rights proposed to Congress.
- The 'fifty-year silence' begins ----
- 1962 Women made eligible for jury service in all but three states.
- 1963 Betty Friedan publishes The Feminine Mystique.
- 1964 Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee contemptuously dismisses a paper on woman's position in the civil rights movement.
- 1966 Myron Brenton publishes The American Male, a critique analogous to The Feminine Mystique, which went largely ignored.
- 1966 Women who demand a plank on women's liberation thrown out of Students for A Democratic Society (SDS) convention.
- 1966 National Organization for Women formed.
- 1967 Women's Liberation Manifesto adopted at SDS conference.
- 1969 Women's Equity Action League formed.
- 1970 Ms. begins to come into limited use replacing Miss and Mrs.
- 1970 Kate Millett, Sexual Politics; Shulamith Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex; Page Smith, Daughters of the Promised Land; Naomi Weistein, "Woman as Nigger" in Psychology Today, published.

Figure II-2 (Continued)

- 1971 Germaine Greer, The Female Eunuch; Elizabeth Janeway, Man's World, Woman's Place published.
- 1971 Equal Rights Amendment passes U.S. House of Representatives.
- 1972 Women's studies courses begin to appear on campuses.
- 1972 Backlash begins; Midge Dector, The New Chastity and Other Arguments Against Women's Liberation; "Faculty Backlash," Newsweek, 12/4/72.
- 1972 Equal Rights Amendment passes U.S. Senate.
- 1973-74 Minority and working-class women join movement, creating organizations: National Black Feminist Organization, Coalition of Labor Union Women, National Conference of Puerto Rican Women, Household Technicians Organization, Stewardesses for Women's Rights, etc.
- 1973-74 Traditional women's groups and national organizations increase support for feminist issues: League of Women Voters, Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), especially in forming local and state coalitions to get Equal Rights Amendment ratified.
- 1973-74 Women's caucuses and committees form within existing corporations, bureaucracies, and professional associations: Modern Language Association, Federally Employed Women, American Federation of Teachers, etc.
- 1974 659 local National Organization for Women chapters in existence.
- 1974 500 campus women's centers, ten times as many as in 1971.

FIGURE II-2 (Continued)

- 1974-
75 Backlash continues with publication of Marabel Morgan's The Total Woman and Helen Andelin's Fascinating Womanhood.
- 1975 Nearly every state has some form of feminist publication.
- 1976 Feminist boycott of unratified states (ERA) begins.
- 1978 Ratification deadline for ERA (Equal Rights Amendment) extended despite widespread protest from backlash women's and conservative religious groups.

Source: Ellen Sweet, "A 70's Chronology," Ms., December 1979, pp. 60-94; and Deena Peterson, A Practical Guide to the Women's Movement, Brooklyn, N.Y.: Faculty Press, Women's Action Alliance, Inc., 1975.

TABLE II-3. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED WOMEN,
ANNUAL AVERAGES, SELECTED YEARS, 1950-1979.

Occupation	1950 ¹	1960	1970	1979	Women as Percent Of All Workers in Occu- pations, 1979
Total: Number in thousands	17,340	21,874	29,667	40,446	41.7
Professional/ technical	12.5	12.4	14.5	16.1	43.3
Managerial/ad- ministrative (except farm)	4.4	5.0	4.5	6.4	24.6
Sales	8.7	7.7	7.0	6.9	45.1
Clerical	27.8	30.3	34.5	35.0	80.3
Craft	1.5	1.0	1.1	1.8	5.7
Operatives, in- cluding transport	19.6	15.2	14.5	11.5	32.0
Non-farm laborers	0.8	0.4	0.5	1.3	11.3
Service, except private household	12.4	14.8	16.5	17.2	59.1
Private household	8.7	8.9	5.1	2.6	97.6
Farm	3.6	4.4	1.8	1.2	18.0

¹Data include 14-and 15-year olds.

Source: Perspectives on Working Women: A Databook, Bulletin 2080, U.S. Department
of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, October 1980, p. 9.

in percentages of women in various occupations have been. For instance, though women are 43.3% of all workers in professional-technical fields, their participation increased by only 1.6% over the decade. Furthermore, women's earnings still average 59¢ for every dollar of income men earn, largely because of their concentration in low-ranking fields. In 1980, women with four years of college still had lower incomes than men with only an eighth grade education--\$12,347 and \$12,965, respectively (USDOL Women's Bureau, 1980b: 2).

Although it is hard to predict what will happen in the future, most projections call for women's participation in the labor force to continued to increase. According to The Subtle Revolution: Woman at Work, a 1979 Urban Institute report, by 1990:

- 1) Fifty-five percent of all women aged 16 or over will be in the workforce.
- 2) The workforce will include 11 million more women than in 1978, or a total of 52 million.
- 3) Two-thirds of all married women under age 55 will be working.

- 4) Over 3.1 million of these new workers will be mothers with children under six--or half of all mothers with pre-schoolers.
- 5) Over 5.5 million will be mothers with children between six and seventeen.
- 6) The stereotype of a wife staying at home to look after her children will fit only one-quarter of the 44.4 million women who are expected to be married and living with their husbands. ("The Subtle Revolution," 1979: 13-19)

However, the U.S. Department of Labor warns that "the economic climate which supported the strong labor force growth of women in the 1970's is changing and already there are indications that the growth in women's labor force participation may be slowing, perhaps temporarily" (USDOL, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1980: 100). But even the Department of Labor expects only a minor slowdown at most. Eli Ginzberg, head of the National Commission for Manpower Policy, describes women's shift from homemaking to careers as "bigger than the atomic bomb or nuclear power" and says "I don't

think there is a ghost of a chance of reversing the influx" ("Working Women: Joys and Sorrows", 1979: 64, 68).

The Implications of Women's Continuing "Two-Job" Burden

A crucial aspects of women's lives remains unchanged by having a paid job outside the home. They are still doing their "first job": housework and child care. Sociologists call what has occurred to families "social speed-up."

Just as poor families often must spend at least 100% of their incomes on essential goods, so now many families find that at least 100% of their time is committed to working, in or out of the home. (Currie, Dunn and Fogarty, 1980: 13)

And "social speed-up" drives women hardest (Hartman, 1981: 379). The amount of time women spend on unpaid household labor has not declined since 1920, when it was first measured (Vanek, 1978: 374), despite all the modern conveniences now available. The full-time housewife today works an average of 57 hours per week on household tasks that include preparing and cleaning up after meals, doing laundry, cleaning the house, taking care of children, shopping and recordkeeping. Women who work for wages spend fewer hours on housework

(about 33 hours per week) but, of course, their total work week is longer (Walker and Woods, 1976: 45).

Another way of looking at it is to picture it as the three-job family. A recent study found that among working couples, the men spent an average of about nine hours a week on family care, the women an average of about 29 hours. At the same time, the men averaged 44, to the women's 40, hours of paid work (because they were more often in jobs with frequent overtime) (Hedges and Mellor, 1979: 34). Put together, this amounts to an average of 69 hours of labor a week for women, 53 for men, or 122 altogether for a family-- the equivalent of three full-time jobs (Currie, Dunn & Fogarty, 1980: 15). An international time-budget study shows that husbands of employed wives do not spend more time on housework than those whose wives are home full-time (Robinson, Converse and Szalai, 1972, pp. 119, 121).⁴

⁴Male selfishness is not the only cause of woman's "double burden." Career advice has traditionally implied that running the household will still be women's responsibility even after they return to work. For example, a 1964 booklet prepared by the New York State Employment Service asks: "Have you thought seriously about the problems which having a job may make for you?" and then suggests as one of these problems: "Can you keep your home the way you like it and work too?" ("Are You A Woman Looking For A Job?", 1964: 2).

The burden has not gone unnoticed. In a national survey of women wage-earners undertaken by the National Commission on Working Women,

fully 55% of the women surveyed reported having no leisure time, and 39% no time to pursue education. Only 14% were able to say that job and family life did not seriously interfere with each other" (The Coming Decade: American Women and Human Resources Policies and Programs, 1979: 1979: 214).

The same sense of time pressure is indicated by the 1980-81 General Mills American Family Report, which, among many other topics, interviewed subjects about their leisure time. Although 65% of working men and 60% of working fathers said they had "enough leisure time for themselves," working women's experience differed considerably. Fully 50% of working women and 63% of working mothers said they didn't have enough time for themselves (Louis Harris and Associates, Inc., 1981: 19).

But these same women saw at least a possible solution. The study showed that if they could do it without lowering their family's standard of living, 41% of all working women, 38% of white collar job women, and a full 51% of executive/professional/management women would prefer to work part-time. (Interestingly,

even 18% of the full-time housewives interviewed said they would rather work part-time than stay home full-time.) (Louis Harris and Associates, Inc., 1981: 20)

The founders of the women's movement are aware of the problem as well, and see that the solution does not lie in individual problem-solving. N.O.W. "founding mother" Betty Friedan (1979) called for a "new feminist agenda":

The time has come to resolve the demands of the workplace and the family.... The measure of equality we have already achieved is not secure until we face these unanticipated conflicts between the demands of the workplace and professional success on the one hand and the demands of the family on the other. These conflicts seem insoluble because of the way the family and workplace have been structured in America. The second feminist agenda, the agenda for the '80's, must call for the restructuring of the institutions of home and work. (1979: 1)

In summary, during the 1970's, women's lives changed drastically. Women, including the mothers of small children, went to work in unprecedented numbers. The women's movement called into question old ideas of women's proper "spheres," and the public became more accustomed to and approving of women working in non-traditional jobs.

The implications for magazines were puzzling. The changes in women's lives, the broadening of their

interests, would seem to call for responsive changes in the content of women's magazines. But at the same time, women's proven appetite for useful information for their permanent, full-time job of homemaking, obviously would continue. In the next chapter, we examine how traditional women's magazines changed and new women's magazines appeared in response to these concurrent needs of their readers.

CHAPTER III

THE COMPETITION: CHANGES IN THE WOMEN'S MAGAZINE FIELD

Over the years, the women's magazine field has been largely immune to the ills that have befallen other mass magazines.

-Robert Stein, former editor of McCall's

Until 1969, Mademoiselles's only real competitor was Glamour. Flair and Charm had disappeared ten years before; Vogue and Harper's Bazaar served older, wealthier women; Seventeen, Teen and Ingenué served younger readers. Glamour and Mademoiselle served the same advertisers, were owned by the same company, and provided relatively similar coverage to readers with very similar demographic profiles. They were written for a young woman between 18 and 34, likely to be in college or a college graduate and working or planning to work. They provided the reader discussions on many topics, including jobs and job problems, dating, decorating, fashion, some cooking, travel, beauty, make-up, and all aspects of personal interpersonal development. Depending on the individual reader's needs, they were read instead of "cookies and patterns" magazines or as an

adjunct to them. Since 1959, when Charm was incorporated into Glamour, there had been no other competition for this reader.

But, by the early 1970's, Mademoiselle seemed to be surrounded by new competitors. There was Cosmopolitan, for single women, Essence for fashion-conscious black women, Ms. for feminist women, New Woman for striving women, and Playgirl and Viva for women who were unabashed about their sexuality (or at least wanted to appear so). These magazines demonstrated that readers were eager for hitherto unmentionable coverage, from serious discussions of incest to nude male pinups. At the same time, even the traditional homemaker-oriented women's magazines were widening their focus, and a new "alternative" women's press had emerged. This chapter traces these new developments in women's magazines, which changed the cultural context in which Mademoiselle was published.

By the late 1960's, women's groups newly aware of the pervasively negative image of women in the media began to complain about the content of women's magazines, as well as their advertisements. The focus of their criticism was the magazines' trivializing of women and women's concerns. In 1970, the "women's liberation movement" reached into the offices of women's magazine

editors, when both the Ladies Home Journal and Cosmopolitan editorial offices were invaded by militant feminists spotlighting the "silliness" of the whole range of women's magazines and demanding a change ("Liberating Magazines," 1971: 101).

This dramatic event heralded three separate but related trends that started to appear in the 1970's: existing women's magazines began to broaden their coverage to include a greater variety of topics theretofore ignored, such as rape and abortion; new women's consumer periodicals appeared; and angry groups of women created their own alternative presses which began generating hundreds of magazines, newspapers, and newsletters.

Emergence of Alternative Women's Publications.

There is no accurate information about the number of these latter publications because they tended to be published by volunteer cooperatives, understaffed and underfunded, and consequently short-lived. They dealt with subjects the mass media had approached only gingerly--lesbianism, incest, abortion rights, rape, the insider's view of prostitution and prisons, the depressingly widespread problems of older women, the disgraceful national record of child-care payment defaults by fathers.

According to Peterson (1975), by 1975, there were 25 national newsletters on women's issues; 30 journals and magazines, ranging from in-group items like Cowrie, a bi-monthly lesbian feminist magazine, to scholarly quarterlies such as Signs, an academically respected journal of Women's Studies scholarship; and at least 29 newspapers, including the nationally distributed Off Our Backs and The Big Mama Rag, as well as local publications such as New Directions for Women in Delaware.

Though some individual titles have disappeared, some of the most important of these are still in publication, most notably National N.O.W. Times, Quest, Chrysalis, Women's Studies Quarterly, and Women: A Journal of Liberation. Although some of the contributors to these alternative journals have their bylines appear occasionally in consumer periodicals, the effect of this alternative press on mass-market women's magazines has been minimal since their initial role in broadening the limits of "acceptable" subjects.

Changes in Traditional Women's Magazines, Far more visible to the mass market has been the reaction of the traditional women's magazine editors and publishers themselves to the once-taboo issues raised by the women's movement. In 1970 Cosmopolitan published excerpts from

Kate Millett's ground-breaking analysis of sexism, sexual Politics, and in 1971, McCall's signed Betty Friedan as a regular columnist. At the same time, all of the "Big Seven" women's slicks began running articles on abortion, day-care centers and women who worked outside the home.¹ A majority of editors of these publications let it be known that while they did not consider themselves "women's libbers," they were fellow-travelers of the women's movement. Shana Alexander, then an editor at McCall's, said in 1970: "A year ago the word 'women's lib' didn't exist. Now I feel a general function of a women's magazine is to be not only a voice speaking to women but the voice of women speaking to women" ("Liberating Magazines," 1970: 101; emphasis added). Even the still-conservative Ladies' Home Journal, in its long-running feature, "Can This Marriage Be Saved?" began to admit that the answer might sometimes be "No," an about-face from their traditional stance.

¹The major traditional women's magazines, or, the "Seven Sisters," as they are sometimes called, are: Family Circle, Better Homes and Gardens, Good Housekeeping, Ladies' Home Journal, McCall's, Redbook, and Woman's Day. In 1980, they sold a combined monthly total of 40 million copies, compared to Glamour's 2 million, Mademoiselle's one million and Vogue's 500,000 (Standard Rate and Data Service, April 27, 1981).

By far the most visible positive response to the feminist movement came during the national bicentennial year 1976, when Redbook editor Sey Chassler persuaded the editors of 36 other mass-circulation women's magazines to run a concurrent discussion of the Equal Rights Amendment. Even True Story participated, cleverly sneaking it into an issue in the guise of a letter to the editor asking for information and a reply giving the text of the proposed amendment. Despite write-in campaigns by ERA opponents, most of the articles (73%) favored the amendment outright. Fourteen percent were neutral, and 11% presented both pro and con arguments. Only one piece (3%) was anti-ERA, and this was followed by a pro-ERA article. Overall, no magazine took an anti-ERA stand (Lazer and Dier 1978: 175).

The unprecedented support given to the ERA may have been the high point of traditional magazines' response to the women's movement. Most editors simply tried to hedge their bets, since they were "just as puzzled as the audience they serve[d] about how radically the lifestyle of American women [would] change" (Liberating Magazines, 1971: 102).

It was obvious that more married women were working outside the home and so the range of "reader-identification" topics could be expanded. The simplest

choice was to strike a balance between articles on women's newer, broader interests and traditional features, which were largely "shop talk" for homemakers. Reading the latest information on patterns, recipes, child care, decorating, and money management is the way homemakers "keep up with their field," like any other workers (Sammon, 1969: 103; Woodward 1960: 5). Women's need for such practical information doesn't disappear when they start working full-time, as was discussed in Chapter II.

On the whole, this balance of traditional and newer angles of coverage seems to be the path taken by most women's magazines during the 1970's. Most have added regular features on careers, running the spectrum from fashion layouts on "dressing for success" to legal guidelines on sexual harassment complaints. Other magazines have devoted whole issues to the problems and joys of combining paid employment and motherhood. The fiction also began to reflect, to some degree, the changes in readers' lives. A recent study of the fiction in three major women's magazines--Good Housekeeping, Ladies Home Journal and McCall's--found that

While the fiction examined paralleled some of the changes occurring in America, such as increased female education and employment, one fact not revealed in the statistics was that

work played a distinctly secondary role in the lives of the heroines. Although more than half the women were employed, the insignificance of their work was the louder message, as only four stories identified professions. Families remained the overriding concern of the heroines.

Although there was less emphasis on romance and personal appearance, the magazines continued to maintain a fairly consistent conservative pattern in the fictional portrayal of women. Apparently, the image of woman as housewife and mother will not change easily. Women in fiction are still responsible for maintaining the happy home (Loughlin, 1983: 142, emphasis added).

Of course, one can also conclude that the heroines in these stories simply reflect the unchanging facts of women's participation in the labor force: they were and are still expected to be responsible for maintaining a happy home. Moreover, as was indicated in the statistics discussed in Chapter II, the great majority of women still work in low-level, dead-end, low-paying jobs. Perhaps identifying characters' "professions" would be immaterial, or even antithetical to the "reader-identification" that takes place with the heroines of women's magazine fiction. But an experienced critic of magazine journalism, writing on women's magazines for the fourth edition of Magazines for Libraries, summed up the decade with a negative assessment:

With scarce exception, and a few attempts at cooptation, traditional women's magazines have responded only superficially to the women's movement. Still assuming that American women are easily fascinated by famous faces, fashion,

food, and floors, they mainly overlook the fact that economic necessity, not to mention political and personal awareness, has radically decreased the number of women whose identities are singularly determined by familial roles. As a perfunctory concession, commercial publishers and their advertisers created the "superwoman" and enlarged the role model for women to one who deftly takes on a 40-hour work week away from home in addition to her usual duties of providing a clean, comfortable environment, carefully planned meals, and spotless clothes for her family. Recent evidence suggests, however, that working women, 80 percent of whom hold low-paying jobs, are tiring of the "superwoman" myth. Circulation figures for some traditional women's magazines have dropped in the last several years. (Katz and Katz, 1982: 899)

Though harsh, this was not an inaccurate assessment. The "Big Seven" and the smaller women's magazines have continued to try to balance the old and the new in their "functional mix," keeping a weather eye on their readers and on their new competitors.

Emergence of New Women's Magazines. The number of successful new women's magazines is the last, and by far the most dramatic, of the changes in the women's magazine field. As Table III-1 shows, at least 13 new general-interest women's magazines entered the field during the decade.² New specialty women's magazines

² There were also new women's magazines which failed, notably Time Inc.'s 1977 venture, Woman, which failed just as their new tabloid People was successfully launched. The probable reason for the failure was that it was too general, at a time when successful competitors were markedly specialized. (MacDougall, 1980: 289)

TABLE III-1. NEW WOMEN'S MAGAZINES OF THE 1970's:
GENERAL INTEREST, NATIONALLY AVAILABLE

<u>Year</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>1980 Subscription Rate</u>	<u>1980 Circulation</u>
1970	<u>Essence</u>	monthly	\$9/one-year	601,243
1971	<u>Ms.</u>	monthly	\$10/one-year	518,612
1973	<u>New Woman</u>	bi-monthly	\$6.97/one-year	*200,000
	<u>Playgirl</u>	monthly	\$14/one-year	750,000
	<u>Viva (by Penthouse)</u>	monthly	\$15/one-year	361,266
1974	<u>Mstique: Magazine of the new gene- ration black female</u>	monthly	\$10/one-year	100,000
1976	<u>New Dawn</u>	bi-monthly	\$7/one-year	350,000
	<u>Working Woman</u>	monthly	\$12/one-year	300,000
1978	<u>McCall's Working Mother</u>	bi-monthly	\$6.95/one-year	*275,000

TABLE III-1 (Continued)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>1980 Subscription Rate</u>	<u>1980 Circulation</u>
1979	<u>Big Beautiful Woman</u>	bi-monthly	\$12/one-year	*250,000
	<u>Self (Condé Nast)</u>	monthly	\$10/one-year	*815,000
1980	<u>Savvy</u>	monthly	\$18/one-year	125,000
	<u>Slimmer (Playgirl)</u>	bi-monthly	\$10/one-year	*250,000

*1979 circulation figures, used where 1980 figures were unobtainable.

Source: Bill Katz and Berry G. Richards, Magazines for Libraries, 3rd ed., N.Y.: R.R. Bowker Co., 1978; Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory, 20th ed., N.Y.: R.R. Bowker Co., 1981; Farm and Consumer Magazines, Standard Rate and Data Service, 63 (4), April 27, 1981.

like WomenSports, have been excluded as they do not compete directly for readers with Mademoiselle. Other new women's magazines excluded are the regional (Texas Woman, New York-WomensWeek) and even city (Houston Breakthrough, Kansas City Woman) women's slick magazines that have appeared during the period.

The magazines profiled here were selected because each competes with Mademoiselle for readers: upscale, well-educated, 18-34 years old, mainly working women. Each magazine is discussed in the order of its date of first publication. Unless otherwise noted, the judgements and opinions expressed in these precis are those of the author.

Cosmopolitan, though it began publishing in 1901, became virtually a new magazine in 1965, the year Helen Gurley Brown became editor. It must therefore be considered an influential new competitor to Mademoiselle. Brown had rocked the publishing world a few years earlier with the succès de scandale of her book, Sex and the Single Girl--scandalous then because of the daring implication that single "girls" had sex lives. In the early 1960's, Cosmopolitan had been faring poorly in the national general-interest field, losing advertisers and readers with a format emphasizing fiction. Brown

approached Richard Deems, president of the Hearst Magazine Division, with a dummy of her idea for a new magazine aimed at the single working woman, presumably older and more experienced than readers of Glamour and Mademoiselle.

She had done her homework. To make her proposal more convincing, she came prepared with a long list of companies who would be willing to advertise in such a publication. Deems was convinced and in July, 1965, Brown was named editor of the "new" Cosmopolitan (Miller, 1974). The rest is history. Though frequently denigrated as a female Playboy, the magazine was instantly successful and has remained so. Its circulation shrank at first from its levels as a general-interest magazine, but its advertising revenues were assured. It was an inevitable outlet not only for cosmetics ads, but also for scented douches, push-up bras, vibrators, Frederick's of Hollywood clothes and all the accoutrements of the somewhat old-fashioned vamp reincarnated as the "swinging single" of the 1970's.

The "Pussycats at the helm," as Brown calls female editors in her effusive monthly editorials, feed out a steady stream of pop-psychology quizzes, "how to please a man, any man" articles, strip-teasing fashion

spreads and condensed soft-core Gothic novels. The overall message is that a woman's foremost goal is landing a man--or men. The hidden mainspring of all content is the exploitation of every sexual and emotional anxiety known to woman. Brown's reply to the charge that the magazine is a female Playboy is characteristically breathless:

The Playboy man is depicted as handsome, affluent, successful, discriminating, and he hasn't an emotional hangup to his name. COSMO, on the other hand, is for a girl who does not necessarily "have it made"...who wants a great deal more out of life than she is now getting. Monthly...hourly we pour into her loving advice, and hopefully, inspiration on how to find someone to love, keeping him once she's found him, coping with parents, bosses, jealousy, rage, envy, insecurity...all the goblins. (Valdes and Crow, 1973: 150)

Obviously, a great many women needed that "loving advice." Cosmopolitan has two million readers and was clearly the inspiration for the appearance of Viva and Playgirl. There is no clearer emblem of a magazine's success than being copied, since imitators clearly expect to make a profit.

Essence, founded for black women in May 1970, was torn in its first two years by internal strife, caused in part by conflicts between male editors and female writers. Marcia Gillespie, one of the founders who became the fourth editor-in-chief in May 1971, broadened the focus

away from strictly fashion and beauty, concentrating on a positive image for all black women,

I didn't want little Black girls growing up as I had, thinking only white women were beautiful. I wanted them, through Essence, to see and feel what Black women really are--incredibly vital people who have been boxed in, creatively and emotionally. (McManus, 1976: 91)

She also had to convince potential advertisers that black women were a worthwhile market, while hewing to her self-imposed rules that all ads must feature black women and might in no way demean black women. Her success is demonstrable not only by circulation growth (from 75,000 in 1970 to 600,000 in 1978) but by the fact that advertising revenues rose from \$208,000 in 1970 to \$3.8 million in 1976 (Brown, Brown, and Rivers, 1978: 91).

Ms., though its circulation is relatively small, is probably the most influential of the new women's magazines. Because it survived in the face of universal disbelief that an avowedly "lib" magazine could draw enough reader and advertiser support to endure, it led the way for others to enter the market. It began as a 44-page insert in a 1971 issue of New York magazine, as Savvy did ten years later. The magazine's statement of purpose, introducing Gloria Steinem and Patricia Carbine, the first editors, reads:

Ms. is a magazine for female human beings. Unlike traditional women's publications, it does not identify us by role--as wives, mothers, lovers or even as workers and professionals. It assumes that women are full human beings who are both complex and individual.... Ms. will help us seize control of our own lives and humanize the values around us.... We have much to say to each other, much to do, and a whole new world to explore. (Subscription flyer, n.d.)

Its success was clearly a matter of timing. A 1963 publication, Realm, which described itself as "for and about women in business, the professions, government and the arts... promising to introduce women to women...recognize their talents...report their achievements," failed after only one issue because of lack of advertiser support. This was based on the advertisers' belief that the pool of possible readers was too small to be cost-effective (Wolseley, 1969: 293-294).

The other primary factors in the survival of Ms. were four committed individuals. Gloria Steinem was an experienced free-lance writer for national magazines, who was committed to developing a strong feminist national-circulation magazine, but had no publishing experience. Patricia Carbine was a former executive editor of Look, whom Steinem persuaded to become editor-in-chief and publisher. Katherine Graham, owner of the Washington Post, put up the seed money for the dummy issue and the first issue. Clay Felker, flamboyant

publisher of New York magazine, offered Steinem the chance to publish a 44-page sample issue in the year-end issue of New York magazine. From that preview issue and a spring issue published seperately, they got enough subscription orders to persuade Warner Communication to invest a million dollars in return for only 25% of the stock.

This limitation on Warner's stock interest was important, because part of the editorial purpose of the magazine was to keep the controlling interest in the hands of the staff. Their other goals were to try to rise above the ad dollar and stress editorial integrity function in a feminist, consensual-decision-making manner; and to present the reality of women's lives.

They have not been able to meet all these goals; in particular, they have recently (in the late 1970's and early 1980's) run some extremely offensive, sexist ads, though they have been chastened by angry reader response, and promptly pulled them. Further, despite its goal of addressing all women, Ms. does reflect a minority cultural view; that of the upper middle class, specifically that group of professionals, executives and managers and homemakers who have attended the more prestigious colleges and university. Its values and

content (for example, numerous biographies of individual achievement, articles about the women's liberation movement, and features on the possibilities open to women) are part of what Herbert Gans (1974) has called the "taste culture" of the upper middle class. This focus is partly an inevitable reflection of the fact that, at least at first, the women's liberation movement itself was largely a white upper and middle class phenomenon. It was also foreshadowed by the publishers' findings from their early testing of names soliciting subscriptions.

Test lists from Psychology Today, Common Cause, the American Civil Liberties Union, and Ralph Nader supporters were good. Lists of women bowlers were not too responsive, Carbine recalled in a 1974 interview. (Miller, 1974: 156)

Actually, the overwhelming orientation of the magazine is political. The editors assume that their readers are either already politically aware, or should be, or will be after a few issues. This emphasis combines the feminist doctrine that all new knowledge should empower the individual, with the middle-class belief that political action is the preferred empowerment route. After 11 years and a couple of major staff changes, Ms. is going strong, having helped to empower--and, undoubtedly, to politicize--a great many readers.

New Woman: A Digest for the Woman of the Seventies aspires to be a kind of Intellectual Digest for women, but falls far short of even that modest goal. Almost all of the articles are reprints from books and magazine articles, and at least a third of those in any given issue are of the pop-psych self-help variety. Titles like How to Be Your Own Best Friend and Your Erroneous Zones are staple fare. Other articles do stress jobs, business success, single parenthood and careers, but all are at a simplistic "keep smiling" level--more like the Readers Digest.

Playgirl and Viva started within months of each other in 1973, in response to the tremendous success of a nude centerfold of Burt Reynolds that had appeared in Cosmopolitan (another of Helen Gurley Brown's inspirations). Both were cases of publishers planning to capitalize on what they saw as a new demand by women for erotica. Initially Playgirl seemed to bear out the existence of the demand: it claimed to grow from a 600,000 initial circulation to over 2,000,000 in its first year (Barrett, 1974: 36). Circulation has since dropped back to well below a million, so it seems that the market is smaller than was originally supposed. Playgirl has continued its monthly full-front nude male

pictorials, and coverage which in general resembles that of Playboy, re-tailored for women.

Viva was the brainchild of Penthouse publisher Bob Guccione and began with an almost entirely male editorial staff and coverage similar to that of Playgirl. But Kathy Keeton, brought in early on as editor and associate publisher, says "male nudity turned off a lot more women than it turned on. It also turned off supermarket chains, newsstand operators and advertisers" (MacDougall, 1980: 292). Under her leadership, the magazine has dropped the nudes and tried to reposition itself somewhere between the seriousness of Ms. and the "attagirl" encouragements of Cosmopolitan. The editors still run sexually titillating graphics, sexy fashion displays, and a regular analysis of sexual fantasies as interpreted by a psychologist. But articles also include coverage on topical issues ranging from abortion to keeping a dog in a city apartment, and the magazine's overall image is much more conventional than that of Playgirl.

Mstique: Magazine of the New Generation Black

Female is a general-coverage magazine for "youthful black urban women" marketed on newsstands in large urban centers. It has maintained its circulation at about 100,000 for seven years, so despite its low profile and limited

availability, it seems to have found a place in the market (Katz and Richards, 1978).

New Dawn's theme is "woman as winner rather than victim" with articles geared to mature high school and college women. "Except for its strong feminist outlook, New Dawn is virtually indistinguishable from Redbook or, sometimes, even Ladies Home Journal" (Katz and Richards, 1978: 883).

Working Woman is an anomaly among the several new career-women's magazines in two ways: first, its financial position has been precarious for most of its existence, and secondly, its coverage deals often and substantially with pink- and blue-collar, as well as white-collar jobs. The magazine was founded in 1976 and at that time, R.R. Donnelly and Sons, Co., a leading magazine printer, was so eager to fill empty press time that it printed the first four monthly issues on credit, almost an unheard-of action in the publishing business. But the undercapitalized magazine soon ran out of money and was placed under court protection through Chapter XI of the Federal Bankruptcy Act (MacDougall, 1980). A new owner has since taken over and the magazine's survival seems assured, which is fortunate, as it is genuinely sensitive to feminist concerns and keeps the

topics that dominate other women's slicks--fashion, beauty, food, and decorating--in proper perspective.

McCall's Working Mother provides exactly what its title implies: "news she can use" and encouragement to the harried, hurried, overburdened, tired, and guilt-ridden working mother. There's great emphasis on time-saving tips, for cooking, housecleaning and even kid's projects, as the greatest common problem of working mothers is lack of enough time. Many articles, often first-person, deal with the anxieties of the mother who must be away from her children most of the time. The outlook is highly positivist, reiterating the basic theme that children of working mothers are just as healthy and happy as those whose mothers are home full-time baking cookies.

Self was the first new Condé Nast publication in nearly forty years--the first, in fact, since Glamour of Hollywood. Its invitation to charter subscribers described it as "a monthly 'how-to' guide to help you develop total health and fitness of body, spirit and mind" (Self, 1978). This translates into standard health, exercise, diet and beauty information, with a few fillips "How sexologists have found new ways to fulfillment in 'transcendental sex'") and interviews with

celebrities on how they solved their personal problems. It is resolutely trendy and shallow, but its circulation figures and the fact that four similar magazines (Slimmer, New Body, Spring, and Shape) have followed it into the market attest to its appeal.

Big Beautiful Women is a true original: a fashion magazine for fat women. It stresses two themes: fat women have a right to attractive, well-designed clothes, just like other women, and should demand them, and fat women ought not to hate themselves because of their bodies. The editors argue "good looks come in all sizes," and they are militant about defending the large women's right to consider herself--and make herself--attractive. Every issue contains a page of pull-out complaint blanks to send to advertisers who insist on humiliating fat women with ads using thin models in large-size clothes, retailers who offer only muumuus and Granny gowns in larger sizes, and manufacturers who provide only drab clothes designed to make fat women "unobstrusive."

They keep their pages supportive, balancing the number of letters they receive from women who, because of their size, cannot believe themselves worthwhile or lovable, despite the professions of husbands or friends, with letters from men who "love that big beautiful woman"

and fat women who are not miserable, but happy with themselves and who refuse to consider themselves hors de combat because of their figures. The market for this is obviously an eager one, especially in view of the fact that a rival publication, It's Me, for "size 16+" readers, hit the newsstands in 1981.

Savvy, subtitled The Magazine for Executive Women, defines its readership narrowly, as "women who enjoy their career as the focal point of their lives." By executive women, they mean not just those working in corporations, but also in politics, medicine, health, government, retailing and as independent business operators (Standard Rate and Data Service, 1981: 579). From observation, however, it appears that the magazine is also read by women who are interested in the very expensive, high-quality "dress for success" fashions the magazine features rather than its articles, which stress professional development. These readers could perhaps be categorized as women who want to look like their careers are the focal point of their lives.

Slimmer, brought out by Playgirl in 1980, describes itself as "a magazine of health and beauty for the total woman," and include the standard beauty and fashion coverage. It promised advertisers a

guaranteed paid circulation of 250,000 as of November 1980, but no figures were available to document whether they attained that goal (Standard Rate and Data Service, 1981: 579).

Since 1980, even more new magazines have entered the lists. In spring 1982, in addition to the ones already described, a check of a well-stocked newsstand would have shown: Complete Woman: For All the Women You Are, Flair (a small black women's fashion magazine), Every Woman, Young Woman, Real Woman, New Body, Blackress (despite the somewhat confusing title, a beauty-oriented black women's magazine), Women, Shape (a health and fitness magazine which debuted in July 1981), Spring: The Magazine for High-Energy Living, which debuted in January 1982, and It's Me, the new rival for Big Beautiful Woman's "size 16+ readers." Another interesting departure that surfaced in 1980 was the first split demographics edition of a general magazine aimed specifically at women. This was "Newsweek Woman," advertised in SRDS as "the first and only women's demographic edition of a news-weekly" (Standard Rate and Date Service, 1981: 561).

How was it possible for so many new magazines to have entered the market successfully without any apparent saturation point in sight? In part, it's

because there are simply more potential readers in the pool than ever before. The continued growth of the 18-24 and 25-29 age groups in the female population has been prodigious. From 1960 to 1980, females 18-24 increased 75%, from 8.2 million to 14.3 million and females 25-29 increased 74%, from 5.6 million to 9.7 million (Standard Rate and Data Service, 1981: 579). A high percentage of these groups are in paid employment: in 1980, 69% of all women 20-24 were in the labor force, and 65.3% of all women 25-34 were in the labor force (Fullerton, 1982: 15-16). Therefore, these women probably have more disposable income to spend on magazines than previous generations, besides the fact that they offer a variety of constituencies within the overall group whose tastes and needs can be catered to.

The increase in possible constituencies among 18-30 year old women meshes with the magazine publishing industry trend toward concentrating on a smaller, selected readership. By the 1970's, the enormous circulation figures that used to be attained with broad, general-interest coverage simply were no longer viable, as they no longer served the needs of either audiences or advertisers. Advertisers now use television for audience saturation and specialty magazines for targeted audiences. Readers overwhelmingly turn to special-interest

publications on every conceivable topic from body-building to death and dying. Virtually every magazine success story in the post-television era has been that of a magazine with a specific content area aimed at readers with similar interests, supported by advertisers eager to reach that specific group. A good example is Stereo Review, whose lengthy technical advertisements for stereo components are apparently devoured by their knowledgeable readers; another is Bon Appetit, whose glossy advertisements for kitchen accoutrements delineate the readers' desired lifestyle as much as do its features on celebrities' kitchens and recipes.

The divertisified growth in the women's magazine field in the 1970's simply reflects the publishing industry's swing to specialty publications, albeit a bit belatedly. "Many [new] magazines now work to an optimum sales level, allowing circulations to expand slowly but doing nothing to stimulate them once they've passed the 'break even' point" (White, 1970: 262).

The very fact that the "Seven Sisters" are not quite as secure in their circulations of 4 million to 7 million each supports this "conventional wisdom" of the specialty magazine era. It has simply taken longer for the new realities of publishing to affect women's magazines than other types.

Robert Stein, long-time women's magazine editor, virtually prophesied the coming women's magazine publishing boom in 1967:

If you have something to say in a magazine addressed to women, it doesn't matter that there are now more than a dozen large magazines of different kinds for women.... In a way you invent your readership by having an idea and a conviction, then having the skill...to make it materialize.... You do this without regard for what anyone else is doing. (White, 1970: 288)

The new women's magazines that established themselves in the 1970's followed this scenario. They "invented" their own readerships, and habituated them to coverage they'd never known they needed, changing the face of women's magazines in the process.

Prophetically, this was exactly how Mademoiselle had established itself thirty years before. The next chapter describes how in 1936, a far-sighted young editor began to shape a magazine for a previously invisible population, the young "working girl."

CHAPTER IV

MADemoisELLE MAGAZINE: "GUIDE, PHILOSOPHER, AND FRIEND"

Mademoiselle's original buyers were men--[they] thought it was a girlie book but, as one newsstand vendor told us, 'Lady, they'll never come back.'

--Betsy Talbot Blackwell

History

Mademoiselle is one of the few magazines that can genuinely be said to have made publishing history. Appearing on the scene when women's magazines consisted of two high-fashion "slicks" for wealthy women, Vogue and Harper's Bazaar, and numerous homemaker's periodicals modelled on the Ladies Home Journal and the Woman's Home Companion, it was the first magazine to identify, define, and create a format for a women's readership no one had notice before: the young working woman. In so doing, it set the pattern for all later women's specialty magazines. Helen Woodward tells the story in her 1960 memoir of the women's magazine publishing business:

Editors were still accepting the mores of the past when mothers decided what their daughters

should have. (There were articles about the young girl and the older girl here and there, but the assumption was that the mother had the final say.) They refused to accept the idea that the younger women were in revolt.... But, ready or not, throughout the United States, girls in their teens and early twenties were in revolt. They were making up their own minds about fashions and clothes and morals.... Then in 1937 (sic) Mademoiselle shot into the skies. Its editors knew that young women wanted their Say, that their problems were not the same as their mothers'. Also that young women didn't have so much money to spend, that they wanted several inexpensive dresses rather than one really good one. The success of Mademoiselle was sensational. Mademoiselle was the first to see that the blanket coverage of the women's field had seen its day, and that the time had come for specialization, for special appeals to a limited audience. (1960: 149)

Founded in 1935 by Street and Smith, a publishing company known for its pulp magazines and dime novels, the magazine was directed to women aged 18 to 30, presenting itself as a "guide, philosopher and friend to intelligent young women" ("A Short, Short History of Mademoiselle," cited in Singel, p. 90).

There are several reason for Mademoiselle's success. First, its editorial content appealed to its newly discovered readers. Second, it was one of the first magazines to deliver to advertisers an audience of specified age, income and interests. As current publisher Joseph Fuchs put it in a letter enclosed in the March, 1980 issue, "It was Mademoiselle who literally

'discovered' the upscale working woman." Magazine historian Theodore Peterson (1964) felt that its advertising was, in turn, attractive to readers, and that it helped create a genre of magazines which women "probably bought as much for their advertising as for their editorial features" (1964: 269).

The magazine's strength can be attributed to the editorial vision of its first fashion editor, Betsy Talbot Blackwell, who became editor-in-chief in 1937. She remained with the magazine for forty years, giving it a distinctive identity and content. When Blackwell came to Mademoiselle, she had already been in the fashion business for twelve years. After her graduation from the Academy of St. Elizabeth in New Jersey in 1923, she became a fashion reporter for a trade paper, The Breath of the Avenue, and then moved to Charm magazine as assistant to the fashion editor. During her eight years at Charm, she moved up the ladder to become beauty editor and then fashion director. In 1931, she left Charm to become advertising manager for Sisholz Brothers Department Stores, but soon left to join the Tobé Fashion Service, where she remained until she joined Mademoiselle (Who's Who, 1964: 99).

Blackwell pioneered a new relationship between the clothing manufacturers and retailers and women's magazines. In the 1930's, the fashion industry was still making the transition to ready-to-wear clothing from the tradition of the dressmaker or home sewer. The basic techniques of mass marketing clothing were still being developed, and young women were learning how to shop for ready-made clothes. Blackwell helped this process along with the innovations she introduced at Mademoiselle. She expanded the promotion of the "youthful" mass-produced dress and helped make garment manufacturers "aware of the craving of this public [young women]" (Singel, 1957: 114). She kept staff available to check with manufacturers, to make sure the clothing featured would actually be available from retailers at the time of publication, a marketing practice which seems a sine qua non today. She printed the exact prices of items featured in the magazine, a practice considered declass  by Vogue and Harper's Bazaar.

However beneficial they were to manufacturers, these innovations came about because of Blackwell's concern for her young readers. In a twentieth anniversary reminiscence (February, 1955: 85), she restated her perception of the magazine's original audience: "young women, who, like us, didn't have a champagne pocketbook

but loved clothes, were interested in their looks, their jobs, their minds--and, of course, in men,..." It was this awareness that her readers had taste but little money that led Blackwell to provide practical, down-to-earth fashion information, which, in turn, fostered reader identification with the magazine.

Another device that fostered the magazine's reader identification was the "makeover"--a "before and after" transformation of ordinary women effected by make-up and haircutting experts. The reader knew that the girls in the make-overs were like her. They might be prettier to start with than most, but they still had visible imperfections (unlike the ethereal creatures and society beauties being glamourized in Vogue and Harper's Bazaar). These make-overs are now a staple item in fashion magazines.

Blackwell went even further in the direction of reader identification by offering readers the opportunity to come in and edit the magazine.

In 1939, she had established the College Board, a group of college students whose function was to keep the magazine in touch with fads, fashions, and moods on campuses. The College Board is still operating today, with recent changes in its composition to reflect the

diversity of students today (there are now older women and men on the Board) (Prisco, 1982; 133). Nine hundred members are selected annually from a competition including art, writing, merchandising and promotion categories. During the 1940's, this concept was expanded into the Guest Editors program. A contest similar to the College Board one is used to select students who each year spend a month in New York as Guest Editors, helping to shape the magazine's August "back-to-school" issue. Some of the guest editors have gone on to establish major national reputations. For instance, Joan Didion, Berkeley '56, was guest fiction editor in 1955.

One of Blackwell's most creative developments was the "theme issue," which premiered in 1938. Entire issues were devoted to one theme--colleges, jobs, the needs of young married women or brides-to-be-- at a time when Charm and Glamour, the main competitors for readers in the same age group, were almost rigidly "departmentalized," with the same features appearing monthly (Woodward, 1960).

The magazine was also noted for the high quality of its fiction and its encouragement of unknown young writers. It was the first national magazine to publish writers Truman Capote, James Purdy, Flannery O'Connor,

Joyce Carol Oates, and poet Donald Hall. Stories published in Mademoiselle regularly appeared in the O. Henry and Best American annual short story anthologies ("History of Mademoiselle," n.d.: 3).¹ In 1972 it won the National Magazine Award for Fiction with "particular admiration" expressed for a November 1971 story by William Kotzwinkle (Miller, 1974: 152). The magazine was almost alone among fashion magazines for its continuing emphasis on fiction in the early 1970's, though it published less and less fiction by the end of the decade.

Just as it emphasized serious fiction, Blackwell's Mademoiselle always directed serious editorial coverage to the subject of women's careers. In February 1955, in the aforementioned anniversary reminiscence, she proudly listed some of the magazine's career coverage: the first all-careers issue in 1938, with "our famous Career Chart;" "I Raised My Girl to Be a Soldier," a 1941 chart of volunteer defense jobs; the first "career couples" coverage in 1944; and 1947 material on postwar job opportunities (Blackwell, Feb. 1955: 130-131).

¹This is a Condé Nast company publication dating from about 1976, judging from internal evidence, provided by the author February 26, 1981 by Lonna Ruberl, Assistant to the Editor, Mademoiselle.

A 1953 editorial of hers entitled "You and the Mainstream" features a Tomi Ungerer drawing of a woman resolutely canoeing up a waterfall--made of a head of long, perfectly waved Brunette hair. In it Blackwell muses on the "connection" to the larger world that women get from their jobs:

Yes, having a job is thought a foot in the mainstream by many--particularly if the job is in Europe or in an "interesting" field such as radio. In fact, the office, it's been shrewdly noted, takes the place in America of the sidewalk cafe in France or Italy. It's a kind of club where people meet and where, with a spontaneity not found at cocktail parties, dinners--all the formal-informal situations designed for bringing human together--they can talk things over with others who share their interests. (Blackwell, March 1953: 73)

She recognized that work gave women a self-definition beyond that of simply being a female, a mother or a wife, and that it also allowed women to meet others who shared that involvement in a world beyond the home.

Blackwell also had the confidence in her readers and advertisers to allow the staff of the Harvard Lampoon to edit a whole parody issue of Mademoiselle in July, 1961. With features such as "Clothes to be Caught Dead In," and "The New College Craze: Room Emptying," and fake advertisements "Too Bad She's Bald," and arctic midnight Perfume") it "set some kind of circulation record for

this usually doldrum month in the publishing business" (Blackwell, July, 1962: 43), and led to a repeat parody issue in July, 1962. Blackwell's willingness to experiment so daringly was widely praised.

In 1949, Street and Smith, which had been a leading publisher of pulp magazines since the 1890's, "in one blow wiped out its last four pulp magazines and five comic books to concentrate on its more profitable slick magazines, Charm, Mademoiselle, and Living for Young Homemakers" (Peterson, 1964: 79). In 1958, the Condé Nast company purchased Charm from Street and Smith, combining its circulation with that of its own publication, Glamour, whose title was changed from Glamour: For the Girl with a Job to Glamour: Incorporating Charm.

The death of Street and Smith's president Gerald Smith brought about Mademoiselle's 1959 purchase by Condé Nast. This meant that the only two magazines tapping the market of a million and a half young working women readers were both owned by the same company, creating a kind of "product diversification" for Condé Nast Publications. Condé Nast was in the position of the tobacco company marketing rival cigarette brands to the same potential buyers. Each brand is expected to attempt to out-sell the other, but all the profits come back

home to the parent company. Blackwell was originally unhappy about the merger, and recalled in 1965 that:

when CNP's president, I.S.V. Patcevitch told us, "My dear, it is not a merger, it is a marriage," we muttered back that it was "murder," and--at the time--it seemed so. Now, after five years of merging, we can report a most happy marriage, indeed. (February, 1965 87).

Conde Nast was in turn owned by S.I. Newhouse, but Newhouse "shuns the centralized management that characterizes virtually all the other major newspaper/magazine chains" ("S.I. Newhouse and Sons, 1976: 65), and so Conde Nast Publications and its periodicals continued to function independently. Blackwell remained editor-in-chief for another twelve years. She retired in December 1971, after 42 years of shaping the magazine into one which drew a selective audience of readers, both better-educated and better-paid than its competitors (Miller, 1974: 162) and which was recommended by librarians over its competitors as better and more serious (Katz & Richards, 1978: 882).

In July 1972 Edith Raymond Locke, who had been executive editor of Mademoiselle since 1968, succeeded Blackwell as editor-in-chief. Locke began her career as assistant editor at Harper's Bazaar and Junior Bazaar in 1945, and in 1947 became fashion director of Abbott

Kimball Advertising Agency. Two years later, she joined Mademoiselle as associate fashion editor. In 1959, she was promoted to fashion editor, serving in that capacity until 1968, when she became Blackwell's executive editor (Who's Who, 1973: 574). Locke in turn retired in April 1980. Amy Levin, formerly with the Ladies Home Journal, then took over as Editor-in-Chief.

Circulation History

Mademoiselle was an immediate success, more than tripling subscription sales in its first year of publication, and increasing an initial circulation of 37,364 in 1936 to 201,114 in 1939 (Seney, 1982). Its long-term record was erratic, marked by a pattern of steady growth punctuated by occasional brief periods in which total sales dropped. Subscription sales made great jumps, then dropped back drastically. Table IV-1 illustrates the circulation patterns for selected years.

Total sales grew to a first-time high of nearly half a million in 1943, but then fell back slightly; it was not until 1950 that the half-million mark was reached. At this point, 74% of all copies sold were single-copy sales, a much higher percentage than that of many popular consumer magazines (Magazine Circulation, 1968: 120-21). Newsstand sales gradually dropped as a percentage of all

TABLE IV-1. CIRCULATION PATTERNS OF
MADemoiselle FOR SELECTED YEARS, 1936-1981

Year	Sub. Sales	% of Total	Single-Copy Sales	% of Total	Total Avg. Pd. Cir.
1936	12,799	34%	24,465	66%	37,264
1937	51,826	62%	31,113	38%	82,939
1938	56,943	48%	60,494	52%	117,437
1940	145,287	39%	220,943	61%	366,230
1943	143,432	31%	306,438	69%	449,870
1947	200,580	47%	225,713	53%	426,293
1948	122,283	28%	311,744	72%	434,027
1950	133,536	26%	368,220	74%	501,756
1954	240,192	45%	288,332	55%	528,524
1958	302,846	60%	201,241	40%	504,087
1960	317,246	61%	205,430	39%	522,676
1962	406,747	67%	202,675	33%	609,422
1963	364,648	62%	224,606	38%	589,254
1969	368,440	52%	336,784	48%	705,224
1970	346,426	51%	327,261	49%	673,687
1973	407,574	49%	422,371	51%	829,945
1974	388,662	47%	431,228	53%	819,890
1975	418,780	48%	462,458	52%	881,238

TABLE VI-1 (Continued)

Year	Sub. Sales	% of Total	Single Copy Sales	% of Total	Total Avg. Pd. Cir.
1976	355,417	40%	533,037	60%	888,453
1977	347,351	40%	518,982	60%	866,333
1980	315,918	31%	693,386	69%	1,009,304
1981*	424,357	40%	641,302	60%	1,065,659

*Figures for first half of year only.

Source: Circulation records provided by Joan Seney,
Research Director, Conde Nast Publications,
Feb. 2, 1982.

sales to a low of 33% in 1962, the year in which total sales first topped 600,000.² At this point, subscription sales were at their peak of 67%. But 1963 showed a 3% drop in total sales, accounted for by a 10% drop in overall subscription sales.

In other words, it was not just that the percentage of subscription sales in relation to newsstand sales declined, but that there was a net loss in subscription sales. After that, subscription sales hovered around 50% of the total sales from 1968 to 1973. Total sales gradually recovered and the 700,000 mark was passed in 1969. The year 1970 brought a similar drop in total sales, this time of 4%, and again accounted for by a drop in actual subscriptions sold of 5%.

But from this point on, although subscription sales decreased in relation to single-copy sales, total sales increased overall, with only small drops of 1% in '74

²"Single copy sales" and "newsstand sales" are interchangeable terms. Today single copy sales are more likely to be at the supermarket or drugstore, but the use of the term "newsstand" persists in the trade.

and 2% in 1977. Since then sales have risen, and in 1980, the magazine's sales topped 1,000,000 for the first time, with subscriptions accounting for 31% of total sales.

This means that during the period under study, despite the increased competition from new women's magazines, Mademoiselle retained a very strong position in the market. It is conceivable that the appearance in 1973 of New Woman, Playgirl and Viva, the latter two of which were immediately successful (cf. Chapter III), was a significant factor in the magazine's 1% loss of total sales in 1974. Likewise, the 2% drop in 1977 may have been related to the presence in the market by then of not only these two strong competitors, but also Mistique, New Dawn and Working Woman. But, at any rate, despite a changing market, Mademoiselle continued to draw readers very successfully.

Editorial staffers attribute the broad fluctuations in subscription vs. single-copy sales to changing readerships, hypothesizing that single-copy sales were high in the 1940's and 1950's because the readers were mostly working women, who picked up the magazine on newsstands. Conversely, they say, in the 1960's and early 1970's, the magazine appealed more to college

students, whose families subscribed for them. By the end of the 1970's, the magazine once again sought a career-oriented reader who was more likely to pick up an issue at the supermarket than to subscribe (Ruberl, 1982).

The more pronounced year-by-year fluctuations in subscription sales, though seemingly erratic, are perhaps easier to explain. Examining Table IV-1, it's apparent that, over the years, single-copy sales were high until 1950, then dropped to a low in 1962, and came back up to a high in 1969, levelling off at a rate of 60 to 40 newsstand to subscriptions in 1981. But within this overall pattern, there are some wild swings. For instance, while 66% of all sales were newsstand during the first year of publication, subscription sales increased dramatically to 62% during the second year, but then dropped to 48% the following year and declined steadily throughout the 1940's. In 1947, there was another dramatic jump up to 47% subscription sales, with another precipitate drop--of almost 20%--the following year. By 1950, subscription sales had dropped to 26%, dangerously low by industry standards; then by 1954, they were back up to 45%.

The likely reason for such sudden subscription gains followed by immediate losses would be occasional aggressive marketing campaigns, which were obviously only temporarily effective. From today's marketing standpoint, subscription campaigns might not even have been productive. The magazine draws women 18-34, at a specific stage in their lives (college, early marriage years, early job years). Though subscription campaigns may be needed to draw in these readers, they inevitably leave the readership pool as they mature. Perhaps subscription sales should have been perceived all along as short-term, in contrast to magazines like The New Yorker and Time, which draw lifelong readers. Furthermore, it might have made more sense for the company to try to sell a greater number of newsstand copies, because they have a larger profit margin than subscription sales, if single-copy sales are reasonably frequent (more than two or three times a year).

If a single copy costs \$1.50, and a subscription \$10 (or less, if it's purchased through the various discount services), at least \$8, or 80 percent more in possible revenues is available per year from steady single copy sales. The proportional cost of subscriptions vs. single-copy sales has also increased because postal rates have gone up. Moreover, the number and types of

retail outlets selling magazines have increased (supermarkets, convenience stores, airports, etc.), and the number of "point of purchase" display racks in a single store have increased, thus single copy sales of magazines in general have increased. The former industry rule of thumb was that about 85% of all magazines sales were subscriptions and only 15% single-copy. But a 1978 study (Click and Baird: 238) showed that in 1977, for the second year in a row, single copy sales outpaced subscriptions, with respective percentages of 52.1% and 47.9% for the industry as a whole.

Still, the magazine's fluctuating circulation figures seem hard to interpret. They may be no different from the subscription records of other popular magazines, and may be an indication of generally poor industry research practices. Magazine publishers have traditionally operated on the basis of shockingly scanty information about their readers. It's actually surprising that advertisers, who need to know who will see their ads, did not demand better information sooner. Only recently have researchers begun to discover some of the differences between single copy and subscription buyers of the same magazines (Lieberman, 1977).

Publishers' shallow knowledge of their readers has finally begun to bring them chastisement from industry experts (Dembner and Masseur, 1968: 186; Servan-Schreiber, 1976), and there now seems to be an increased research effort taking place (Swann, 1975; Magazine Research Development Council, 1978a; Magazine Research Development Council, 1978b). Though Mademoiselle has always sought to keep abreast of reader information through its College Board and guest editors, it probably suffered from this industry-wide tolerance of a relatively low level of audience information.

What is more intriguing than these erratic circulation patterns is the fact that Mademoiselle's closest competitor, Glamour, has out-stripped it in sales since 1947, and reached 1,000,000 in total circulation in 1960, fully twenty years before Mademoiselle (Lavin, 1982). Two related reasons for this seem likely: price, and editorial outlook.

Mademoiselle has always cost more than its competitors, for both subscriptions and single copies. Not until 1954 did Glamour catch up to the prices Mademoiselle had been charging for eight years, 35¢ per single copy and \$3.50 for a one-year subscription (see Table IV-2). By 1958, Mademoiselle was again more

TABLE IV-2. COMPARATIVE PRICE CHANGES FOR MADemoISELLE
AND OTHER FASHION MAGAZINES FOR SELECTED YEARS

	1939		1944		1961	
	single copy	sub.	single copy	sub.	single copy	sub.
<u>Mademoiselle</u>	25¢	\$2.50	25¢	\$3.00	50¢	\$5.00
<u>Glamour</u>	15¢	\$1.50	20¢	\$2.00	40¢	\$4.00
<u>Seventeen</u>	*	*	15¢	\$1.50	40¢	\$5.00
<u>Harper's Bazaar</u>	50¢	\$5.00	50¢	\$5.00	60¢	\$5.00
<u>Vogue</u>	35¢	\$5.00	35¢	\$6.00	60¢	\$8.50

*Not yet in existence.

TABLE IV-2 (Continued)

	1970		1975		1980	
	single copy	sub.	single copy	sub.	single copy	sub.
<u>Mademoiselle</u>	60¢	\$6.00	\$1.00	\$7.50	\$1.50	\$10.00
<u>Glamour</u>	60¢	\$6.00	75¢	\$7.50	\$1.50	\$10.00
<u>Seventeen</u>	50¢	\$6.00	75¢	\$7.95	\$1.00	\$ 9.95
<u>Harper's Bazaar</u>	75¢	\$7.00	\$1.25	\$12.00	\$1.25	\$12.00
<u>Vogue</u>	75¢	\$10.00	\$1.25	\$10.00	\$2.00	\$15.00

Source: Magazine Circulation and Rate Trends 1940-1967,
N.Y.: Assn. of National Advertisers, 1968: 127;
and from examination of individual copies of
Glamour, Vogue, Mademoiselle, Harper's Bazaar,
and Seventeen.

expensive than Glamour, at 50¢ versus 40¢ and \$5 versus \$4. Not until August 1961 did Glamour raise its prices to match Mademoiselle's 1958 figures. Since then, probably because of their common ownership, prices have remained similar and, indeed, seem to have increased in tandem. In 1980, each sold for \$1.50 per copy and \$10 per year. Mademoiselle was also usually more expensive than its other, lower-level competitors in the fashion category, Charm, Teen, Flair, Ingenuie and Seventeen. Figures are unavailable for Charm and Flair, as both have ceased publication. In 1944, a Mademoiselle subscription was twice the cost of a Seventeen subscription (\$3 as against \$1.50) (Magazine Circulation and Rate Trends, 1940-1967, 1968: 127). In early 1961, when Seventeen caught up with Mademoiselle's charges of 50¢ per single copy and \$5 per subscription, Mademoseille was still higher than Glamour, Ingenuie or Teen. In fact, Mademoiselle's 1961 one-year subscription cost of \$5 was as high as that of Harper's Bazaar, considered a much more prestigious, upscale publication.

It is worth noting in this context that in 1971, despite its lower circulation, Mademoiselle promised aspiring writers payment of \$350-\$850 for 1,500-6,000 word articles, to Glamour's \$300-\$750 for 2,000-3,000 word articles (Polking and Emison, 1970: 344-346).

Theoretically, Glamour ought to have been paying much more. Since it had the higher circulation and could therefore charge the same advertisers more for the run of the same ads, it could have been paying more money for quality writing. It is a measure of Mademoiselle's standards of excellence that this was not so--but it also must have been a contributing factor in setting their higher cover price compared to other magazines competing for many of the same readers. This changed, however, during the 1970's. By 1980, when Mademoiselle described itself as "60% freelance written," they stated a minimum of \$100 per article to Glamour's \$500-\$750 for short articles and \$850-plus article to Glamour's \$500-\$750 for short articles and \$850-plus for longer articles (Brohaugh, 1979: 547, 550). Also Glamour's higher proportion of ad pages had provided it sufficient revenues to charge less to readers in cover price. The industry rule of thumb, developed originally by Cyrus Curtis at the turn of the century, was that revenue should come 30% from circulation and 70% from advertising. In the late 1970's, for the industry as a whole, that figure began to edge closer to 50-50 (Hiebert, Ungurait, & Bohn, 1979: 244).

Further, we do not know the figures for either magazine's "pass-along" rate: that is, the number of

people besides the purchaser who see each copy, in waiting rooms, laundromats, college dorms, etc. These figures are estimated by industry auditors and can add considerably to a magazine's advertising rate charges. Industry insiders say cynically that

If an editor creates a magazine that is so on-target that subscribers refuse to part with it, that's bad. If, however, the editor puts out a magazine that means so little to each individual that it gets passed from hand to hand, that's good. Reason; the more the magazine is passed along, the higher the total audience figure will be. In that way, the ad agency rates will look more efficient to agency people, who would be more likely to put the magazine in their media schedule. (Dougherty, 1981: 141)

Perhaps Mademoiselle's readers hold onto their copies longer than readers of Glamour, just as industry wisdom has it that Saturday Review readers keep copies and New Yorker readers don't.

Mademoiselle also can arguably be said to be pursuing a different marketing plan from Glamour: a kind of "controlled" circulation. Pioneered with Vogue by Conde' Nast, this concept means that the magazine offers advertisers a smaller total number of readers than its competitors, but those are readers with the "right" demographics (Seebohm, 1982). There is no "waste circulation," and advertisers know they won't be showing expensive lingerie to housewives on a budget. The goal

of The New Yorker, for instance, has never been growth but maintenance of its relatively small circulation of 500,000 upscale readers (Daugherty, 1981). Although Mademoiselle's demographics are strikingly similar to those of the much higher-circulation Glamour, as evidenced by a glance at Standard Rate and Data Service profiles for any given year, the critical reader will notice differences in the scope and attitude of the two magazines.

In her 1950 piece ranking the reigning fashion magazines, entitled "Up the Ladder from Charm to Vogue," Mary McCarthy placed Glamour above Charm but below Mademoiselle on a scale of "class." White's 1970 study of women's magazines stated that there were only slight differences in editorial emphasis between the two in their January and August, 1967 material (See Table IV-3). But even within the general similarities in content, the discerning eye registers important differences. The table shows that Glamour devotes twice as much space to beauty and grooming as Mademoiselle and four times as much space to health--which, for women's magazines of the period, means diets. Mademoiselle, on the other hand, gives seven times as much space to fiction, roughly twice the space to business and industry (which may mean careers, since White did not include a careers category),

TABLE IV-3. BREAKDOWN OF EDITORIAL
CONTENT FOR THE PERIOD JAN. - AUG. 1967

	<u>% Mademoiselle</u>	<u>% Glamour</u>
National Affairs	---	.1
Foreign Affairs	.4	---
Amusements	1.4	2.5
Beauty & Grooming	12.8	24.9
Business & Industry	3.5	1.7
Children	.2	---
Food	.1	1.2
Health	.2	.8
Home Furnishing	2.2	2.8
Sports, Hobbies, Recreation	.6	.6
Travel and Transport	6.3	5.1
Wearing Apparel	44.4	41.0
Cultural Interests	12.5	9.1
General Interest	3.3	4.1
Miscellaneous	3.2	5.3
Fiction	7.5	.8
Total Editorial	47.4	45.1

Table from Cynthia L. White, Women's Magazines 1693-1968 (London: Michael Joseph, Ltd., 1970), p. 246-247, Table 8, with data taken from Magazine Editorial Reports, New York (Lloyd H. Hall Co., Inc., August, 1967).

and slightly more space to cultural interests.

These differences in content undoubtedly related to Mademoiselle's lower circulation. Mademoiselle seems always to have taken itself and its readers more seriously than did other mass-circulation magazines, considering itself a cultural guide and a social and political sounding board. Perhaps fewer readers between 18 and 34 wanted this coverage than the standard beauty/fashion/diets rondo provided by Glamour and the other large-circulation women's magazines. But those who did represented a critical group of consumers, and the high quality of the magazine was not lost on magazine critics. In 1974, Miller compared it with Ms, Glamour, and Cosmopolitan and concluded:

The career-oriented magazines are saying "wake-up." They only differ in their tone of voice. Cosmopolitan is soft and sexy; Glamour more "How to Wake Up," reporting the facts, not making them happen. Mademoiselle says it intelligently and a little ahead of the alarm clock. Ms. is the shocker: it pulls the covers off and you have no time to linger. (Miller: 163)

Likewise, Katz and Richards' (1978) Magazines for Libraries, which is generally sharply critical of women's magazines, says that Mademoiselle "provides a more intelligent fare than either Glamour or Harper's Bazaar... with class and some thought-provoking material lacking in

other glamour magazines," and recommends that libraries purchase it in preference to the other two (1978: 881-882).

Mademoiselle Before 1969: "The Smart Young Woman"

In the only previous full-scale scholarly study of Mademoiselle, Singel (1957) compared Mademoiselle with Vogue from 1937 to 1957, and examined the attitudes of both magazines toward the reader's "personal problems." She describes Mademoiselle's coverage in the 1930's as "brash":

The young woman as typified by the immature Melisse cover girl--blase expression, cigarette in one hand and cocktail glass in the other--was too busy having fun, crashing high society and chasing socialite bachelors to look at herself introspectively. Mademoiselle also was busy; it was trying to find readers. (1957: 97)

Singel echoes Woodward's (1960) criticism of the magazine's coverage in the 1940's. After praising much of Mademoiselle's content, Woodward concluded ruefully,

But here, as in other magazines for women, the main underlying idea was how to get your man and keep him, with, of course, more emphasis on the getting. The theme song sings loud. What normal girl between 18 and 30 doesn't want a man?" (1960: 153)

Not many, apparently. Singel (1957) heard the same motif running through the years. She examined a May, 1940 "career" issue and found that it "pointed out rather strikingly the career conflict facing the young woman" (1957: 102). That is, the conflict between a job and marriage. One article described 24 jobs with a mass of details--including "the type of man a girl would find if she entered the field and the type of man best suited to her in that field" (1957: 103). Another article profiled eight "young Chicago careerists" who had presumably found the right men for their fields, as they were portrayed "managing jobs and homes with the same magic finesse" (Mademoiselle, May, 1940: 110). However, Singel wryly noted, "how they successfully managed both home and career was never spelled out" (103). A third article archly warned readers not to get too single-mindedly involved in their careers:

Here comes fairy Godmother to tell you that there are more young, attractive men in offices than ever before, and it's your own foolish fault if nothing ever happens. In fact, Fairy Godmother thinks that working girls who don't help themselves are complete nitwits.... At least we hope you're working with men. If by any chance you're slaving away in a rarefied atmosphere for Women Only, get out before you die of acid old-maidism. (Mademoiselle, May, 1940: cited in Singel, 102)

As if that weren't misogynistic enough, coming from a writer who presumably worked in a "Women Only" office, a forthcoming article outlined two scenarios: life for the single working woman and for the married working woman. It's entirely moot which sounds less appealing. The advice given to the single woman hoping to marry was:

If you must have a career, or if you do have one, you'd better keep it on the good old Q.T. That is, of course, if you have the halcyon idea in mind of eventually bagging a mythical Mr. Right.

Once you've got him, you'd better get home each afternoon and trade your hat for an apron and a dissembling smile:

You can make a killing at the office and yet be big enough to admit that woman's place is still in the home.... This may give him an idea that you're 'like mother' after all in spite of everything. And that's what you want, isn't it?
(Mademoiselle, May, 1940: cited in Singel, 102)

Then, of course, there was the alternative choice: the "career woman":

On the other hand, if it's honestly the single course for you, play up your job, and sister, you won't have any offers to give it up... They're a hard bunch--drink hard, smoke harder, all hours of the night. The next morning's nerves prove it. And a veil hides it. They live in beauty parlors. Some have to....
(Mademoiselle, May, 1940: cited in Singel, 102)

Singel summed up Mademoiselle's perception of its postwar readers with a quotation: "What Mademoiselle's young woman wants above everything is security, in the form of a husband, a home and children. She wants it immediately." (Mademoiselle, May 1946: cited in Singel, 129)

Singel found that this was still the readers' goal in the 1950's. But "catching a man is no longer the high adventure it used to be. The dashing playboy, if such still exists, is not part of her thinking" (Singel: 97). A new, somber note of warning sounded. In contrast to the dire futures predicted in 1946 for those shrill, dissipated alcoholic career women who didn't marry, there was now concern about what would happen to women who married. Singel said:

In earlier years, the advice stopped about the time the young woman had found her man. Marriage, as far as Mademoiselle was concerned, seemed to end all problems. Not so in recent years. Mademoiselle gets the young woman started in a career and strongly advises her to continue it after marriage. Today, instead of marriage ending her problems, it is creating some new ones. Mademoiselle sees it at times as a stumbling block in the young woman's pursuit of a career, and advises her to be more critical of men, especially the one she plans to marry. (1957: 101-102)

Singel also noticed a new melancholy awareness creeping in that some married women would still "have to" work.

"But marriage will not absolve you from a job. The job is in fact a part of this shared partnership in the search for a decent life." (Mademoiselle, Oct. 1955: 187)

Career advice in the 1950's, according to Singel, included detailed job selection advice, and a few "how to" articles: how to get raises and promotions, how to impress the boss favorably, "even advice on how to arrange beauty items in a desk drawer (101)." She concluded that the magazine walked an "uneasy line" on "just how far a woman should go in pursuit of a career (104)." She summed up by quoting the magazine to the effect that "Today's girl would like more than a job, less than a career (105)." Mary McCarthy (1950) put it more bitingly in her hatchet job on fashion magazines for The Reporter. She stated that what Mademoiselle thought its readers wanted was a "fun" job:

A writer for Mademoiselle expresses the position of those on the lower rung of the ladder very clearly when she tells how exciting it is to live in Washington, and adduces as an example the fact that her husband, Bob, once rode on a plane with the U.S. special representative to Israel.... Here the sense of being close to important events (itself vicarious) passes from the husband to the author to the reader. It is three removes off. (McCarthy, 1950: 32)

While it is true that the magazine chanted advice to use the office as a hunting ground for a mate, and much of

the career advice steered young women toward "fun" jobs, Wingate's (1979) study, which examined issues from the 1950's and 1960's, and Hatch & Hatch (1956) found that it also departed from convention to describe traditional "men's jobs," thereby expanding readers' vision of the possibilities for their own futures.

More importantly, the editors took women's roles and choices seriously. As a counterpoint to the "get a man" and "have fun" themes, there was also a deep-seated editorial conviction that young women needed to give more thought to their futures than simply picking out a china pattern. Nor did the magazine shy away from starting controversy over whether women "ought to" work, or what they "ought to" work at, though Singel and McCarthy give no indication of this.

In 1955, the magazine published an article which probably generated more heat and discussion than anything it printed before or since. Written by Kate Hevner Mueller, it was called "The Marriage Trap" and asked "What happens to today's college women so desperate to marry that they can't think of anything else?" (Mueller, 1955: 133). The article was a passionate denunciation of the sometimes tragic limitations of 1950's-style marriage for young women and a plea for them not to let themselves

be stamped into it, especially if it meant giving up their careers.

Perhaps she has always wanted to work her way up in a New York publishing house or with the Department of State in Washington. She drops her plans like a hot cake in order to follow her husband to the spot on the globe where he can do what he wants to do--and she can't (185) ...and paid work is something that a young woman in the 1950's cannot afford to dismiss lightly. (1955: 189)

Though Singel discussed this article briefly in her study, she left out Mueller's incisive analysis, which prefigured the kind of revisionist work now being undertaken by Women's Studies sociologists and economists re-examining the patterns of American women's life and work. Mueller identified the contributing factors in how this pattern had come about. Employers are "only too glad to exploit young working wives; they are so capable and eager, and not professionally troublesome about working standards or wages or opportunities" (1955: 185); parents are eager to be free to spend their own money and pursue their own interests once their daughters are married off (195).

Even more to the point was Mueller's grasp of the futility of this whole attempt to put women back into the home:

Never again can the mother go back to her pivotal position in the family. Technology has nullified her claims. The woman who bakes her own bread, who spurns the diaper service, is actually a hazard to our economy, to our international balance in trade. It is the men, the corporation vice-presidents, the financial entrepreneurs who have industrialized housewifery, taken the drudgery out of the home and streamlined it in the factory. Diapers, canning, cooking, cleaning, sewing have become Big Business. Men have taken away the privileges and functions women had developed in homemaking --and for the purpose of Modern Business Profits. That is a good thing, but do the men expect to give nothing in return? (1955: 186)

Mueller then proposed a solution: the same solution that women are still trying to bring about in 1983:

Today men can be convinced, can acknowledge intellectually that women are not inferior. But it is still hard for them to behave as if women were equals--difficult to admit that women's needs can (and perhaps should) cause them some inconvenience. Women must be strong enough, tactful enough to call their bluff. (188)... Can't men learn new ways of giving, creating, enjoying? Can't they share in shopping, planning, decorating, cooking, cleaning? More important, they must share in the care, feeding and bathing of the babies--and in their intellectual and personality training. They must assume equal responsibility for moral conduct, stake out an equal claim to patience, fidelity, kindness, tact and all the other homely virtues. (1955: 186)

Reader response was overwhelmingly angry. Young women eager to marry did not want to hear those depressing "home truths." The article generated so much defensiveness in over 200 furious letters to the editor that Blackwell

printed a selection of them "to forward the discussion and the thought cycle on woman's place in the world." She prefaced it with her own opinion:

People would talk. We knew this.... People would argue because no one, these days, comes out against young marriages or the dangers of helping your husband get his education, of scrapping your own handsome job plans to concentrate on his. For the current swing from feminism toward female-ism is a Good Trend, the American world seems certain of that. Still, how many of us are sure that, as college-educated women, we can be happy being just women--that is, in the traditional role of selfless devotion to husband and family. (Blackwell, December 1955: 99)

Other articles of the period pointed out the disappointments of women working in men's fields (1950), the pitfalls of the "superwoman" goal for working mothers (1953), the need for husbands to share child care (1955), and the wisdom of planning for working part-time if one planned to have children (1959).

In 1962, three articles sounded warning tocsins of the more radical reevaluations of women's work that would come in the 1970's. In May, an excerpt from one of the most influential books of the decade, Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique, appeared, decrying the attempt to keep educated, talented middle-class women boxed up in suburbia. Another article made the revolutionary proposal that society should make adjustments

longstanding editorial policy to take women's careers seriously.

Mademoiselle's attitude toward working women in these years preceding the period covered by the study can be summed up by one of Blackwell's characteristically blithe editorial broadsides:

Mademoiselle is still on the side of the working girl. As far as Mademoiselle is concerned, she's the hero and the boss is the villain, and we try to show her how to get around him, get a raise, get ahead.... Naturally we believe in marriage and babies, but we don't go along with the thinking that constitutes these the exclusive aim of education for women, nor do we find marriage and careers mutually exclusive. (June 1955: 56, 137)

The change in the 1970's was the Mademoiselle began showing their "working girls" how to be the boss! The following chapter surveys changes in reader demographics from 1969 through 1980 to provide a context for the discussion in Chapter VI of how and why the magazine's career coverage changed during the period.

CHAPTER V

READER DEMOGRAPHICS: 1969-1980

Find me a list of names, and I'll create a magazine for it.

—Industry truism

At first glance, the most salient aspect of the magazine's Reader Profiles is their striking similarity across the period on every dimension measured (age, income, education, occupation, marital status, number of children, and place of residence).¹ These characteristics seem to have changed only slightly over the period studied. Briefly, the 1980 readers report that they have more education and higher incomes, are slightly older, have older children, and are more frequently employed outside the home and less frequently full-time homemakers by the end of the decade than 1969 readers reported.

¹The data for the demographic analysis were provided by the magazine in the form of Research Reports on "Reader Characteristics" for 1969, 1975, and 1980. 1969 was provided because no such reader survey was done in 1970.

The data in the "Reader Characteristics" reports consist of self-reported information taken from a questionnaire published in either two or three issues of the magazine for the year in question, which readers are invited to fill out and return. However, since only small proportions of readers responded (see Table V-1), the "reader characteristics" may be skewed in some way by coming from a self-selected group. But with this caution in mind, we may still extrapolate changes in reader demographics over the period. (See Appendix 2 for a copy of the questionnaire from the August 1975 issue of Mademoiselle.)

For this paper, the relevant factors in reader self-description were deemed to be age and ages of children, educational level attained, and occupational status and type of occupation. Tables and analyses of these selected demographic factors follow. (The income statistics showed the greatest change and might have been useful, but in view of inflation, there was no efficient way to analyze the data.)

Age and Ages of Children

As Table V-2 shows, the median age of Mademoiselle's reader increased from 21 in 1969 to 22.4 in 1975 to 22.8 in 1980. There was also a gradual growth in the percentages

TABLE V-1. SAMPLE SIZES OF READER
SURVEYS 1969, 1975 AND 1980

Mademoiselle

<u>Year of Survey</u>	<u>Total Average Circulation</u>	<u>Reader Replies</u>	<u>Sample Size</u>
1969 (in April, August & October)	705,224	5,546	.0078
1975 (in April, August & October issues)	881,238	5,866	.0066
1980 (in April, and October issues)	1,009,304	1,452	.0014

Source: Reader Characteristics Research Reports from Mademoiselle 1969, 1975 and 1980.

TABLE V-2. CHANGES IN READERSHIP AGE
BY SEGMENT 1969, 1975 AND 1980

	<u>Percentage of Readers</u>			<u>Median Ages</u>
	<u>Under 25</u>	<u>25-30</u>	<u>30+</u>	<u>of Readers</u>
1969	78%	11%	11%	21
1975	68%	17%	15%	22.4
1980	66%	25%	9%	22.8
NET CHANGE	-12%	+14%	- 2%	+ 1.8 yrs.

Course: Reader Characteristics Research Reports, undated,
from Mademoiselle 1969, 1975, and 1980.

of readers over 25 and over 30. In 1969, four-fifths of Mademoiselle's readers were under 25; by 1980, the figure had dropped to two-thirds. The percentage of 25-30 year olds changed even more dramatically, increasing from 11% to fully one-fourth. This reflected the growth of the 25-29 cohort of females between 1960 and 1980, noted in chapter two.

The data on percentages of readers with children and their ages also suggests an older readership. The 16% increase in those with children over ten precisely matches the 16% decrease in those with children under ten (see Table V-3). This change alone clearly indicates a maturing readership. However, another salient factor for the types of coverage indicated is the overall drop in the percentage of readers who have children, from 54% in 1969 to 48% in 1975 to 42% in 1980. Though it would be interesting to compare the Mademoiselle reader statistics on children's ages with the national statistics quoted in chapter II they are measured in different cohorts.

Therefore, while national statistics show an increase in the number of working women with children under six, Mademoiselle's statistics showed a decrease of 15% in the number of their readers with children under

TABLE V-3. CHANGES IN PERCENTAGES OF READERS WITH CHILDREN UNDER AND OVER AGE 10.

Children's Age Cohorts	1969	1975	1980	Net Change
Percent of Readers With Children	54%	48%	42%	-12%
Percent of Readers With Children Under 10	63%	47%	47%	-16%
Percent of Readers With Children Over 10	37%	53%	53%	+16%

Source: Reader Characteristics Research Reports from Mademoiselle 1969, 1975, and 1980.

10. There is no real discrepancy here, considering the fact that Mademoiselle readers' median age was still only 22.8 in 1980, and that many were still single (see Table V-4). Even though one-fourth of all readers were between ages 25 and 30, many of these were presumably delaying childbirth in favor of establishing their careers. This drop also reflects the trend to later marriages. In 1970, one in every 10 women between 25 and 29 had never been married. By 1980, this figure had doubled, to one woman in five (Information, Please Almanac, 1982: 782).

If one counts together the reader figures for single and single-and-engaged readers, the percentage of never-married Mademoiselle readers moves from 68% in 1969, down to 59% in 1975, and back up to 63% in 1980. Consistently, roughly two-thirds of Mademoiselle's readers throughout the decade were single women. At the start of the time period, many of them still lived at home (see Table V-5). Young women's growing independence is demonstrated by the increasing number of them who set up their own households by the end of the period.

Educational Level Attained

The area of Educational Level Attained is one from which it is hard to draw any solid conclusions, because the categories of measurement include too many

TABLE V-4. MARITAL STATUS OF
MADemoisELLE READERS, 1969, 1975, 1980

	1969	1975	1980
Single	61%	54% (-7)	58% (+4)
Single and engaged	7%	5% (-2)	5% (--)
Married	28%	33% (+5)	29% (-4)
*Widowed	1%	1% (--)	----
*Divorced	3%	7% (+4)	----
Widowed, Divorced, Separated	---	---	8%

*In 1980, Widowed and Divorced categories were combined.

Source: Reader Characteristics Research Reports, 1969, 1975,
 1980, from Mademoiselle magazine research office.

TABLE V-5. WHERE SINGLE READERS
LIVED, 1969, 1975 AND 1980

	1969	1975	Change	1980	Net Change
(In Percentages)					
Living at home	72%	56%	(-16)	50%	-22%
*Away from home	28%	44%	(+16)	50%	+22%
--rented	--	--		43%	
--in owned house or apartment	--	--		7%	

In 1980, information was added on women living away from home: 54% of those living away from home had roommate(s).

Source: Reader Characteristics Research Reports, 1969, 1975, and 1980, provided by Mademoiselle magazine research department.

confluent variables. For instance, the percentage of readers "attending or attended college" rises over the period to total two-thirds of all readers in 1980 (see Table V-6). But only 26% of these readers say they are attending college as of 1980, and this category is inflated because from 1975 on, it includes readers currently in college or graduate school. Therefore, what looks like a 4% increase in the percentage of college students may reflect an increasing number of women who went on to graduate school. There may even have been a decrease in the percentage of readers who were full-time college students, despite this apparent 4% increase.

And even the slight apparent increase in Table V-6, the total percentage attending college, high school or graduate school, conflicts with the figures readers reported under "Occupation" (see Table V-7). The percentage of readers who report that they go to school full or part-time might be expected to equal the total percentages of readers reporting themselves in college, graduate or high school in the data in Table V-6. But the number who report themselves in school full or part time is consistently higher for each time period than the number reporting themselves as attending college, high school or graduate school. That is, while Table

TABLE V-6. LEVELS OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF
MADemoISELLE READERS, 1969-1980

	<u>% Attended or Attend- ing College</u>	<u>% College Graduates</u>	<u>% Had Some College</u>	<u>% Still Attend- ing Col- lege</u>	<u>% Attend- High School</u>	<u>Total % Attending All Educ.</u>
1969	63%	19%	22%	22%	12%	34%
1975	65%	19%	19%	*27%	10%	37%
1980	65%	20%	17%	*26%	12%	38%
Net Change	+ 2%	+ 1%	- 3%	+ 4%	0	+ 4%

*For 1975 and 1980 this category became "readers still attending college or graduate school."

Data from Reader Characteristics Research Reports from Mademoiselle for 1969, 1975, and 1980.

TABLE V-7. MADemoISELLE READER
OCCUPATIONS, 1969, 1975, 1980

	% With Full- Time Employ- ment	% With Part- Time Employ- ment	% Doing Full- Time House- keeping	% In School Full-Time or Part- Time	% Who Work, Keep House, & Or Go To School
	<u>Mlle.</u>	<u>Mlle.</u>	<u>Mlle.</u>	<u>Mlle.</u>	<u>Mlle.</u>
1969	41%	21%	10%	49%	26%
1975	51%	27%	8%	46%	40%
1980	52%	26%	7%	42%	51%
Net Change	+11%	+ 5%	- 3%	- 7%	+25%

*The yearly percentages for each magazine do not add up to 100% because some readers fit into two categories (i.e., full-time job and part-time school).

Source: Reader Characteristics Research Reports from Mademoiselle magazine, 1969, 1975 and 1980.

6 shows 42% of Mademoiselle readers in school full or part time, Table 7 shows that only 38% report themselves as being in high school, college or graduate school.

Even more confusingly, the percentage reporting themselves in school fulltime or part-time decreases according to Table V-6, while the percentage reporting themselves in college, high school or graduate school increases or stays the same, according to Table V-7. The percentage in high school, college or graduate school may be higher because readers included something besides college, high school or graduate school courses, i.e., professional non-college courses (beautician, apprenticeships, etc.) or non-credit adult education courses.

But, regardless of the difficult of interpreting the statistics, it is still a well-educated group of readers. In 1969, the 63% who've attended college is "more than 3 times the average for women in the country as a whole" (Mademoiselle Reader Characteristics, 1969: 2). The 1975 figure of 65% is "nearly two and a half times the average for women in the country as a whole" (Mademoiselle Reader Characteristics, 1975: 2). The 1980 figure of 65% is "more than two times the average for

women in the country as a whole" (Mademoiselle Reader Characteristics, 1980: 2).

Occupational Status

What is also significant about the figures in Table V-8 is that over the period under study, Mademoiselle's percentage of full-time employed workers increased from about two-fifths of all readers to over half. At the same time, the percentage of full-time homemakers dropped to under 10%. Strikingly, the greatest change emerges in the category of readers who describe themselves as combining work with keeping house and/or going to school. Mademoiselle's readers in this category increase by 25%. That is, a full 51% of all readers in 1980 reported themselves as combining jobs, housework and/or school, as contrasted with roughly one-fourth who chose that category of self-description in 1969. It is a worthwhile supposition that more than the 26% of all readers who so described themselves in 1969 combined their job with housework. But in 1969, economists and sociologists had not yet pointed out the fact that women typically do "double duty." Since this category includes many possible combinations (school + job, job + household work, household work + school, job + household work + school), it is impossible to do more than guess at the

TABLE V-8. READER EMPLOYMENT CATEGORIES, MADemoisELLE, 1969, 1975, 1980.

	1969	1975	1980	Net Change
	<u>Mlle.</u>	<u>Mlle.</u>	<u>Mlle.</u>	<u>Mlle.</u>
Secretaries	29%	23%	19%	-10%
Other office jobs	27%	27%	26%	- 1%
Teachers	8%	9%	3%	- 5%
Nurses	3%	2%	2%	- 1%
Other professional and semi-professional jobs	9%	9%	13%	+ 4%
Managers, officials, proprietors	3%	8%	12%	+ 9%
Sales (retail and other)	4%	6%	9%	+ 5%
Service	4%	6%	8%	+ 4%
Other jobs (not defined)	13%	13%	8%	- 5%

Source: Reader Characteristics Research Reports from Mademoiselle, 1969, 1975,
and 1980.

implications in terms of increases in any one of those combinations. But the fact that so many more women are aware now that they are "doing it all," reflects women's growing awareness that "women's work" is not an "either-or" proposition. As discussed in Chapter II, even as women were taking on more responsibility outside the home (jobs, courses, etc.), that first full-time job as homemaker did not vanish.

There are also small but meaningful changes in the kinds of jobs readers were doing, which also reflect the national statistics on working women cited in Chapter II (see Table V-8). For instance, there was a 10% drop in the percentage of readers who were secretaries and a 5% drop in the percentage of teachers, matched by a 9% increase in the number of managers, proprietors, and officials and a 4% increase in the number of professionals and semi-professionals (besides nurses and teachers), as well as increases in the sales and service segments. But, still, one-fourth of all readers in 1980 were in office jobs (tellers, cashiers, receptionists, bookkeepers, typists, clerical workers, and other office jobs), and 19% were secretaries. Fully 45% had lower-level office jobs, versus only 30% in management, professional and semi-professional jobs.

Implications of Demographic Changes

Mademoiselle clearly has identified its target group of readers very accurately, and changed its editorial mix in such a fashion that it continues to draw similar readers through the years. Its demographic figures show surprisingly little change. According to the magazine's figures, the median reader age only increased by 1.8 years, from 21 to 22.8. Almost two-thirds of all readers were single, across the time period. The level of education was virtually constant, with one-fifth of all readers college graduates and about 100% high school graduates throughout the time period. In 1980, fewer readers had children, but a full two fifths did still have children. There was only an 11% increase in the number of readers employed full-time, and most of that--10%--came between 1969 and 1975. The biggest change reflected the relaxing of social mores and the trend to later marriages; fully 22% more readers live away from home in 1980 than in 1969. But, again, the biggest increase, 16%, showed up between 1969 and 1975, with only another 6% growth between 1975 and 1980. This does indicate that young women are working longer before marriage after they are out of their parents' "nest."

The implications of these figures on employment, however, tell us more. They indicate that Mademoiselle readers as a population group exactly paralleled national figures in terms of the numbers of women in the workforce. In 1970, 43% of all American women over 16 were working; in 1969, 41% of Mademoiselle readers were working full-time, and another 21% were working part-time. In 1980, 51.7% of all American women were working, and 52% of Mademoiselle readers were working full-time, with another 26% working part-time.

Since Mademoiselle had always had a high percentage of employed readers (Singel, 1957; Morelock, 1971), and had always given serious attention to women's careers (Wingate, 1979), it was not to be expected that there would necessarily be an increase in serious career coverage in the 1970's. In fact, the demographics show such small changes that only limited conclusions about their relationships to changes in magazine coverage can be drawn. There was, after all, only an 11% increase in the number of readers employed full-time, a relatively small increment, and the study did find an increase in articles dealing with the problems of working women, especially in 1975.

The study also found a surprising lack of coverage for women in clerical jobs. Since 56% of all readers in

1969 were in office jobs and 45% in 1980 were still in office jobs, some amount of material dealing with the problems of secretaries, etc. might have been expected. Nevertheless, there was only one article dealing with secretaries (Fury, 1981) in all 72 of the issues surveyed. However, this in line with the traditional editorial point of view of Mademoiselle and Glamour. Despite the fact that office workers have always made up a high proportion of their readers (since they make up a high proportion of all women in the labor force; see Table II-3), the young women's fashion magazines have never devoted much attention to job advice for them with the exception of the postwar Glamour (McCarthy, 1950; Woodward, 1960). Coverage has been directed more at the needs of the upwardly mobile young lower-level professional woman, the young woman more likely to be in the jobs that went to college-educated "career girls." There was a 13% increase in the number of women in professional, management, and semi-professional jobs, and the study does show an increase in the number of "climbing the ladder" career-advice articles suitable for such readers.

One of the original assumptions of the study was that coverage in magazines in general changes in response to reader demographics. However, it is difficult to draw strong conclusions in this case as

reader demographics were relatively stable for the time period. It was possible to draw some relationships between changing demographics and editorial contents, however. Chapter VII surveys how coverage of careers changed and analyzes the extent to which changes are related to reader demographics for each of the three time periods studied: 1969-70, 1975-76, and 1980-81.

CHAPTER VI

NOT JUST A JOB

From the beginning, Mademoiselle always believed in careers for women, and this early feature was lightheartedly called "I Don't Want to Play the Harp Department."

--Betsy Talbot Blackwell

Introduction

Blackwell's conception of Mademoiselle as "guide, philosopher, and friend" (A Short, Short History of Mademoiselle," cited in Singel, 1957: 90) to its young readers provides a schema within which to conceptualize the magazine's career coverage. One can speak of the editorial voice as a person, a demoiselle. In 1969-70, her voice is that of a guide, a sibyl who describes to the reader various career choices, with warnings of dangerous areas and anticipation of pleasant ones.

In 1975-76, she is a philosopher, ruminating upon the implications of the choice to pursue a career, not just a job, and the costs and benefits of each decision following therefrom--the desire to excel, the problems

of having time for mothering, the strain of trying to be assertive.

By 1980-81, a new voice sounds, more calculating and less personal than the others. She is still a guide, but where her sister's mandate was the mapping of possible careers, hers is to provide a route to the top and encouragement to those floundering at the bottom. She is wise in the ways of the business world, and distills wily management wisdom to the uninitiated. Both roles, guide and philosopher, are present throughout the period, but each era is typified by only one: guide, then philosopher, then the new guide cum mentor.

The role of "friend" is present throughout the coverage, not so much in what is said, but in tone of voice. While not as egregiously "hen-party" as the material quoted from the 1950's, the 1970's Mademoiselle is nevertheless direct and personal. The American language is hampered by the lapse of the second person noun form "thee" so we must borrow the French word "tutoiement" to describe the magazine's form of address. Tutoiement means, literally, "theeing and thouing," or the form of address used by friends and intimates, in place of the more formal "vous." Mademoiselle, and other women's magazines, use a "you" that is a direct, informal

noun rather than the distant "you." Used over and over, on covers, in the titles of articles, in advertisements, and in the articles themselves, it is a device designed to enhance the reader's identification of herself with the magazine. An article is never called "Good-looking New Fall Clothes" if it can be titled "New Fall Clothes You'll Love." This is part of the elementary functioning of women's magazines. As Valdes and Crow said, the "you" a magazine describes is not the reader, but the magazine's idealization of the reader--the "best" you, that the reader (presumably) wants to be and can learn to be by emulating the women who people the magazine's pages (1973: 149).

Procedure. To reiterate briefly the procedure of the study, each issue of Mademoiselle for the periods under review was examined, for a total of 72 issues. These six years were selected to correlate with the demographic surveys provided by the magazine's research office, dated 1969, 1975 and 1980. Two years were examined for each period because it was thought that striking changes in demographics done in one year might be immediately reflected in the following year's editorial contents. Therefore, the year of the reader survey and the year immediately following were surveyed for the three time periods selected. The writer chose to look at every

issue for the periods studied, from the desire to uncover a detailed picture of gradual changes in editorial mix and editorial tone, which a random sample of issues could not provide.

Overview. It was found that a tone of friendly intimacy is consistent throughout the period, but the emphasis in career advice shifted from concern with what career to choose to how to get along as a worker. Editorial coverage in 1969-1970 showcased careers that, while beyond the traditional "women's fields" of clerical work or teaching, were still "suitable" for women, such as social work, writing, crafts, magazine work, and catering. No engineers, bankers, doctors or lawyers were in evidence. These articles also tended to portray women as working until marriage and/or children. This coincided with the view of the women interviewed, who frequently described themselves as not really "career girls," but only working "until..." By 1981, it is assumed that readers are working. Work matters are seen as part of the reader's total concerns and work articles are there to help the young woman in her early jobs prepare herself not only to excel in that job but to develop a lifetime career.

The types of articles changed dramatically, as well. The aggregate body of material on careers in 1969-1970 is markedly different from what appears by 1975-76. Further, there is almost no similarity between the 1969-70 coverage and that of the 1980-81 period. In 1969 and 1970, career information was quite literally that: articles describing various careers and outlining the necessary training, advantages and disadvantages, typical salaries, and profiles of women in the field. Notably, most also include a thorough examination of the amount and type of discrimination against women in the field. By 1980-81, these "profiles" are extremely rare, having been almost completely superceded by "how-to" articles for women already in a job: how to ask for a raise, how to get over being fired, how to get along with co-workers.

There are no such how-to articles in the whole 1969-70 corpus. Likewise, in 1969-70, there are no "dress for success" articles, no "first-job" stories, no "personal experience" articles, all of which begin to appear by 1975-76. A staple of 1980-81 coverage, "beauty and fitness for working women," is represented by a single one-column article which is nothing more nor less than advice to keep fresh skinwipers in your desk ("Desk Job," 1970: 196).

The overall number of career articles more than doubled between 1969-70 and 1975-76, and tripled by 1980-81, increasing from 16 to 54, though 1980-81 articles were typically much shorter than those of the earlier period. There was even a sizable increase between 1980 and 1981, which probably reflects Amy Levin's entry as editor-in-chief in May 1980. While three 1980 issues lack any career coverage, every 1981 issue has at least two articles, most three or four. To the 13 career articles in the 1980 editorial mix, there were 40 in 1981. Also, the total emphasis on careers increased greatly: in 1969-70, career articles rarely rated cover headlines. By 1981, only two issues appeared without headlining a career article.

The reader will note the shifts in tone which characterize each period. In 1969-70, the guide speaks; in 1975-76, the philosopher, and in 1980-81, the new mentor guides her younger sisters up the ladder.

"Which Interesting Job is Right For You?": 1969-70 Career Coverage

In an entry in the Writers' Market '71, Mademoiselle described its readers as "college educated women between the ages of 18-25" and called for articles for "the intelligent young woman concerning the arts,

education, careers, European travel, and current sociological and political problems." The blurb mentioned that "recent authors have included Alan Watts, Wilfred Sheed, Rebecca West and Hortense Calisher" and that Mademoiselle preferred not to receive "personal reminiscences" (Palking and Enison, 1970: 346).

At this time, the median age of Mademoiselle readers was 21; 78% of all readers were under 25. Sixty-eight percent were single, most still living at home. Of the married, widowed, and divorced readers, only half had children, most under ten. Half of all readers were in school full or part-time; 41% were already working full-time. Almost 60% of those were in clerical and secretarial jobs and another 11% were teachers and nurses.

The writing about careers seems to be aimed at a typical reader fitting these demographics: young, single, probably in school. There are more articles on colleges, for instance, than on careers. And the slant of the career coverage is toward informing readers of a great variety of career options, implying that the reader best served by it would be one who was still at the point of making a choice, not one already established in a career or certain of her direction.

Regular career coverage was part of a section titled "Colleges and Careers," included in almost every issue. Most issues included a profile of a particular college, and twelve (out of 24) included profiles of possible careers. In general, the orientation was to inform readers of possible jobs (and possible colleges) that might be in their future. Oddly enough, the emphasis on college choices did not seem to be related to the percentage of readers still in high school, which was only 12%. This probably reflected the topicality of U.S. campuses at the time. They were still in the media spotlight generally as centers of protest and anti-war activity, and were also a major source of fashions and fads at the time.

The 1969-70 coverage of jobs reflected some intriguing and contradictory perspectives. By far the bulk of all coverage consisted of career profiles, which described jobs in nuclear power and oceanography (Axelrod and McKenzie, 1969), city planning (Steinberg, 1969), TV production (Kevles, 1969), science writing, nursing, and physical therapy (Axelrod, May, 1969), and as "mother's helpers," (Arking, 1969), in catering (Axelrod, October, 1969), as literary agents (Guitar, November, 1969), in South America as bilingual secretary (Kruger, 1970), in home crafts, batik, crocheting,

glassblowing, etc.) (Cunningham, March, 1970), ecology (Guitar, April, 1970), jobs in Geneva, London and Rome (Comer, June, 1970), magazine jobs (Comer, September, and Cunningham, 1970), and audio-visual teaching specialization (Grove, 1970).

On the one hand, the authors of these pieces were conscious of their interviewees' ambivalence about admitting to themselves that they were "career girls." On the other hand, they were well aware of the discrimination against women in many of these fields. For instance, the March, 1969 article on "The World of Television" was headlined with the quotation: "'We Discriminate Against Women Because They Don't Look Like Us, Act Like Us, or Think Like Us... '--A Male TV Producer" (Kevles, 1969: 170).¹

The writer, Barbara Kevles, who had worked for both WNET-TV and "CBS Reports," interviewed women in

¹The full quotation from which the headline was taken reads: "We discriminate against women for the same reason we discriminate against Negroes: they don't look like us, act like us, or think like us, so we don't want them around in the executive dining room." (Kevles, 1969: 171)

many TV jobs and provided a comprehensive survey of the benefits and disadvantages of the field. Along with descriptions of just what sound women, film editors, and producers do, she addressed the problems created for them by their gender: the editor/sound women repeatedly asked on interviews "Does a cute kid like you really want to do this?" (March, 1969: 232), the perennial problems of being a boss to all-male crews: "You're resented if you give orders, no matter how discreetly, yet you can't come on too strong, either" (173), and the fact that women were still mostly hired for on-camera jobs as tokens or "for decoration" (173). Her interviewees cited repeated examples of such "bone-deep male prejudice": "Women are going to leave to marry and have children, so why train them?" "Women shouldn't shlep film equipment, so how can they be associate producers?" (171). She underlined this experiential evidence with the hard facts of discrimination: almost all the women interviewed earned far below the average for males in the same job, almost all had started as "secretary-researchers" or receptionists, and, except for freelancers, almost all were still titled "associate" or "assistant" producers, even after years of experience. She concluded from this that while schools of communication were overcoming discrimination by training more

women, in "piloting them toward television, they are doing for them what TV does for the ghetto Negro-- giving a sense of possibilities without telling them they can't have them" (Kevles, 1969: 171).

She characterized these women as having great "self direction," with the strength of character to persevere in the face of daily discrimination, but saw how this was undercut by their own unwillingness to commit themselves to careers. Their career commitment tended to be verbalized as "I wanted a life before marriage (171, emphasis added)." One local public affairs producer said, "If something comes up, my work comes first, and I will delay or cancel a date. This is an all-or-nothing job.... But I don't want to be a full-time career girl, though, forever and ever (171, emphasis added)." Another said she was not sure she wanted to be a producer herself and summed up the fears of many women of her generation:

I have the feeling that most women are either ambitious to marry or ambitious to make their way in the world. I'm caught in the nether world between. I hold back from saying I want to succeed in film and be a producer. I don't make the commitment because I feel I don't want to be a career woman with all the connotations that go with it...and because I want to marry and have kids. It's a problem society has imposed on women, because there's no reason you

can't do both--make a commitment and have a family, too. (Kevles, 1968: 233, emphasis added)

Neither she nor Kevles found it necessary to explain the "connotations" of being a career girl. Any contemporary reader could fill those in for herself: fear of isolation, fear of beating men at their own game and therefore eliminating possible marriage partners, fear of the envy and resentment of other women. In fact, these women had grown up reading descriptions of career women like the one in the May 1940 Mademoiselle, painting a picture of shrill, miserable harpies, quoted in chapter IV. So, even though this woman said there's no reason women couldn't have both career and family, it sounded wistful, as though she had no sense that it was actually, realistically possible. (But one wonders if she is one of the throng of working mothers who have collectively created a new stereotype in the 1980's.)

A June, 1970 report on careers in magazines followed a similar pattern of describing the various job possibilities, interviewing many individuals, and describing the various discriminatory patterns. This one was given added punch by a piece in the same issue describing the May, 1970 lawsuit against Time, Inc. by its women staffers. The overview article made it clear

that, unlike television, it was possible and even likely to start as a secretary or lower-level assistant and work your way up in magazines. The article described sex discrimination matter-of-factly, and even humorously-- "It's hard to be tactful when everybody is a male the same age of your father (Comer, June 1970: 190)." It ended optimistically:

Discrimination against women magazine staffers in salaries and promotions seems to be on the wane, especially since Newsweek's researchers' suit against management (cleverly timed to coincide with a cover story on Women's Lib). (Comer, 192)

A sidebar featured profiles of six young women working on diverse publications (a city magazine, Audubon, two scholarly journals, the muckraking Washington Monthly, Teen, and a phone company house organ) (Cunningham, 1970).

The companion piece on the Time, Inc. lawsuit was written pseudonymously by one of the plaintiffs. It described patterns of hiring Radcliffe-educated women with six years' editing experience as secretaries, and a division of labor into male "writers," who got bylines and better pay, and female "researchers." Most damning was the portrait of the company management's initial flat-footed reaction to the suit: "Women are different from men, and a researchers' job is different from a

writer's job (Whitehead, 1970: 109) " and its final willingness to accommodate "as long as the system remains unaffected (109)."

Reflection of Non-conscious Ideology. A May, 1969 article on science careers was similarly conscientious about describing a field's particular forms of sex discrimination. The first sentence read "Science writing is one growing field where there is practically no discrimination against women" (Axelrod, May, 1969: 218). But this very article exhibited an unconscious sex stereotyping visible on closer examination of the choice of specific careers. Entitled "For the Science-Minded," it profiled three jobs: physical therapist, nurse, and science writer--all safely "suitable" for women. There was no mention of careers in any phase of engineering in chemical or biological research, in medicine, as doctors or psychiatrists or researchers--in short, none of the "hard" science jobs occurred to the author as apropos for a job listing for the science-minded woman: an example of the Bems' (1973) "non-conscious ideology" at work.

This was true for other job profiles as well. While none were as egregiously sex-stereotyped as those appearing in Glamour in the 1950's, which ranged from

knitting instructor to welcome wagon hostess to statistical typist, many were typical "women's jobs," such as secretary (Kruger, 1970 and Comer, June 1970), caterer (Axelrod, October, 1969), and craftsworker (Cunningham, March, 1970). Many of the rest belonged to the category of jobs so new that they had not yet been "gendered," such as city planning, ecology management, oceanography, and audio-visual specializations. It's all a very far cry from a 1981 article profiling the best job opportunities for women, which matter-of-factly included engineering, banking, accounting, and other traditionally male--and traditionally well-paying--jobs.

Another career profile went so far as to declare that women make the best agents because of "biological determinism" and "their natural talent for empathy" (Guitar, November, 1969: 167, emphasis added). The opening paragraph stated:

Behind every successful man there is, traditionally, a woman pulling the strings. If he is an artist, writer, performer, the woman is likely to be his agent. She's the one who steers his career, gets him work, sets up the best deal, and, whether he's up or down, makes him feel loved. Women are said to have an affinity for the agent business, largely because of biological determinism. They are nurturers by nature. "It's a mother thing with artists," says gallery-owner Virginia Zebriskie. "You're handholding much of the time. That's why the gallery world has always attracted women." (Guitar: 167)

But the author shrewdly pointed out another advantage of this as a job field for young women. Although one young gallery assistant complained that her only problem was being taken seriously because she was so young, a literary agent believed that it was much easier to rise quickly to positions where one actually wielded individual authority in agenting than in publishing, stating that, with some exceptions, "the agent is closer to the historic publisher's role than today's editor ordinarily is" (218). A woman editorial agent agreed that the lack of structure helped: "You don't have to fight the male bureaucracy you find in publishing" (218).

Reflection of Contemporary Idealism. But although this selection of jobs did reflect a non-conscious ideology of what was appropriate for women, it also derived from a preoccupation with jobs that would be fulfilling and fun to do. This era, the end of the 1960's, was a time of great idealism among young people. It was the time of Vietnam war protests, college campus revolts, latter-day civil rights activism, Peace Corps and VISTA volunteerism, and low-paying but morally righteous jobs with Model Cities, Head Start, and other programs funded by the various Federal anti-poverty agencies. Many college graduates of the day, male and female, shared an ethos that required of them a

commitment to making the world a better place, rather than making themselves wealthy.

The magazine's general coverage reflected this, carrying pieces praising the Black power movement (Moody, January, 1969); analyzing "Dehumanized Radicalism" (Hentoff, 1969); decrying "institutionalized protest" (i.e., knee-jerk radicalism) (Buhler, December, 1969), and praising the new pro-ecology movement (Guitar, April 1970). Most revealing of this mind-set was a piece criticizing the "classism" of young middle-class volunteers. Called "Off the Do-gooders," it stated "Summer volunteering is no longer a matter of some student bestowing white middle-class acceptance on the deprived (Marks , December, 1970: 126).

Reflection of Current Reality. Even allowing for the contemporary commitment to "worthwhile" jobs, which typically female jobs have tended to be anyway (teaching, nursing, secretarial work, counseling, social work), the scope of the magazine's career coverage was narrowed by the period's view of appropriate careers for women. This is nowhere more clear than in a September 1969 piece called "Where the Jobs Are," profiling opportunities and living conditions in eight major American cities. Along with such information as whether a car is a must (L.A.)

or useless (Boston), it listed the major industries unique to each city, such as NASA, petroleum and medical-center jobs in Houston, publishing and teaching in Boston, food companies and computers in Minneapolis-St. Paul, and aerospace, movies and think tanks in Los Angeles.

But instead of the broad range of jobs available in industries--aerospace engineer, banker, economies, manager--the most frequently listed job categories were secretary, teacher, and researcher, with nurse, sports-wear buyer and "assistant" well represented also. And no wonder--secretaries made as much as or more than those in most other jobs, and there were many opportunities for secretaries with college degrees. So, although in this and other articles Mademoiselle in 1969-70 projected a genteel, white-gloves "career-girl" image, it must be remembered that few women had managed to become bankers, engineers, scientists or managers. The magazine was simply reflecting the temper of the times.

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sometimes painful confrontation with the ideas of the movement, including their sense of themselves as workers or non-workers. It was no accident that career articles included information on discrimination; sex discrimination lawsuits were being brought successfully in increasing numbers then. The year 1970 also marked the appearance of ground-breaking works of feminist theory--Kate Millett's Sexual Politics, Shulamith Firestone's The Dialectic of Sex, and Naomi Weisstein's famous "Woman as Nigger" article published in Psychology Today.

Mademoiselle joined in the intellectual ferment, most notably with the February 1970 issue, entirely devoted to "women's lib." The cover featured the usual pretty model's face, stamped "Handle With Care." The accompanying Blackwell editorial explained that care was advisable "not because we're fragile but because some of us might explode" (159). The title page, subheaded "Women Re Women," listed 14 articles on the pros and cons of liberation, including a piece by one of the more radical feminist thinkers, Susan Brownmiller, and an "opinion" column by Karen De Crow, a future president of NOW. But the reader-identification piece was a long article in which a writer explained her gradual conversion to feminism, after initial wariness. It featured interviews with Jo Freeman, then a student and now

editor of the best-known introductory Women's Studies textbook (now going into its third edition), and Naomi Weisstein, who was pioneering the study of the psychology of women.

Further reader identification was offered in an extremely thought-provoking examination of women's own contradictory attitudes about their work. Arrestingly titled "Women Are Discriminated Against (But They Deserve It)," it analyzed in detail the conflicting pulls of career and family. Author Nancy Comer quoted the many women who, despite being college graduates in paid employment, said they wouldn't trust women in certain jobs (stockbroker, cab driver), would not work for a woman boss, and thought that women should stay in jobs "appropriate" to them "like teaching or secretarial work" (Comer, February, 1970: 248). It also pointed up the common attitude of "I'm only working until..."--until I have children, until I'm married.

The article very cogently outlined the problems of women as workers and the ways these attitudes reinforced employers' negative stereotypes of women: the tendency to put family duties, time and interests before the job, the willingness to accept lower salaries, the often skewed criteria used to select jobs; the Queen

Bee syndrome, the demands for special treatment, the inability to take criticism (242, 282). However, the author was aware that most of these problems derived from the socialization of women in that period. Still taught that their main function, identity, and value would come from their non-career roles of wife and mother, they were naturally either not preoccupied with work roles or actively uncomfortable because of their ingrained fear of being "career girls."²

Summary. In short, 1969-70 coverage was still aimed primarily at young, single women living at home, because that is who readers overwhelmingly were. The editorial focus was still on profiling possible careers, though it was a more sober and critical view than typical career profiles of the 1950's and 1960's, which provided detailed information on discrimination as a matter of course.

The one way in which Mademoiselle was probably ahead of its readers then was in its coverage of

²Coverage in 1975-76 would also have made the point that virtually all of these "problems" derived from women's dual responsibility vis a vis career and home responsibilities. Women "put family duties, time and interests before the job" and select jobs on "skewed criteria" because they are primarily responsible for their homes and children--somebody needs to put the family first, and it obviously isn't fathers and employers.

feminism. The resurgence of the women's movement was startling, and even frightening, to the majority of American women--as witness the backlashes against the ERA, abortion rights, and feminism in general, and so many women's reluctance to identify themselves with the women's movement. (The typical line for many women was: "I'm not a women's libber, but...")

Mademoiselle's coverage was clearly enthusiastic and designed to reassure their readers that there was something in this feminism for them too.

By 1975-76, a transformation had taken place. Not only were more readers working, but there was a new editor-in-chief, and coverage implicitly assumed that most readers are working.

"Can You Stand 'Having It All'?: 1975-76 Career Coverage

There is a clear evolution from the tone of 1969-70 to the discussions in 1975-76. The TV producer's wistful comment in 1970 that there was no reason why women can't have both career and family had evolved into discussion of just where the problems lie when women start trying to do that. The 1969-70 resolve to do good in the world has given way to women who very consciously saw their duty as attempting to bridge the barricades keeping them out of the all-male, prestigious,

high-paying career fields. The editorial voice was now the voice of a subdued, thoughtful philosopher. The writing was suffused with feminist consciousness. Editors, writers and readers alike were trying to come to terms with new ideas of freedom, new possibilities and new conflicts, especially that between the old fear of "selling out" to the Establishment and the first appearance of the 1980's concern with "making it," with obtaining visible, material success.

The types of articles had changed, and mark a clear transition from 1969-70 to 1980-81. In brief, 1975-76 coverage still included information on summer jobs, which all but disappeared by 1980-81; it included profiles of some 20 jobs, a category virtually eliminated by the end of the decade. It included seven of the "how-to" articles which form the backbone of the 1980-81 editorial mix, along with the first appearance of "dressing for success" advice and the idea of health for working women, accompanied by the new buzzwords "Energy," "vitality" and "fitness." Job profiles included artists (Koslow, May, 1975), archeologists, groundskeepers, cooperative extension agents, natural resources specialists, naturalists, forest rangers (Comer, June, 1975), historic preservationists (Calvert, September, 1975), entrepreneurs (Koslow, October, 1975), interior

designers (Comer, November, 1975), armed forces service people (Calvert, March, 1976), entrepreneurs (Comer, April, 1976), caterers (Koslow, May, 1976) fashion photographers (Comer, December, 1976), bankers (Koslow, September, 1976), movie directors (Latour, October, 1976), models (Calvert, December, 1956) and photographers (Comer, December, 1976). Only five issues of the 24 had no career coverage, and the profiles were more standardized, less incisive.

The more involving, thought-provoking pieces were those examining problems and questions common to all working women: the difficulty of combining work and motherhood; women's ambivalence about their new freedom to pursue success aggressively; the difficulties of trying to change over from the passive femininity one had grown up with to the new ideal of the more active, direct, assertive women. Discussion of many hitherto unmentionable sexual topics indicated a searching for new directions. The serious articles in these two years tended to deal with the various personal crises of awakening to feminism which had just begun to be discussed in 1970.

Of all the coverage in the 72 issues which made up the study, the most thought-provoking pieces were

published in these years. There was a depth of concern, a powerful sense of the gravity and immediacy of women's problems that does not emerge in the other periods. One of the problems discussed at length was the "dual-role" stress of being an employed mother. The second was even more fundamental, and harder to encapsulate. Though it too arose from role conflict, unlike the "working mother" problem, it didn't even have a label, except for the unsatisfactory "fear of success."

Women's Changing Attitudes About Careers. It was the conflict women felt when the ground began to shift under them, as the women's movement called into question so many aspects of the roles they had grown up expecting to fill. Marriage and motherhood were no longer axiomatic for the women coming of age and taking first jobs then. Unlike the women interviewed in 1969 and 1970, they had begun to realize that they might not be working just "until the next step--marriage and/or babies." They reacted to that with a mix of elation, pride, fear, resentment, and confused feelings of inadequacy and betrayal. Mademoiselle tried to help women sort out their feelings. For this reason, there were few discussions of work that did not descant upon underlying emotional states, the problems of marriage, and the discomfort of abdicating formerly approved sex-roles.

Other articles dealt with careers by implication. One woman discussed the plus side of being single, one the minus; another the conflicts besetting she who attempts to unlearn her stifling "femininity." One woman described her coming to terms with the realization that she too could exert "power" over others; another, her conviction that women must learn to use power, for the sake of their own futures. Two others discussed women's ambivalence about success, and to what women attribute their own success. All of these were potentially very threatening ideas to a generation of women whose career planning had amounted to finishing college so that "if anything ever happened to my husband, I could support myself."

A pair of July, 1975 articles discussed being single. The first, by Karen Durbin, was called "I Get So Drunk On Freedom, I'm Like a Teetotaler With A Glass Of Wine." Describing her exhilaration at her sense of her own independence, she delineated quite clearly that it was a re-discovery of independence. She had felt happily self-centered during childhood. But in adolescence, she had lost her sense of being at the center of her own universe, and became re-oriented to the unconscious acceptance of society's message that boys do and girls react to what boys do. "I was no longer

a person, I was a full-time girl, and, as such, no longer self-sufficient" (Durbin, July, 1975: 122). As an adult, this meant that "mateless, one was less free than adrift" (122). For her, the dawning awareness of the women's movement helped restore to her a sense of herself:

Feminism was like an enormous lever shifting the sexually tilted universe back on to its axis.... what is being restored here to women, in a hundred subtle, small ways, is a sense of self-sufficiency, a sense of independence, a recognition of one's ability to choose (1975: 122).

The negative side of being single was dealt with in the companion piece, "Dear God, How I Have Hated Being Single." Catherine Calvert pinpointed the problem for many single women: "To begin with, I wasn't raised to be single..." (144). This assumption, that one's present lifestyle is temporary, has left many women almost crippled by the inability to act: "Few women I know decide not to marry; most have led a tentative, pending sort of life, with a half-resolution that can poison them without their notice" (145). This is the state of being "adrift," recognized in Durbin's article. It is such a common problem for women that it has been recognized and named by sociologists. Jessie Bernard calls it "contingency

scheduling" in her forthcoming, as yet untitled, book on women's lives.³

Bernard says that women stop short of committing themselves to a career, because they literally don't know what might happen in their lives to disrupt career plans. They may marry someone whose company will transfer him, or someone who won't want them to work, or they might have children. We hear again the voice of the woman interviewed in Kevles' (1969) article on women in TV: "I'm caught in the nether world between marriage and career (233)." The disastrous effect of this on women's careers is self-evident. The person who's holding back, waiting for something else to come along, is hamstrung. The woman who's still waiting for a mate is acting out the most damning of all the standard employer rationales for not hiring/training/promoting women: that her job commitment is only temporary. Calvert's article makes plain that it is not loneliness, but this sense of waiting for her "real life" to start, that has made her "hate being single."

³The book was used in manuscript form for Dr. Bernard's Fall 1982 course "Honors: The Female World," at the University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware, and was made available to the author there.

A similarly introspective piece of writing was Calvert's confession piece, "I Was Afraid of Being Feminine (January, 1976). She dealt with another facet of the sex role that paralyzes women: the injunction to be "nice," to be polite. Her description of her evolution from her southern girlhood is wry and funny: "I never went to a demonstration unless a boyfriend me, and there I squirmed inside.... Of course I wanted us out of Vietnam, sure, but not enough to talk loudly in the street (116)." Her words must have echoed with a "click" to many readers who had grown up hearing "If you can't say something nice, don't say anything at all," and found themselves tongue-tied in the 1970's in their attempts to follow the new injunctions to be assertive, to stand up for themselves.⁴

⁴"The click" was an expression current in the early 1970's and mid-1970's. It was coined by Jane O'Reilly in a classic article "The Housewife's Moment of Truth." She used the word "click" to describe the shock of recognition, the epiphany, that hits women when they suddenly become aware that some incident in their own lives is not a happenstance or a coincidence, but an example of the sexism which places all women in supportive "housewifely" roles. The significance of the concept is attested to by the numbers of women who wrote in to Ms. describing their own "clicks. (O'Reilly, 1972).

Calvert put the relevance of this to women's working lives into sharp focus:

It all sounds...merely quaint and a little silly, believing that to be a properly feminine woman was a matter as shallow as being creamed and scented and shaved and groomed always...to more significant questions of attitude--be a good listener, don't originate or call attention to yourself; accede to your man in all things. Harmless fun, till I think of the good brains blunted in the process, valedictorians who thought cheerleading more important, or wonderfully verbal types who simpered when outside the dorm, or women who thought only of preparing for nice, temporary, traditionally female jobs, where they thrash five years later. (1976: 116, emphasis added)

She ended her musings by answering her own rhetorical question "Can anyone be liberated and a lady?" with a tentative "yes." Her solution was to "reconcile the worthwhile parts" of traditional femininity--kindness, sensitivity, etc.--and let the rest go, but wryly reminded us of the difficulty of changing a lifetime's "good behavior": "If I could just forget the power of that vanilla-scented word, that true yoke--if I could just forget to be nice" (116).

At the same time, Calvert addressed another issue that may seem silly, yet has confronted virtually all women who have gone through the process of realigning their world-view with their new awareness of feminist values and concerns. It is the need of reconciling our

narcissism, our exhibitionism, our obsession with "being creamed and scented and shaved and groomed always" with the realization of how unnecessary, time-consuming and degrading this is. As one reader put it in an August, 1975 letter to the editor, "my feminist psyche squirms every time I put on mascara" (42). And yet, implicitly, she was still putting on mascara. Editor Locke, already well aware that many of her readers were undergoing this "cognitive dissonance," dealt with it in a July 1975 editorial, stating that it is perfectly all right for women to continue to be "a courtesy to the beholder" as long as neither they nor others see their role as limited to that (Locke, 1975: 59). (Of course, a magazine dependent on cosmetic manufacturers for a major share of its advertising revenues is hardly going to say anything else.) Calvert resolved the dilemma by concluding that women should be free to take pleasure in little things--"a scent, the swish of a skirt, a compliment"--without feeling guilty or disloyal to feminist principles (116).⁵

⁵ Some feminist leaders, by the way, echoed her view. In a Ms. article on "Finding Your Personal Style," the outspoken Black feminist Florynce Kennedy responded to criticism of her fingernail polish and dresses with the statement "My politics don't depend on whether my tits are in or out of a bra." (Kushner, 1974: 83).

While the relevance of this kind of soul-searching may not seem immediately apparent, all of these reflections tied together. They formed the underpinnings for the kind of articles that were to come next: advice on how to overcome all this sex-role conditioning and handle new responsibilities more confidently. Durbin's July, 1975 discussion on how debilitating it was to turn into "a full-time girl," Calvert's analysis of how crippling it was to have to try to be nice all the time, to everybody, help us see why women newly promoted to responsible jobs were often paralyzed and couldn't grab the reins. They were exhibiting "learned helplessness": the enculturated passivity that keeps women scared and frozen, waiting for someone else to act for them.

The Fear of Power. And what happened when women did start trying to "forget to be nice?" Often, as Annie Gottlieb demonstrated, they just couldn't bring themselves to do it. In an October, 1976 piece called "Power: How to Use It," Gottlieb provided an analysis of why power, even over their own lives, but especially over others, was threatening to women.

The new opportunities and responsibilities life is offering us, which we are so impatient to grasp, often directly contradict our earliest conditioning, jeopardizing our deepest needs and our most secure and habitual ways of fulfilling them. The

results: confusion and conflict.... As children most of us learned, from watching our mothers and from everything we saw in magazines and on TV, that a woman could choose to be either desired or admired; she could not be both. Bright boys were all the more desirable, assured of future success; bright girls were intimidating and, everyone believed, bespectacled and ugly, condemned to lives of brilliant loneliness. Power in a man was sexy. Power in a woman was a turn-off--even though the powerlessness men found so delectable they also found contemptible.... To violate these roles is to betray a deeply instilled childhood self-image whose reward is love and whose enforcing penalty is the threat of the loss of love. (200, emphasis added)

Gottlieb cited as an illustration a friend's work experience. As a new junior associate in a major Wall Street law firm, she found herself hesitant to step forward and start doing the difficult work of taking depositions from witnesses. "It's an adversarial thing. You have to enjoy fighting. And none of us [women] are as aggressive about doing it as the men" (200). Instead, she found herself doing the routine organizational scutwork, which earned her an "infuriating mixture of gratitude and contempt from her male colleagues, but she [couldn't] stop" (200, emphasis added). As the young lawyer concluded: "If you've spent your whole life being a geisha girl, you lack practice at being anything else" (200).

Gottlieb identified another elusive element in this psychological reluctance to accept power--the fact that we have tended to see a split between the "virtuous innocence" of the powerless and the "blood guilt" of the powerful.

Women are reluctant to relinquish this injured virtue and this untried innocence, which are inevitably lost--like a kind of virginity--when one acts in an imperfect world. Action brings the weight of responsibility for one's condition, one's effects--and, inevitably, for one's mistakes.... What makes all this so difficult is that the pleasures of the old way are familiar, whereas the pleasures of the future are unknown--they are yet to be created, by today's acts of tentative, ambivalent courage (202).

An effective metaphor is to think of this fear of facing up to one's responsibility for taking power over one's own life as a pandemic neurosis, spreading through the female world. And like any form of neurotic behavior, it begins as an adaptive response to make some situation manageable or bearable; and becomes neurotic when it is no longer effective, but counterproductive. The problem is a familiar one to sex-role researchers, who conclude that:

After puberty certain kinds of behavior--such as strong academic competitiveness--are forbidden the female, for any qualities that might threaten the success of the heterosexual relationships that are to be prime in her life must be abandoned. Girls then enter a period of unhappy ambivalence

in which they fear both failure and success. The net result is that although girls are not forbidden to enter masculine fields of competition, they are psychologically ill-equipped to succeed in them (Gornick and Moran, 1971: xxiii, emphasis added).

All of these articles conveyed the immediacy for which women's magazine writers struggle. But their sense of urgency derived from their salience. They are as immediate, as felt as journal entries--the voices of intelligent, thoughtful women groping with new ideas. The tone is personal and sympathetic, but self absorbed, because these writers were not just describing other women's demons, but exorcising their own as well.

The more hard-boiled tone that was to come in 1980-81 was presaged in a February 1976 article by Nancy Axelrod Comer called "Job Strategies: How to Get What You Want." Its tone was sympathetic, but beginning to sound a little impatient with those women who were "still" hesitating on the brink of their new responsibilities. It demonstrated the disappearance of the widespread 1969-70 countercultural fear of getting co-opted by "the Establishment." The article quoted office strategists as saying "the end can justify the means. If you want power, you have to turn it on." But it shied away from the full implications of this attitude: "Although underhanded

things go on, that doesn't mean they have to be used" (112).

But the writer did make it abundantly clear that "nothing much comes to the woman who waits. No promotions, no raises, no recognition" (113). What's most useful to women, she argued, is not unethical or coercive behavior, but simply direct action on their own behalf. She cited example after example of women taking a small step, a small risk, leading them to more responsibility and challenge, concluding that the key factor is the women's own consciousness of her role as a career professional, and her willingness to fight for herself.

But conquering her "fear of power" was no guarantee that a woman could simply go on climbing the ladder of success with no further conflicts. The next conflict dealt with in Mademoiselle was guilt over the unfamiliar role of "successful worker," with a large part of the guilt stemming from the uneasy suspicion that one had been "co-opted" by the Establishment, and become a money-grubber like everybody else in the rat race. A March, 1975 article titled "Success: How Much Is Enough" dealt with this concern. A rather bemused look at women's new ambitions for themselves and their careers, it was written by a Mademoiselle editor just discovering

such ambition in herself, Amy Gross. She noted a key attitude change in women (and some men) from that which was current in the late 1960's: that they now felt comfortable stating openly their desire to make lots of money.

It used to be that earning 'lots' means you're doing something corrupt. Now, earning 'lots' means you're taking your abilities seriously--not, like the typical female, selling yourself short. (136)

The 1960's injunction to "fulfill oneself" had become defunct: "It's no longer enough to have an 'interesting' job" (137). The writer also noted--uneasily--some early trends that were to become of wider concern to women and the women's movement throughout the decade; for instance, that employed women were beginning to patronize housewives. This was the only one instance cited of the ways in which "those of use who were condemning the male system just a few years ago and promoting female virtues are now becoming very like the males we criticized" (137).

In a September, 1975 article, Phyllis Riffield reported on eight successful women in relatively non-traditional careers. Her interviews demonstrated clearly women's own hesitancy to attribute their successes to their own efforts, which has been well documented

(Bernard, 1981; Weitz, 1977), and the frequency with which they overlook the fact that the new opportunities available to them have been opened by the achievements of the activist women's movement.

The most egregious example was the first woman sportswriter for the New York Times. The story asked "How Did You Get Your Job?" She answered "single-mindedness and a wild stroke of luck" (Riffield, 1975: 142). But the wild stroke of luck was that she "just happened" to go to Princeton the first year they admitted women, and that one of her (female) professors "just happened" to complain to the N.Y. Times about the fact that they had no female staffers in the sports department when she was looking for a job, so that they agreed to give her a trial when the professor recommended her (142).

That was not a wild stroke of luck. It was being in the right place at the right time. But it was her persistence in covering college sports that put her in the right place, and feminist activism which made it the right time. Of the other seven women interviewed, only two started with "no clear idea" of what they wanted to do. The other five--and the sportswriter--all combined determination with knowing what their possible opportunities were. Not inconsequentially, two of the eight took

advantage of informal affirmative action programs, two deliberately chose companies known to be hospitable to women, and one left a company because there were "no women in positions of responsibility," so she knew she "had to look elsewhere (143)."

Working Mothers. In May and June, 1975, there are three incisive articles dealing with a topic that became one of the most-discussed issues of the latter half of the 1970's, and has not at all disappeared in the 1980's: the problems, joys, and special perspective of employed mothers. The first, called "Working Mothers: How They Juggle Their Lives," was subtitled "You get the best of both worlds, but not enough of either (Comer, May, 1975: 162)." The article listed all the problems which have by now become axiomatic: because housework is not shared equally, working wives have only 60% of the free time their working spouses have; the complications of finding, scheduling, and paying for good day care are endless; coping with a two-career schedule is expensive, often involving increased use of frozen and convenience foods, of deliveries, of fast food. (194)

The article also listed observations on the problem that somehow, though logical, have unfortunately

not become axiomatic, for instance, that the idea of being isolated with children was becoming less and less appealing to young women. A Mademoiselle College Board reader questionnaire showed that, though college students felt that mothers with small children should stay home, "the thought of doing this themselves gives them the willies (Comer, May, 1975: 163)." Novelist Norma Klein, herself a working mother, pointed out that no one criticizes wealthy women who are not home with their kids, and hazards a guess why this is so:

Nobody says Jackie Onassis or the Queen of England's kids are going to be wrecked. Nobody's arguing about the quantity of time, which makes me think it's that other thing: for a woman to be working because she wants to is the problem. (163)

Child psychologist Lee Salk observed the "double standard" of guilt: "What bothers me is that the people who feel guilty about being working parents are women, the onus is always on the woman. I'd rather talk about working parents. Fathers rarely feel guilty" (Comer, May 1975: 163).

Unfortunately, the solutions proposed in the articles are still just barely beginning to filter through into public consciousness. Foremost among these, along the lines suggested by Dr. Salk, was the notion of the

father's equal responsibility for child care:

Most working mothers feel they couldn't work without their husband's help. But, while helping is good, sharing is better...particularly when your three-year-old awakens you six times a night, five nights in a row...you don't want your husband to help, you want him available three times a night (163).

Another solution mentioned in the article was to try to establish yourself in a career before you have children, so "you can afford to stay out two or three years and do freelance work as well as have something to come back to in an area you already have credentials in" (Comer, May 1975: 194). A similar suggestion, in disfavor these days because many women see it as a renunciation of women's newly won opportunity to seek demanding careers, was the reminder that "working mothers shouldn't be afraid to give up and do something else" (198). That is, don't be afraid to quit work entirely and stay home for awhile. This was becoming a little more common in the 1980's, but primarily among white, wealthier, upper-middle-class women whose husbands brought home enough money for them to survive on one paycheck--including the former New York Times sports-writer, who quit her job in 1983, saying "My job didn't love me--my husband does" (Mincer, 1983).

This article also listed the "numerous, happy-ending studies" of the effects of maternal employment on children, whose findings showed that

...the effect of maternal employment was to raise the estimation of one's own sex--that is, each sex added positive traits usually associated with the opposite sex; daughters of working mothers saw women as competent and effective, while sons of working mothers saw men as warm and expressive Adolescent daughters of working mothers were more likely than daughters of non-working mothers to name their mother as the person they most admired...and that "It is women whose mothers have not worked who devalue feminine competence."
(163) ⁶

The Employed Mother's Story from the Inside.

The same issue featured an article of the kind that working mothers read, laugh over, and then photocopy and send to friends with many annotations and underlined passages. The impassioned first-person narration of one woman's experiences as an employed mother, it vividly

⁶Unfortunately, most of these studies are skewed by the unconscious race and class bias typical of many academic studies: they investigated white, upper-middle-class women who had some choice about whether they worked. The children of poor and minority women, who have been high in the number of single-parent-headed and two parents working households, have not often been studied.

created the nightmare days that every mother has had, when children get sick, wake up early, start having nightmares, and, in short, throw unavoidable spokes in the wheels of the otherwise well-organized. The strength of analysis in this article, written by a philosophy professor, makes it more salient than the more "balanced" journalistic piece just described. First, the author, Myriam Malinovich, showed that no working mother is exempt from extra tension. Aside from children's unexpected needs, there's always the possibility of a surprise from the baby-sitter. In an extremely apt metaphor, she points out that the working mother works "on borrowed time."

She has to make extended work commitments when she can never be certain that her babysitter's time loan will be renewed. This is analogous to a situation where one would have to commit oneself to buying a house when the bank is free to withdraw its mortgage at will. Add to this the knowledge that in the past banks have been notoriously known to do just this, and a glimmer of the borrower's underlying tensions will surface. (Malinovich, 1975: 50)

The second strength of the analysis lay in her warning that the "feminine mystique," which required all women to stay home and be full-time mothers, must not be replaced by a "feminist mystique" which blinds the women's movement "to the realities of women's everyday lives. For only if the problems are fully faced

can adequate solutions be worked out" (73). Her awareness that such a blindness might take place emerged from her realization that other people, even close friends, couldn't understand her own tension. After all, she had a flexible schedule as a university professor, she had one child already in school, she had outside baby-sitting help. In an epiphany, she realized that

Twenty years ago, a mother's complaints about being bored to death sitting home with the children all day, starching clothes and making floors shine would have been met with the same incredulity. Then they did not want to hear about "the problem that has no name;" now they do not want to hear about "the problem that has a name"--Nervous Exhaustion. In the eyes of our guests I was living the new feminist chic. (Malinovich, 1975: 50)

The third strength of the piece lay in her analysis of possible ameliorations of the working mother's situation. She began by insisting that, despite the strains on the employed mothers,

a solution does not lie in a return to the good old days when mommy stayed home with the kids.... The strongest argument in favor of young women with children continuing to work is middle-aged women. Given our present birthrate and life expectancy, about thirty years of a woman's adult life will be spent free of child rearing duties. Those thirty years are liable to be an extended nightmare unless she has maintained a life of her own during her childrearing years.... Many middle-aged women now find themselves not only without the young children who had provided them with an occupation, but also without the husband who

has provided them with the only financial security, social connections, and status they have ever known. All of this at a time when in our youth-oriented culture they are considered sexually and socially obsolete. No, we cannot condemn today's young women to even the possibility of such a fate. (72, emphasis added)

She concluded that the only hope lay in basic changes in work conditions and the provision of childcare to accommodate working mothers.

Present work conditions are set up for men who have wives taking care of them, their homes and children. Even when men are willing and able to share household duties and childcare, this is still not a viable solution when both partners are away from home eight to ten hours a day. Such a work schedule simply does not leave enough time to devote to children and household. (Malinovich, 1975: 72)

She called for childcare centers, maternity and paternity leaves, and making a twenty hour work week as acceptable as forty hours for both men and women, and insisted that:

The women's movement must educate today's young women to see their lives as a totality (difficult at twenty), but this is quite different from creating, however inadvertently, an atmosphere in which they are made to feel that even under present social conditions they must work full-time, even when their children are young. Young women must not once again be misled. They must be helped to make their decisions knowingly. (73)

The only comment possible on this clear-sighted analysis is the very depressing footnote that, eight

years later, nothing has changed. Part-time jobs are scarce and pay poorly. Maternity leaves are an average of six weeks, barely enough time to begin the adjustment to a new child; paternity leaves are nonexistent. There are not nearly as many day care slots as there are children needing them. And, saddest of all, Malinovich's final warning has gone unheeded: too many women do feel that they must work full-time even when it means leaving small children with a less than ideal mother-substitute, because to stay home would be to "let their side down."

Very tellingly, the third and last 1975 article dealing with working mothers asked "Can a famous woman be a good mother?" This seemed innocent enough--if a little sensation-seeking--until one put two and two together: women don't become famous by staying home and working full-time at raising children; not one ever has. So the headline was implicitly asking: Can famous employed-for-pay women be good mothers?

In view of the many studies showing that the sons of famous fathers tend to have more than their share of problems, it's a relief to hear that these interviewees, the daughters of famous women, seem to have an advantage over many other daughters. They "passed through adolescence without stopping to engage

in combat with their mothers" (Gross, 1975: 123). The inference was clear: when women have a life and identity of their own outside of their family, they have less need to "live through" their children, to shape and control their lives and destinies. If these mothers neglected anything, it was typically "girly" things, like taking daughters shopping and fussing over their cloths.

Remaining 1975-76 Career Coverage. Though there are other provocative pieces of analysis in the 1975 issues, none are directly relevant enough to the topic of work to justify inclusion here. Oddly enough, the articles on work in 1976 are not nearly so serious and penetrating, nor do they have the same salience today as the 1975 articles. Though in April 1976 careers became a separate listing on the table of contents page, there were still two issues with no career articles, and 15 of the career articles were simply short profiles of women in various jobs. There were two dress for success articles (January, 1976 and August, 1976), one first-job story (February, 1976), two beauty/diet/fitness for working women articles (January, 1976 and June, 1976), and five of the how-to pieces that proliferated in 1980-81.

These 1976 articles provide surprisingly little "meat" for discussion and analysis. The profiles, though cast in the 1970's mold, are somehow more cut and dried; so are the "how-to's," the forerunners of the 1980-81 preoccupation. The how-to pieces included "Job Strategies," already discussed; "How to Be a Phenomenal Success," (look on failure as a learning experience and clarify your idea of what constitutes success) (Korey, 1976); "How to Use Power," more oriented to the sense of self than to specifically work applications (Gottlieb, October, 1976); "Compatability in the Office" (office etiquette) (Comer, November, 1976); and "[How to Get] A Dream Job" (short profiles of five women in dream jobs (December, 1976).

The sidebars to the "Job Strategies" article included short pieces on "How to Know When to Quit," "What Career Counseling, Professional and Do-It-Yourself, Can Do for You," "Interviews: Talking Your Way into a Job," and "Why Did You Hire the Last Person You Hired?" Two of the replies to that question were stunning in their irrelevance: "Because she didn't have a New York accent," said one British banker. "Because she wasn't very bright and didn't seem to have any aspirations I couldn't handle. I'm sick of these young types who want to succeed" said another executive (Comer, 1976: 114).

Both are a bit unsettling, and a reminder that the employer's vagaries may render as nought our preparation, our assertiveness, our executive briefcases, and our expensive "success dressing."

Two "Opinion" columns dealt with work topics. The thesis of "On Having a Meaningless Job" (Fukumoto, 1976) ran counter to the growing preoccupation with success at all costs. The writer argued that "as the routine of work dulls your perception, the superficial rewards--comfort, money, security--move in for the kill" (14). But her own discontent led her into a deeper analysis: she realized that what most people do--resign themselves to "milking the system"--isn't enough:

Since society tries to get its money's worth out of you, you retaliate with the same pragmatism. Among some of my friends, food stamps and unemployment benefits are a way of life. I used to sympathize with them, for the logic was convincing. But now I see that their cynicism supports precisely what they criticized. Trying to get even is tacit acknowledgement that things can't be changed (14, emphasis added).

In fact, this writer is just a rather unusual example of a woman empowered by her new possibilities. Having realized that "from behind a typewriter, all cities were the same" (12), she quit her Paris secretary's job, determined to go back to her hometown of Seattle and

"relearn job-hunting as an offensive strategy, so that next time I'll get the job I want" (Fukumoto, 1976: 12).

Summary. In its 1975-76 career coverage, Mademoiselle again seems to have been perhaps somewhat ahead of demonstrated reader needs. As we have seen, its career coverage changed greatly, more than seems warranted by the changes in its reader's lives. More than half of their readers were still single, about half still had no children, and about two-fifths were still students, in college, high school, or graduate school. The small but significant changes included 10% more readers working full-time, bringing this figure up to 51%. There was a slight drop in the already small number of women doing full-time housekeeping (8%) Fourteen percent more readers described themselves as working, plus keeping house and/or going to school, bringing this figure up to 40%. The most important change in the long run would probably be the increase in the median reader age, up 1.8 years to 22.4,⁷ because older readers were

⁷The median age may have been a great deal higher. Miller's 1974 comparison of Mademoiselle with three other career-oriented women's magazines cited a 1973 Simmons report as showing that the average Mademoiselle reader was 26.1 years of age (Miller, 1974: 151).

more likely to be employed. The age sub-groups tell the same story. The percentages of readers under 25 dropped 10%, although this category still contained 68% of all readers. The 25-30 age subgroup grew by 6%, up to 17%, and the over-30 group increased by 4%, to 15%.

Nevertheless, Mademoiselle's concern with women's new work roles and the new demands placed on them in this period did not come about solely because of the changes in their reader's lives. The editors and writers perceived Mademoiselle itself as an intelligent magazine, and took seriously their responsibility to provide their reader with information she needed, even if she didn't yet know she needed it. In an interview with Miller (1974), the magazine's editors indicated that the feminist movement had had a definite effect on the magazine. Western advertising manager Richard Sheehan Jr. said "There have been more and more opportunities opening up for women and we have been conscious of change. We have placed heavier accent on a girl's total environment"(Miller, 1974: 151).

They were also well aware of their competitors. There was as yet little serious new competition for their readers. They disdained completely to consider Viva (1973), Playgirl (1973) or New Woman (1973) as competing

with them (Miller, 1974). Essence (1970) and Mystique (1974) were for exclusively black readers, a small proportion of Mademoiselle's (Target Group Index, 1977: 7), and, anyway, both were still struggling to establish themselves. Ms. was stimulating, but since it almost never covered fashion, they knew their readers would still turn to fashion magazines for fashion coverage, and they remained confident of their strong position in that field.

Asked by Miller about her competitors Glamour and Cosmopolitan, editor-in-chief Edith Locke responded that she didn't feel Cosmopolitan and Mademoiselle shared any common ground. She was clearly insulted by the very suggestion, and got downright catty:

The "how to get your man, keep your man" approach in rather detailed form we wouldn't touch with a ten-foot pole. The plunging neckline young woman I don't think reflects their readership. Their readership is probably quite a bit older. Maybe [they] read largely for thrills because they are out of the plunging neckline business. (1974: 152)

As for Glamour, Locke felt her publication took a "more abstract" approach. Although Mademoiselle did some "how to" material, there was in it "greater accent on self-help, self-motivation. We do a lot of 'head' or interior type articles," she said (151).

This was certainly true in the mid-70's. In this period the magazine fairly pulsed with articulate, intelligent, well-constructed "think-pieces" of great relevance to women's lives. But by 1981, however, after Locke's retirement, it began to seem as though every other article was just the kind of "how-to" piece toward which Locke had been gently supercilious.

"Advice to the Worklorn": 1980-81 Career Coverage

Harkening back to Betsy Talbot Blackwell's 1955 view of the magazine's role as "guide, philosopher, and friend," it will be clear to the reader that in 1980, the editorial role had returned from the "philosopher" of 1975-76 to 1970's "guide." But with a difference. In 1970, the guide was a grave but optimistic tour guide, enthusiastically introducing future workers to their options, not overlooking some cautions about the possible hazards besetting some territories. In 1980, she was a wily mentor, helping to steer the fledgling worker, already started in a first or second job, with canny advice in negotiating the tricky avenues to success in a long-time or permanent career.

This new attitude was signalled by an Olympian statement from the publisher, Joseph L. Fuchs, carried as an insert into the March, 1980 issue.

In this, the time of the career woman, it's hard to believe there was an era when her existence was not taken for granted. But there was, and only some forty short years ago. In 1935, when Mademoiselle began publication, it was the first magazine ever to acknowledge that educated young women had more than one option after college. In fact, it was Mademoiselle who literally "discovered" the upscale working woman.

We've all come a long way down the road, but for Mademoiselle the commitment is still clear: our role is to enrich our readers' lives with the best possible information on the job market...and, even more important, with the best current fashion and beauty choices to enhance their overall image. And their overall success. (Fuchs, March, 1980: n.p.)

While this apologia is clearly directed more to advertisers than to readers (further on, Fuchs states "Not all working women are equal, and neither are all working women's magazines"), it indicates very clearly an editorial intention to focus more sharply on career advice.

This choice is borne out by the magazine's contents over the 1980-81 period. There has been a transformation. In 1970, many of the young women profiled in various careers described themselves as working "until"; in 1980, there is a tacit assumption that there's no "until" on the horizon. Work is seen as simply one more part of a full life, as evidenced by the fact that "work" turns up as a category in other

contexts: e.g., the April, 1980 quiz "How Secure Are You About Your Work, Looks, Friends, Men, Family" (Starrell, 234-235, 249), and the June, 1980 article "Privacy: Why It's Crucial to Your Work, Sex, and Love Life (157)." In 1980 and 1981, Mademoiselle's editors and writers assume that readers are working, planning to work, or planning to go back to work. But the philosophical discussions of the problems of "acting in an imperfect world" have been dropped. The reader is given instead "advice to the worklorn":--tips on how to solve--or cope with--or simply endure--working conditions and pressures.

This view of work as a fact of life is clearly rooted in what the editorial staff had heard from their readers. In a January, 1980 article, they reported that "The 6,500 Mademoiselle readers whom we queried recently...report that on-the-job problems outrank even romance as their number one worry" (Behan and Calvert, 120). The editors took this message to heart. Nowhere is the link between reader interest and magazine contents more evident. The bulk of 1980-81 career contents is just what readers said they needed: advice to the worklorn.

"How-To-Succeed" Career Advice. There were dozens of how-to-cope articles, ranging from the surface ("A New Way to Dress for Success," August, 1981), to the specific

([How to Solve] 14 Tricky Career Problems," (Behan and Calvert, 1980) to the subconscious ("Women and Success: How to Fight Your Fear of Trying," (White, March, 1981). (See Figure VI-1 for a complete listing of how-to articles.)

A great deal of this advice was basic common sense. For instance, an article on "The Office Party: How to Mix Business and Pleasures" (Calvert, December, 1980) warned you, the reader, not to drink too much. One article "Is There Life After Work?" advised balancing discretion about one's private affairs with frankness about grave family matters (i.e., sick relatives) that might impair your job performance (Baker, April, 1981). Mary Harmon's May, 1981 "Why Job-hunting and Dishonesty Won't Mix or How to Succeed in Business Without Really Lying" reminded us that we could be sure our sins would find us out.

Many of these articles were simply excerpts from the rich crop of "how to succeed" books for women which began flooding the market at the time. These included "The Interview Trap" (Berman, April, 1981); "Is There Life After Work? (Baker, April, 1981); and "Career Talk: How Far Ahead Should You Plan?" (Holcomb, August, 1980). Other articles drew on the teachings of such books, but

FIGURE VI-1. HOW-TO ARTICLES, MADemoiselle
1980-81

<u>Date</u>	<u>Title</u>
1/80	"14 Sticky Career Problems and What To Do About Them" (Kathy Behan & Catherine Calvert)
3/80	"How To Turn Your Job Into A Career" (Marcia R. Fox) "How To Get Paid What You Think You're Worth" (Paula Sullivan) "Workstyle 1980: Six Working Women Show You Great Working Clothes" "The Chart that Helps You Plot the Right Career/ Life For You" (astrology) (Marlene Masini Rathgeb) "The Works" "Workstyle 1980" "How To Act Like A Pro First Time Out" (includes fashion spread) (Catherine Calvert)
8/80	"How to Plan Now To Put Your Degree To Work Later" (Catherine Calvert) "Your Interview Image" (Catherine Calvert) "Career Talk: How Far Ahead Should You Plan" (Ruth Holcomb) "Success Makeover: From College Girl Into Working Woman"
9/80	"Sex and Tension in the Office: Can You Cope With Your Boss" (Catherine Calvert) "Getting It Together: On Shopping Smart and Dressing for Style (Tips From Three Working Women)"
11/80	"The Secretary Trap: How to Survive Now That You've Arrived" (Mary Harmon)
12/80	"The Office Party: How To Mix Business and Pleasure" (Catherine Calvert)
1/81	"Office Politics: Play the Game and Win" (Marilyn Moats Kennedy)

FIGURE VI-1 (Continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Title</u>
1/81	"In Working Order: Wonderful Ways to Dress for Success" "Down But Not Out: How to Survive a Job Set-back" (Nancy C. Baker)
2/81	"Can You Think Like a Boss?" (Mary Harmon)
3/81	"Women and Success: How to Fight Your Fear of Trying" (Kate White) "You and Your Jobs: How to Make a Perfect Match" (Marcia R. Fox)
4/81	"The Interview Trap: 10 Tricky Job Questions that Can Trip You Up" (Connie Berman) "Are You Singing the First-Job Blues? Cheer Up! Everything You'll Learn About Life at the Bottom Will Help You Climb to the Top" (Catherine Calvert) "Is There Life After Work?" (Nancy C. Baker)
5/81	"Why Job-Hunting and Dishonesty Don't Mix, or How To Succeed in Business Without Really Lying" (Mary Harmon) "Business Affairs: Should You Give Your Heart at The Office?" (Catherine Calvert) "Office Etiquette: Do You Have Working Class?" (Katherine Fury)
7/81	"Fired! How to Survive a Not-So-Natural Disaster" (Kate White) "The Ups and Downs of Nine to Five" (Catherine Findlay)
8/81	"How To Get Your Way at Work" "Mean Business! The New Way to Dress for Success" "Office Moves" (how to play office politics) (Ann Thompson & Marcia Wood)
9/81	"How to Talk Money to Your Boss" (Sylvia Rabiner) "The Right Stuff: Dressing for Success for Specific Professions" "The Bad and the Bossy: Does Your Superior Make You Feel Inferior?" (Connie Berman) "What Are You Worth on the Job/" (Bruce M. Nash & Randolph B. Munchik)

FIGURE VI-1 (Continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Title</u>
10/81	"How to Shine at Work--Without Showing Off" (Mary Harmon) "How to Hire Yourself a Job" (William N. Yeomans)
11/81	"The Job Game: Strategies for Your First Year of Work" (Catherine Findlay) "Mistake Management: How to Right Your Office Wrongs" (Janice Billingsley) "10 Fashion Flubs and How to Fix Them: A Dress-Right Image Guide for Working Women"
12/81	"How to Work When You Don't Feel Like Working"

were not excerpts, i.e., "Sex and Tension in the Office: Can You Cope with Your Boss?" (Calvert, September, 1980); "The Secretary Trap: How to Survive Now That You've Arrived" (Harmon, November, 1980), and "Down But Not Out: How to Survive a Job Setback" (Baker, January, 1981).

The "advice to the worklorn" aspect of all this was manifest. Clearly, women in 1980-81 felt the need of a lot of counsel and support about their work roles and identities and about the various problems inherent in climbing the corporate ladder. The number of articles dealing with office politics and strategies amply illustrates this interest: (cf. Baker & Calvert, January, 1980; Baker, January, 1981; Robinson, September, 1981; and Findlay, November, 1981) in figure VI-1).

Also, though there were sometimes comic overtones, the etiquette advice addressed some genuine problems. For instance, "Do You Have Working Class?" addressed the matter of overly attentive male co-workers. Maybe they're just well-bred, but they might also be using small courtesies such as opening doors and lighting cigarettes to set apart the person they're dealing with, "so that deference to a woman becomes a means of excluding her from a group" (Fury, 1981: 264).

Another group of how-to-succeed articles focused on helping women develop confidence and assertiveness in their new roles: "How to Turn Your Job Into a Career" (Fox, March, 1980) and "How to Get Paid What You Think You're Worth" (Sullivan, March, 1980); "Down But Not Out: How to Survive A Job Setback" (Baker, January, 1981); "How to Get Your Way at Work" (Rabiner, August, 1981); "How to Talk Money to Your Boss" (Rabiner, September, 1981); and "How to Shine At Work--Without Showing Off" (Harmon, October, 1981).

Another batch forced women to confront their option of attempting to move upward in a career: "Career Talk: How Far Ahead Should You Plan?" (Holcomb, August, 1980); "Can You Think Like a Boss?" (Harmon, February, 1981); and "Women and Success: How to Fight Your Fear of Trying" (White, March, 1981).

The dress for success subset of the "how-to" articles exhibited a distinct progression over the time period. In 1980, all readers need to know was [How to] Dress for Success ("The Works," March, 1980), how other successful working women dressed ("Workstyle, 1980," March, 1980) and how to "go from college girl to working woman" ("Success Makeover", August, 1980). The 1981 advice started off with "Wonderful Ways to Dress for

Success," ("In Working Order", January, 1981), but later advice became more specific--new twists on the old mode, if a pun is pardonable here. In August, 1981, "Mean Business! The Latest Way to Dress for Success (The Un-Suit)" appeared. But by September, it was de rigeur to dress for the specific tastes of one's profession, i.e., conservative for banking, trendy for the fashion field ("The Right Stuff," September, 1981). In November, 1981, in obvious desperation for some new fillip, the "dress-right image guide for the working woman" confronted "ten fashion flubs" and advised "how to fix them." But the advice was elementary: don't look too collegiate, or wear too much jewelry, or sexy clothes or stiletto heels.

While all this may sound trivial, its relevance is undeniable. Working women often are not taken seriously, and they do need to present themselves as sober, or at least serious, professionals. In effect, they must take on the costume of the group they desire to enter, as Goffman pointed out in Behavior in Public Places (1963). Anecdotal evidence suggests that women travelers are approached by men twice as often when they're wearing jeans as when they're wearing suits, and that if men do talk to them when they're wearing suits, they're more likely to talk about business. "Dressing the part" conveys significant non-verbal

information, and the "dress for success" notion is simply the old adage "Clothes make the man" in modern (female) dress. This also reflects the magazine's stance, as stated by publisher Fuchs:

Our role is to enrich our readers' lives with the best possible information on the job market...and even more important, with the best current fashion and beauty choices to enhance their overall image. And their overall success. (Fuchs, March, 1980, emphasis added)

Remaining career contents included career profiles, articles analyzing various aspects of work, and reader-written "An Opinion" columns on work-related topics. Career profiles, a staple of the Blackwell decades, had fallen into desuetude during Edith Locke's tenure as editor-in-chief, but reappeared with the January, 1981 issue, presumably reinstated by Amy Levin when she came on as editor-in-chief in May, 1980. They followed the patterns established in earlier years. Pieces on summer internships (January, 1981), on temporary jobs (May, 1981), on paraprofessionals in law, health care, engineering, and science (September, 1981), and on social service work (December, 1981) provided overviews of these fields and their advantages and disadvantages. Nominally profiles, a September, 1981 profile of a ballerina and a December, 1981 piece on comediennes were more "behind the scenes" views of glamorous professions,

than helpful outlines of how to establish careers in those fields.

Class Focus Widens. There were also still a few "think-pieces," articles giving serious consideration to work-related matters. Two of the most interesting departed from the middle-class, white collar outlook that had limited the magazine theretofore. They examined two "service" jobs--secretary and waitress--which employ a greater number of working women than any other categories. Secretaries are 99.1% female (Glenn and Feldberg, 1979) and the job category of secretary, along with other clerical jobs, took in 34.7% of all employed women in 1978 (DOL, Employment and Earnings, 1978). Waiting tables is almost as much of a female ghetto. Nine-tenths (89.4%) of all 1979 jobs waiting tables were filled by women (Mithers, 1981: 132).

The magazine's usual outlook has always been, of course, middle-class. This is inevitable, because its readers are middle-class, or "upscale," as publisher Fuch's had put it in his letter bound in with the March, 1980 issue. Virtually all career writing from the magazine's history has focused on professional careers. But even in 1980, 19% of the magazine's readers were secretaries, and another 26% held "office jobs," making

these by far the largest categories of reader employment. Another 13% were in service jobs, some of which were undoubtedly in food service. The two articles may have been the result of the new awareness of the importance of class in Women's Studies scholarship, which by 1980 had entrenched the theoretical position that gender, race and class must always be taken into consideration by scholars. One could not generalize about any aspect of women's lives, they argued, without asking "Is this true for black women too? Does this apply to working-class women?" This new attention to race and class had begun by then to filter out of academic publications into the wider women's alternative press, and it's conceivable that the writers developed their story ideas from such awareness.

"Two Voices--Two Choices," Kathleen Fury's January, 1981 article on secretaries, simply quoted lengthy interviews with two secretaries. "Gwen" is contented, "Karen" sounds like a composite of all the complaints secretaries made as their awareness of their situation sharpened. After ten years as a secretary, earning \$26,000, having had several promotions (which meant working for a boss with more prestige and responsibility

not having more prestige or responsibility herself), she was completing a marketing degree and planning a change.

Her complaints began with the awareness that she herself, as the servant the company provided her boss, was a "perk," an "objective correlative" of his measure of success. She disliked the fact that what she was there for was to do him personal service, such as doing his shopping, getting his coffee, and washing out his cup. But more frustrating was the fact that her boss refused to share information with her, to allow her to learn anything that could widen her scope. But she understood the power arrangement, and knew there was nothing she could do to improve the situation:

You see, a secretary just can't have a "personality conflict" with her boss. That personal relationship must work.... Everything depends on the person you work for when you're a secretary. It's like marriage in that respect. And that's really why I want out of it now. I don't want my satisfaction to depend so much on the man I happen to draw for a boss. (Fury, January, 1981; 154)

The second interviewee, "Gwen," sounded like exactly what the first said her boss wanted: "a secretary who's content to be one" (103). She made \$16,000 a year and planned to get to the executive secretary level (\$30,000). She liked her job security and the knowledge that she could find new jobs anywhere and anytime. She said: "I don't

want to be a boss. I guess I was absent the day they handed out the ambition" (156).

The most striking contrast between the two testimonies is the fact that Gwen seems indifferent to any of the "personal service" indignities of the role that so irritated Karen, not even mentioning her boss. Inevitably, one wonders whether this was because she was not required to perform such small daily personal services or because she was genuinely unbothered by them. But even without such information, it was clear that the difference between these two women's views of their jobs lay more in themselves than in their job descriptions; in retrospect, it seems likely that more secretaries would have identified with Karen's complaints, than with Gwen's content.

"Ladies-in-Waiting--The View From Behind the Tray" ran in June, 1981. Writer Carol Lynn Mithers began by stressing the fact that waiting on tables seems to have been at least a temporary job for a great many women. She says "Take a random poll in a roomful of women and you will find a roomful of former waitresses" (132). The piece seems to have been modeled on Gloria Steinem's famous 1963 expose of the worklife of Playboy waitresses, "A Bunny's Tale" (1963). Like Steinem, Mithers describes

her application, repeated interviews, hiring, outfitting in "wench" costume, and work as a "serving wench" at a roast beef house, where push-up bras and tight bodices were a mandatory uniform.

She interviewed the other waitresses and outlined their views of the pros and cons of the job. The major advantage, clearly, was money. "On a nice night, I make at least ten dollars an hour in tips. And it's all in cold, hard cash" (Mithers, 1981: 132). The other rewards were non-monetary: flexibility of schedules, guaranteed food, freedom, friendship and respect from other waitresses, and sometimes, though less often, from regular customers and management.

The disadvantages were equally obvious and non-monetary: poor working conditions, low job status and job image, and frequent sexual harassment from customers. And even the benefits had a "flip side":

Loose schedules, but no sick leave; "cold hard cash," never declared and never taxed, but unemployment compensation that is next to nothing. And continued transience means little opportunity to create alliances; means "traditions" of sexual harassment, sex discrimination, petty regulations and poor working conditions can flourish because workers remain unaware of what their rights actually are. (162)

The interviewees in both Mithers' and Fury's articles had no illusions about their exploitation by the system, and described their customary ways of fighting back. The unhappy secretary explained that when she was out doing the boss's wife's shopping, she'd take the day, go to a movie, and do her own shopping too. "He doesn't have any idea how long such a job would take, never having done it himself" (Fury, June, 1981: 154). The waitresses enumerated the ways they managed to "get around" the "endless rules." "I remember we could eat any food that was damaged, so, of course, we were always dropping key lime pies. It was like any repressive system--you work out ways to fight it" (Mithers, 1981: 162). But Mithers is quick to point out the futility of this: "Momentarily satisfying as it may be, pie-dropping isn't a very effective way to fight oppressive conditions" (162).

She concluded with the pious hope that the realities of pink-collar jobs would become more generally known, helping to make women more aware of their rights, and that with lawyers and government officials ready to join in the fight to make and enforce laws requiring equality in hiring and pay, waitresses would soon be getting better treatment and more respect. There's a "whistling in the dark" tone of voice here, though, as

though Mithers was trying to summon up some optimism instead of voicing her own discouragement with the situation.

The Question Addressed to You, the Reader.

Other articles addressed broad issues of how work fits into and affects women's lives, rather like the mid-1970's coverage, but with a major stylistic difference. Previously, articles had titles like "The Marriage Trap," "I Was Afraid of Being Feminine," "For the Science-Minded," "Dear God, How I Have Hated Being Single," or even how-to titles, such as "Power: How to Use It." In 1976, titles were beginning to be cast more often in the form of questions. By 1980-81, virtually all titles used the intimate "you" described at the beginning of this chapter, and now were more likely also to be cast in question form. The above titles, for instance, 1980's-style, would have read: "Are You About to Fall Into the Marriage Trap?", "Are You Afraid of Being Feminine?" "Are You Science-Minded? Here Are the Careers for You," "Do You Hate Being Single?" and "Do You Know How to Use Your Power?" Obviously, these devices were meant to increase reader-identification. Their prevalence, as well as the reader survey carried out in 1981 and discussed below, indicate a sincere--not to say panicky--attempt by editors to draw readers in more closely to a

form of community. The reasons for this will be discussed in the summary at the end of the chapter.

A February, 1980 article entitled "Why Your Life May Be More Surprising Than a Man's Now," examined the progressive stages of women's lives and pointed out that, especially now, they're much less predictable than those of men. "Choosing a path is much more of a crisis for women than it used to be since options are so much greater and they're more aware of them" (Mithers, 1980: 115). The author also pointed out that women's love relationships often heighten conflicts over work choices, rather than offering a haven from them, as men's do. Though the short article seems somehow incomplete, the concluding rumination was sound:

women's lives are "layered" rather than "linear" and, therefore, women often feel like square pegs in round holes. But there's no reason to assume that the 'hole' is an absolute and that it's necessarily the 'peg' who must change. That this remains a man's world is a condition, not a fact of nature. (1980: 181)

An August, 1981 article by Judith Thurman asked "Do You Need a Mentor to Get Ahead?", answered no, and debunked the theory that all ultra-successful women have had one all-important mentor. The author concluded that successful women (and men) almost always have had several "helpers" along the way rather than one mentor--

a high school teacher who recognized and encouraged ability, a supervisor or co-worker who provided guidance in the "rules of the game" of the chosen profession, and eventually, a Rolodex full of contacts and resource people to turn to for concrete help or advice.

Another article asked "Do Pretty Women Get Ahead?" and answered "yes and no" (Halcomb, October, 1981). She cited studies showing that attractive men and women both benefit from the "halo effect"--our cultural tendency to consider pretty people happier, smarter, and more successful than plain people. Both groups, men and women, have an edge in hiring, and tend to make more money and be perceived as more competent than those less attractive. But strikingly beautiful women have two disadvantages: they're not taken seriously, especially in traditional masculine fields, and their success is very often attributed to their having "slept their way to the top." (The logical fallacy in this assertion is self-evident: if that's all it took, there would certainly be a great many more women "at the top"!) The article concluded that pretty women need just what the rest of us do: an opportunity to prove themselves, and to be taken seriously.

In December, 1981, Judith Coburn asked in her column, "The Intelligent Women's Guide to Sex," "Do Superwomen Really Exist?" and gave the obvious reply: of course not, and any woman who is trying to be one might as well relax, to some extent debunking the "having it all" work/home stereotype that was chic at the time.

Reader-Written "An Opinion" Columns. In a January, 1980 "An Opinion" column, reader Diana Stephens asked "Will I Get My Job Because I'm a Woman?" and admitted that the answer was "yes, possibly." She proceeded to a calm analysis of the differences between what we might call "traditional discrimination" and so-called "reverse discrimination." The essential difference between the two is that discrimination has traditionally been

an arbitrary unfair denial of opportunity utilized in the subjugation of one group by another... usually accompanied by a concomitant series of pseudo-logical explanations (or excuses) for its existence [i.e., black's inherent laziness and stupidity, women's inherent hormonal hysteria, lack of logic, etc.]. (January, 1980: 65)

Reverse discrimination, however, has no rationale suggesting the inferiority of those being discriminated against. Such a rationale would be antithetical to its purpose. As a temporary remedy, what it attempts to do is simply offset the disadvantages previous discriminations may have imposed on an individual. Perhaps the terminology should be changed so that reverse discrimination

becomes termed something like opportunity compensation to emphasize this fact. Past opportunities, or lack of them, do in fact affect one's resume, and one's resume does in fact affect one's future.(65)

She concluded that if she did find herself with an edge in the job market because of being a woman in a male-dominated field (computer science), she would not reject that edge. Nor would she feel guilty for taking advantage of it. "Looking back over the years, maybe it's time I deserved a break. Maybe it's time we all did" (65).

Other reader-written "An Opinion" columns offer a strong counterpoint to the prevailing "climbing the ladder of success" tenor of Mademoiselle's career coverage. The burden of their lay was that careers and their concomitant satisfactions are not the sum total of what women need to be happy. The titles of two clearly conveyed their iconoclastic positions: "There's More to Life than Nine to Five," and "I've Had It with How to Succeed Books." The third title, "Why I'm Not a Woman at Work," was a bit more obscure. The author of "Why I'm Not A Woman at Work" explained that she had been unable to find a full-time reporter's job in the town where she and her fiance had lately moved because of his better job opportunity, so she'd been working at home as

a free-lance writer and, incidentally, keeping house. She felt perfectly comfortable with this arrangement, but her friends' reactions made her uncomfortable. "Once I left the office, I suddenly became less of a person to many of our friends. It's as if my opinions carry less weight and my thoughts are less deep" (October, 1980: 88). She didn't feel she'd lost her identity, but other people no longer attributed to her the same identity, the same self-hood. She argued passionately against this reductive view:

Now that so many of us work, I worry that we may become overly dependent on our jobs for our sense of ourselves. Neat labels like "career woman" and "housewife" say nothing about who a person really is. Just because my career is in flux doesn't mean I'm less of a human being.(88)

Liz Amante, the writer of "There's More to Life than Nine to Five" echoed this theme. Shocked at her own identity crisis over having been fired, even though she was fired because of cutbacks and not her own incompetence, she concluded from the experience:

We invest so much--maybe too much--in our careers. Besides a paycheck, prestige and a chance at the big time, a job is also supposed to give us countless friends, utter fulfillment and insurance for the future. We'd never be left flat when marriages faltered and children moved away. But a job, no matter how important, is no substitute for true self-esteem and emotional intimacy. The most a career can do is provide an outlet for our creative

energies and reimburse for us for our efforts. Do women today understand that? I'm not certain. Sometimes it seems to me that we aren't so different from our mothers after all. They had roles to play, and so do we. And it could be just as dangerous to rely on a career for a sense of pride as to rely on motherhood or marriage. (Amante, 1980: 164-167)

She closes her article stating her determination to remember in her next job: "Work is only a role, not the whole measure of who you are" (167).

The June, 1981 "An Opinion" column was a witty, caustic dismissal of the whole "how-to-succeed" genre of books--and, by implication, of a fair amount of the "how-to-succeed" advice filling Mademoiselle's pages at this point. Jane Michaels, the author, insisted that the writers of how to succeed books

have created a modern Gothic heroine--only instead of getting the man, she gets the job or the raise. And the authors' advice is about as much use to most working women as a Gothic romance. (Michaels, 1981: 64)

This advice, according to Michaels, was essentially to overcome sex role conditioning to be able to take risks and be assertive. She felt that:

any marginally competent woman already has intuited 90 percent of the psychology and discarded it as interesting but irrelevant: she's found more useful solutions to those problems

or made her peace with them. If not, she might as well head back to the steno pool. (64)

Though this cavalier dismissal smacks a little of the "Queen Bee" syndrome ("I made it without any extra help, so why should anybody else need affirmative action, assertiveness training, or management development help?"), it is well-founded criticism of advice books that at least border on the simplistic. And her cynical conclusion that such books will go right on being best-sellers, is equally well-founded.

Books on women and work, filled with generalizations so vague that they're useless, will continue to fill the racks because people want to believe they can learn from a book a magic formula for success, just as they want to believe they can learn from a book how to pull out of a clinical depression, or how to lose ten pounds in six days without giving up chocolate chip cookies. (64)

The Future of Mademoiselle's Working Reader.

A new editorial arrangement appeared in the March, 1980 issue: the juxtaposition of career information with a fashion spread on working clothes. This underlined the point publisher Fuchs made in his letter inserted in the front of this issue; how you, the reader, dress and present yourself as a professional is inseparable from your goals and attitudes about your worklife. The whole 14-page lay-out, which includes three articles and six

fashion pages, began with another departure from standard editorial practice: giving statistics on working women's salaries. "Thirty-two million U.S. women between ages 18 and 34 work--that's 66% of the women in the workforce--and only 2% earn over \$20,000,... ("The Works," 1980: 164). One of the articles "Why Are These Women Working? It's Not Just Money. It's Not Just Ambition" provided standard enough answers: challenge, freedom, camaraderis, pride, responsibility, potential, excitement. Much more provocative was the opening paragraph:

Everybody talks about it. Almost everybody does it. Work. Sometimes it seems it's the new myth of the age, more important than sex, even. But what is it, exactly, that makes work so addicting, so heady? Why is "What do you do?" the easiest cocktail opener? So we went out and asked. Everyone agreed. Even if we gave them a million dollars, giftwrapped, they'd keep on working. (Calvert, March, 1980: 169)

One can almost predict the next major piece. In the last month's issue we were reminded that relationships with men create as many problems as jobs do; this month, we heard that women love working. Clearly, readers needed to find out "Do Men Love Women Who Love Work?" In February, 1981, they did,

The article could perhaps have been better titled "Do young men who do not yet have working girlfriends think they're going to love being with a woman who loves work?"

because the interviewees were college seniors and men still in their early twenties, who arguably had not yet faced this conflict in their own lives. But, then, the article was written for a comparable female readership, wondering what was going to happen. As writer Annie Gottlieb put it, "We still want their love, but we are no longer willing to trade our lives for it, and we wonder whether they'll bargain" (160). The answer was, basically, yes, men said they were attracted to career women, but foresaw possible conflicts over children and power. In fact one man stated that he was glad to see the passing of the kind of marriage where husband and wife inhabit different worlds: "If both of them work, they can be closer because they'll have much more in common" (190). This was certainly valid, as far as it went. One cannot really understand and sympathize with a worker's worries, tiredness, etc., unless one has experienced the same demands and pressures. But there was a glaring blind spot. Working parents would amend his statement to: "If both of them work and share child care, they can be closer because they'll have much more in common." Only the man who has stayed home with small children, day in and day out, can remotely understand either the pleasures or the strains of child-rearing. Of course, some of these young men said that they were

planning to share child care, and their greatest expressed fear was falling in love with a woman who would decide not to have children. Hearing this, Gottlieb realized

for the first time the simple fact of a man's total dependence on a woman if he wants to have a child of his own: He must rely on both her sexual loyalty and her willingness to commit her time--at least nine months, preferably several years--to motherhood. As determined as these young men were to care for their children from infancy on, they still believed that "in the very early stages...a kid needs its mother more. A man can't nurse!" This sense of stark biological dependence can conflict with the most enlightened man's desire to help his wife keep her career commitments. (Gottlieb, 1981: 192)

Their other concern was over whether the women they loved would have enough time, energy, and attention left over for them after their career demands were met, which, as Gottlieb ruefully pointed out, "does put some ambiguous restrictions on just how ambitious and successful we can become" (194).

Reader Attitudes Surveyed. Obviously, this whole topic of love and work raised many new questions--of priorities, timetables, etc. So, in August 1981, the editors ran a questionnaire entitled "Who Will You Be Tomorrow?" The 60-item instrument probed attitudes on marriage, paid work, children, ambitions, number of years expected to work, anticipated highest earnings,

discrimination, marital fidelity, and the chances of successfully combining marriage, work and raising children (Tavris, August, 1981). Although the summary and interpretation did not appear until the October 1982 issue, and therefore technically fall outside the boundaries of this study, it seems appropriate to discuss here the findings of Carol Tavris, the psychologist who ran the study. The title of Tavris's article was a clue to her startling findings. Cast in the obligatory question form--"Were You Born to Work?"--it clearly implied an affirmative answer. According to Tavris, 10,000 Mademoiselle readers responded to the survey, and

They told us in no uncertain terms how times have changed: The vast majority not only think work is an essential part of life, they think work is more important than marriage or children. They plan to work at least 30 years. And they want to work for personal satisfaction and fulfillment as well as for the income. (180)

The respondents also expected their marriages to be different from their mothers'. They wanted to marry men who would share, 50-50, household and childcare responsibilities--just as they planned to be sharing, 50-50, the breadwinning responsibilities.

Tavris's analysis of the reasons for these attitudinal changes started with the readers' sense of their "freedom to decide" what would happen in their

lives. They saw their mothers' lives as circumscribed by lack of choice, and one said "My life will be different from hers in that I will always feel I have a choice. If I want a divorce, I'll get one. If I don't want any kids, I won't have any" (Tavris, 1981: 234) Tavris attributed this sense of freedom and the expectation of working to:

The decade of affluence, which gave women the impression that all roles were open to them; the current economy, which has made women more aware that the one-salary household cannot survive financially anymore; women's (perhaps unconscious) awareness of the divorce and female longevity statistics, which indicate that most women will be on their own for a significant number of their adult years; the culture's shattering of the belief that a woman's place is (exclusively) in the home. The cumulative effect of all these forces is to produce a new, work-minded generation. (181)

She pointed out that this new, "work-minded generation" confounded the traditional predictors social scientists have relied on to determine women's work commitment. Before, a woman who chose a non-traditional career, or even to work at all if she didn't need to, tended to have something different about her past--"special attention from her father, or the special example of a mother who'd had a career, or the woman's rejection of her family altogether to pursue her special interests" (181). But this study found that women whose

mothers never worked for pay were just as likely to plan and desire to work as daughters of working mothers. Their fathers had surprisingly little effect on work goals.

Tavris, like many older observers, already facing the struggle to bring about egalitarian marriages and genuine career opportunities, regarded all this naive optimism with a somewhat jaundiced eye. She raised the question of what would happen to these women as they confronted "a shrinking career market, men who aren't so interested in egalitarian marriages and companies that aren't so interested in promoting women to position of power" (Tavris, 1981: 234). But she gave them the benefit of the doubt:

If they have the courage of their convictions, the nature of relationships between men and women is going to be profoundly different in 20 years; but if they're spinning daydreams that will evaporate at the first sign of trouble, then they will find their precious choices, like those of their mothers, more apparent than real. It's going to be an interesting 20 years. (234)

There are two major flaws in Tavris's report. She shares the middle-class perspective of many social science researchers, which generalizes about "the career woman" and "what has been typical" with no consideration of the different worklife patterns of working-class and black women, to name just two groups whose patterns have

differed from those of middle-class white women. This criticism applies to the theoretical framework of her research; the study itself was made up of a pool of subjects that was limited to relatively well-educated, upscale readers by necessity, since it was a self-selected group of Mademoiselle readers.

A more frustrating, if less serious, complaint is her failure to discuss all the other aspects of life covered by the questionnaire. Since a majority of respondents described work as more important than family or children, work was dictated as the major focus of her report. But there was so much other fascinating material--questions on marital fidelity, desire to have children, the choice of living together rather than marrying, etc., that the reader interested in a more comprehensive profile of the magazine's readers is naturally left frustrated and wishing for more. Whether the editors availed themselves of the other information gleaned from the questionnaire is not known; it is, however, manifestly clear that they took note of their readers' preoccupation with their jobs.

Relationship Between Contents and Reader Demographics. In 1975-76, it seemed that Mademoiselle was anticipating reader needs, based on the contrast

between demographics and editorial content. By 1980-81, Tavris's survey seems to indicate that they're right on target, both in the amount of their career coverage and in the specificity of their "advice to the worklorn," although readers' lives seem to have changed even less between 1975 and 1980 than they had between 1969 and 1975. A few more are single (4%), 4% fewer are married, and 6% fewer have children than in 1975, all of which could have been factors in the editorial decision to decrease attention to working mothers. Readers continued to become more independent, with 6% fewer of the single readers living at home and 6% more living on their own than in 1975. One percent fewer are doing part-time work; 1% more are working full-time. Another 1% fewer than in 1975 are doing full-time housekeeping, so that only 7% of all readers identify themselves as full-time homemakers in 1980. Four percent fewer are in school only, and 11% more than in 1975 describe themselves as working, keeping house and/or going to school. They're slightly older: the 25-30 reader age cohort has grown by 8% over 1975 figures, while the over-30 group has shrunk by 6% and the under 25 group by 2%. The median age has gone up .4 years to 22.8 years.

But these are all very slight demographic shifts. Readers' lives simply had not changed very much. Most

were still single, still under 25, and still in secretarial and other non-professional occupations. But they--or at least the self-selected group who responded to Tavis's questionnaire -certainly considered their careers/jobs as highly central in their lives. And the editors responded to that, not only with the heavy volume of articles on work and their prominence in cover headlines, but also by stressing work-related services to readers.

Career-Related Reader Service. Since Blackwell's time, Mademoiselle had sold reprints of its "College and Career" articles to readers at a nominal price. This service continued into the 1980's, but college articles were de-emphasized, as they were in the pages of the magazine. The May, 1980 list of articles available in reprint for 75¢ each divided into two sections: "Job-hunting and On the job Advice" and "Career Fields and School Programs." The former section contained many of the how-to articles discussed in this chapter, often with two or three consolidated into one reprint. The latter included 25 rundowns of job opportunities (in radio, domestic preservation, the clergy, creative arts therapy, etc.), five "time or place" articles ("Planning Your Summer," "Island Workstyles: Virgin Islands, Martha's Vineyard," "How to Move to [one of eight cities]"), and

three training programs (Eleven Continuing Education Programs, Culinary Arts Schools, and a guide to summer programs in acting, dancing, etc.).

The magazine also instituted its first new reader service since the College Board was set up early in Blackwell's time. This was the Career Marketing Board, an attempt to create a reader network of striving young professional women.

Like the College Board, it was an attempt to augment the editors' information from readers. A notice asking readers to write in if they were interested in serving on a reader panel that would answer research questionnaires and participate in discussion panels ran in the November, 1978 issue. From the 4,000 to 5,000 responses received, the staff culled out a thousand which reflected the magazine's reader demographic profile (Cicetti, 1983). From discussion with Carol Cicetti, the editor who directs the Career Marketing Board in 1983, it's clear that the magazine sees the group and its function as providing a service to advertisers; in fact, Carol Cicetti boasted that Mademoiselle is the only magazine to provide such a "service to advertisers." The panel fills out questionnaires for major advertisers, such as Lincoln Mercury, True, and Clairol, to help them

plan their advertising and marketing campaigns. But in the magazine, the group's function in serving readers was highlighted over their function in serving advertisers.

An announcement of the Career Marketing Board in the March, 1980 issue ran under the headline "100 Top Working Women Who Are Networking for Mademoiselle." The text emphasized three functions for members. They would be role models for other readers: "We've selected them because they represent what Mademoiselle is all about...and what so many of us would like to achieve." They would:

do a job for Mademoiselle; to help us do a better job for you. They'll be telling us about what can make a good career better, the job market in their areas, how and when to make a move...and more. And we'll pass it on to you" ("One Hundred Top Working Women", 1980: 223).

And they would be "helping Mademoiselle's advertisers, too --picking up trends, testing out products on women like themselves, providing information on activity and attitudes in their cities" (223).

There are two problems with this presentation of the facts. The text, like the headline, stated that there were 100 members in 23 cities. The sidebar on the

facing page identified 93 members in 22 cities, indicating perhaps the omission of one or two other cities' representatives. But the box at the bottom of the page, directed to "all Mademoiselle Career Marketing Board members," said "There are now 1,000 of you around the country" (223). While the first discrepancy looks like an honest mistake, the second seems to imply that only 100 out of the potential 1,000 representatives have been selected to have their names appear in the magazine. Such selectivity seems to indicate a more deliberate dishonesty, because of the careers of the women whose names are listed. Demographics for 1980 indicated quite clearly that one-fifth of all readers were secretaries, one-fourth did "other office jobs," 5% were teachers and nurses, 8% did service jobs (waitress, beautician, etc.) and 9% were in sales, retail and otherwise. Only one-fourth of all readers were managers, officials and proprietors or were in other professional or semi-professional jobs. But, of the 93 women listed as "Career Network" members, not one was a secretary, or in anything but a professional job. There were, in fact, a judge in Dayton, attorneys in Dallas, Miami, Los Angeles, and Washington, D.C., a pediatric oncologist in Minneapolis, and many TV news reporters, ad agency vice-presidents, and even someone who was chairman of the

board of a stockholding company in Tampa/St. Petersburg. The lowliest careers mentioned were a mere graphic designer in Miami and a graduate teaching assistant in Denver ("One Hundred Top Working Women, 1980: 222).

Granted, since the editorial intent was to spotlight women who represent "What so many of us would like to achieve," bond brokers and judges were obviously the women to headline. By implication, then, many of the 900-plus other Career Marketing Network members must have been secretaries, file clerks, nurses, teachers and waitresses, since, as editor Cicetti explained, the members were selected to reflect the magazine's demographics. It makes sense to have spotlighted the most obviously successful members for readers to emulate.

But it would be disingenuous to ignore another explanation. National magazines depend heavily on their advertisers and constantly strive to convince them that their readers have more disposable income than their competitors'. For instance, a 1977 advertisement for ad space in Mademoiselle showed a relaxed and elegant young woman above the headline "I could be happy with less, but I prefer being happy with more" ("I could be happy," The New York Times, June 5, 1977: 85). The text read:

Mademoiselle readers don't live beyond their means. But they see no reason to live below them. They are young women who have acquired a taste for the better things in life, and have earned the means to acquire them.

Mademoiselle has the highest index of readers of all young women's magazines who own audio components.... And, as you might expect, the highest index of successfully employed young women. (June 5, 1977: 85)

Clearly, advertisers were going to find a listing of lawyers, doctors and administrators more convincing figures of "successfully employed young women" than a representative list, which would have had to include more secretaries than stockbrokers, more reading teachers than TV reporters, even though seeing some women employed in these jobs spotlighted as "career professionals" might have been helpful to many readers. But, although shrewd business moves are supposed to cover a multitude of sins, Mademoiselle's attempt to hide its less "upscale" readers from advertisers seems a shabby breach of trust with the very readers with whom they're trying to "network."

Editorial Orientation 1980-1981. Its concern with women who had "made it" also points up sharply the general orientation of the magazine at this point, which reflects the outlook of the new editor-in-chief. She was Amy Levin, who came to Mademoiselle from the Ladies Home Journal, and immediately began remodeling

the magazine, subtracting a measure of seriousness and adding a healthy dollop of trendiness and even a little sensationalism.

The advice in the 1980-81 "how to succeed" articles is invariably directed at helping young women "climb the corporate ladder." It seems clear that for editor-in-chief Amy Levin and her staff, success equalled getting ahead--promotion up to the management level, getting raises, getting to a position of more responsibility and more power over others. Not only was this stance a reflection of patriarchal values, it is a narrow definition of success, one that inevitably excludes a great many readers. What about the reporter who wants to remain a reporter, rather than to "move up to" the editor's chair? What about the teacher who wants a lifetime of teaching, rather than administration? What about the nurse who wants to be a nurse, not a supervisor? For that matter, what about the secretary who likes being one and considers herself a professional? For all these individuals, and many others, success would mean perfecting their craft, while earning sufficient financial and ego-enhancing rewards to feel good about their own achievements. One cringes not at the repeated messages telling women to go right ahead and try to succeed, but at the reductive, "corporate ladder" definition of success.

This definition of success as "getting ahead" did not originate with the writers and editors of Mademoiselle, however; it is widely accepted within our culture. Mademoiselle seems to have accepted it along with all the women authors whose "how to get ahead" books Mademoiselle editors excerpted for their own "how to create your career" articles, and, of course, along with a great many working women who were eagerly learning the "rules of the game" for office politics and looking forward to their next promotion.⁸

Finally, Mademoiselle's "shell game" with the less impressive "career women" on its Career Marketing Board reflects the editors' keen awareness that Mademoiselle was competing as never before for its advertising dollar. As was shown in chapter five, Glamour was still outselling Mademoiselle two to one, and Self, Condé Nast's new publication, was rapidly gaining on Mademoiselle's hard-won one million circulation with

⁸ Ironically, by this time, some men were beginning to call this "get-ahead" ethic into question. A corporate executive writing under a pen name in Ms. talked about his desire to stay where he was in his corporation as "heresy" and titled his piece "Down the Up Staircase" (Kendall, 1975).

a phenomenally high circulation of 815,000. Essence had topped 600,000; Playgirl claimed 750,000 readers. Working Mother and Working Woman drew 275,000 and 300,000 readers respectively.

Publisher Fuchs tried hard to convince advertisers that Mademoiselle was a good buy for them, despite the competition from these specialty magazines. He inserted a memo in the September, 1981 issue reminding them that "seven months ago, we began a new printing process, a new binding, and a new mix of editorial and advertising throughout the magazine" (Fuchs, 1981). He boasted that readers and advertisers liked it and that Mademoiselle was having its largest newsstand sales ever.⁹

The February, 1981 issue was the first with the new look, coinciding with new editor-in-chief Amy Levin's assumption of editorial control. Levin obviously concurred with Fuchs about the need for a "new look" for Mademoiselle, and a "new mix" of editorial and advertising.

The "new" Mademoiselle featured graphic design and layout which definitely showed the influence of the more sophisticated European design pioneered in Vogue

and Harper's Bazaar. Articles met on facing pages, not buffered by ad pages, ads ran without borders, bleeding into each other, and color peeked out everywhere, behind editorial content, in horizontal bars behind headlines, and lined up assymmetrically on borders. Part of the new use of color (which must have had publisher Fuch's approval) was "subliminal synergism," which is a technique of duplicating the color used in an advertisement behind the editorial material on the facing page to draw the reader's eye to the ad "unwittingly."

Fashion spreads started on the right-hand page, jolting readers accustomed to double-page spreads. Articles tended to run in blocks, with nothing "jumped" to the back pages. They were also shorter, by an average of several hundred words. The table of contents format had been changed, opened up to two pages, but full of so many categories that it seemed somehow jumbled and confusing to read.

The magazine's pressing need to catch the reader's eye, to stay competitive in such a crowded market, was borne out also on the magazine's covers. By 1981, every issue featured prominent headlines on sex, such as "Vibrators: the New Love Toy," "Love Map of a Man's Body," and "Rx for the Post-Sex Blues." Coverage had changed

to match. Former editors-in-chief Blackwell and Locke might not have recognized the 1980-81 Mademoiselle--nor, one feels, would they have wanted to.

Betsy Talbot Blackwell, editor-in-chief from 1937 until December 1971, had made the magazine respected for the quality of its fiction and its generally serious attention to issues (Katz & Richards, 1978; Miller, 1974). Under her, it was also considered somewhat controversial for its coverage of women's careers/lifestyle choices, by virtue of having printed such things as an excerpt from Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique, in May, 1962, "The Marriage Trap" in September, 1955, and other avowedly "feminist" articles. During her editorship, critics attacked the magazine for not being "realistic" about career advice to young women (Clarke & Esposito, 1966; Hatch & Hatch, 1958), because the magazine encouraged women, even then, to enter non-traditional fields.

Blackwell's successor, Edith Raymond Locke, continued the tradition of seriousness established by Blackwell. She had been with the magazine for 23 years by the time she became editor-in-chief in 1972. As executive editor, she worked directly under Blackwell from 1968 on, and she seems to have been imbued with

Blackwell's sense that the magazine had a mandate to offer young working women something more than fashion and beauty. The direction she gave the magazine in the 1970's was issue-oriented, featuring probing, soul-searching analyses of women's problems, conflicts and needs. It is notable that in her 1974 interview with Miller, she indicated that the distinction she made between Mademoiselle and Glamour was that Mademoiselle took a more "abstract" approach, with the accent on "self-help" and "self-motivation" in "head" or "interior-type" articles, contrasted to Glamour's "how-to" approach (Miller, 1974: 151). As for Cosmopolitan, she was offended by the very suggestion that they were competitors, saying "We wouldn't touch [their coverage] with a 10-foot pole" (Miller: 152).

When Amy Levin replaced Locke in April, 1980, she immediately instituted an upsurge in "how to succeed in your job" articles, à la Glamour, and a heightened coverage of sex, à la, alas, Cosmopolitan. At the same time, she cut back on the number of Locke's "head" or "interior-type" pieces, and went along with publisher Fuchs in making Mademoiselle a "new" magazine.

Since it may seem unfounded to criticize Levin without looking at a longer span of the effects of her

editorial direction, the November, 1983 issue of Mademoiselle was examined. It shows the trends indicated above carried further. To wit: though there are two "how to succeed at your career" pieces in this issue, no cover headlines suggest the presence of work articles. Cover headlines all relate to clothes, beauty, diets, and sex, including "True Love and Great Sex: Having It All," by Shere Hite, "The Body of the Year: The Real Flashdancer Works Out," "Weekend Specials: 45 Going-Out Looks," and "Beat Beauty Panic!: 30 Last-Minute Touches."

The work articles are limited to "The Interview War and How to Win It" (Hallowell, 1983) and "How to Read Your Boss's Mind" (Banashek, 1983), both recyclings of 1980-81 pieces. Other articles include "How to Tell if a Man Really Means It" (Dorman, 1983) and "First-Nigh Fright" (how not to be nervous if you're going to bed with a man for the first time) (Heimel, 1983), "Gyms: Working the New Singles Bars" (Mithers, 1983a), "Limited Engagements" Why You Go Mad Over Men You'd Never Marry" (Dix, 1983), and, in the regular column, "The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Sex," "How Many Ex-Lovers Are Too Many?" (Mithers, 1983b), as well as articles on topics such as health, travel, beauty, fitness, fashion, moods and non-sexual relationships.

This lack of emphasis on careers is extremely puzzling, since the major findings of Tavris's study of the magazine's readers was that "the vast majority" considered work the most important thing in their lives, "more important than marriage or children" (Tavris, 1982: 180). A slightly earlier reader survey had shown that "the 6,500 Mademoiselle readers whom we queried recently...report that on the job problems outrank even romance as their number one worry" (Behan and Calvert, 1980: 120). Levin's putting sex and romance before work coverage is inexplicable--unless she is trying to imitate some of the successful new women's specialty magazines, which deal almost exclusively with love, sex, and health, diet and beauty advice. These include Flair, Slimmer, Young Woman, New Body, Shape, Spring: The Magazine for High-Energy Living, Big Beautiful Woman, It's Me, and especially, Self, the new Conde' Nast publication which concentrates on health and beauty advice to the virtual exclusion of fashion information. The success of these magazines does seem to indicate that readers are hungry for such advice. At this writing, Levin seems to believe that the real common denominator of her readers' needs is sex, beauty, diet and fashion advice.

As for career coverage, it seems that Levin has decided that women's careers and job advice are simply

one more category that must be included in the editorial mix, but puts them at the level of travel and decorating coverage--worth one or two shallow pieces per issue (and perhaps lower, since travel and decorating coverage can be relied upon to bring in advertising, and career coverage can't).

But in moving to such coverage, Mademoiselle deserts its own strengths: the "head" articles Locke mentioned, which, at their best, were heartfelt ruminations on real women's inner lives and thoughts. And since, unlike the new women's magazines, Mademoiselle does not concentrate exclusively on beauty, or fitness, or sex, it still cannot really compete with them for advertisers as a special-interest magazine. In fact, it is coming dangerously close to turning into a "generalist" magazine: trying to provide a little something for everyone, which has proven to be a risky path for a magazine to take today. Even Levin's former employer, The Ladies Home Journal, has been losing readers with such an editorial formula.

The de-emphasizing of serious articles about women's lives and feminist issues may also reflect the point of view of new staff members. Mademoiselle has always maintained a young staff and considered this an

important aspect of their being able to "keep up with their readers." Blackwell mentioned this practice in 1957, in correspondence (Singel, 1957, 92), and Locke made the same point in her 1974 interview with Miller. Perhaps the new staff editors and new editor-in-chief reflect the attitudes attributed to "the post-feminist generation," as identified in a controversial New York Times Sunday Magazine article by Susan Bolotin (1983). This article pointed out (with dismay) that there is now a large group of young, educated, career-minded women who tend to believe that all the battles for women's rights are over and who therefore don't really see a need for feminism in their own lives. If this attitude is typical of the younger Mademoiselle editors, it would certainly explain their apparent assumption that their readers are not interested in serious, feminist-oriented pieces either.

However, it may mean that such serious articles will re-appear in a few years, just as the kind of articles that had appeared in the magazine in the 1950's (e.g., how to deal with working mothers' problems, how to be taken seriously as a professional, how to crack all-male job fields) reappeared in the 1970's. This is sad, because it means new generations of women are being forced to deal with the same problems all over again, instead of

being able to move forward. But at least the reappearances meant that these issues are again considered important: they were "on the agenda," so to speak. So, although it is unsettling to see the disappearance of such serious coverage again, history tells us it will surface again. The overall result of Levin's changes in Mademoiselle's editorial formula has been to make Mademoiselle lose its characteristic focus, and, in fact, to weaken its competitive position vis`a`vis other women's magazines.

Every successful specialty magazine--and remember that Mademoiselle was one of the pioneers, entering the field fully 25 years before the postwar boom in specialty magazines--has succeeded because it created a unique editorial product. In James Wood's words, successful magazines are those which make themselves "as nearly as possible synonymous with specific kinds of editorial attempt and performance (1971: 358)". This in turn generates a distinct audience of loyal readers. Such a readership is loyal because in subtle ways the readers define themselves through their chosen magazine. They believe that the fact that they are New York readers or Playboy readers or Vogue readers or Gourmet readers or even Readers Digest readers, says something good about them to the world.

The provision of this self-definition is the raison d'être of specialty magazines. They talk to readers about themselves, about the things that really matter to them. Because they mirror facets of the reader's personality, they hold his/her attention. "Discovering that there is a magazine which deals with one's specific tastes, profession, social group, or city gives certain importance to one's own existence" (Servan-Schreiber, 1976: 59). The psychological concept is reminiscent of the theme of Walker Percy's National Book Award winning novel, The Moviegoer, whose protagonist believes that any person or place from his own life seen in a movie becomes thereby "certified," somehow made more real, more immanent than ordinary life renders it (Percy, 1962).

The best editors convey this sense of the importance of reader's concerns because they share those concerns: great publications present the perfect match between editor and editorial concerns. It is inconceivable to imagine a Luce doing a convincing job with Playboy, or a Steinem convincing Vogue readers that a new hemline matters in their lives. As Raymond Wolseley observed about Helen Gurley Brown's success: "Like all competent commercial editors, she gives [her readers] what interests her and since she is one with her readers, they accept

the fare eagerly" (1973: 57). Good editors make their magazines compelling to readers because they have a sure sense of editorial purpose, a clear idea of what they want to tell their readers about.

Blackwell, and after her Locke, created a magazine whose excellence in its field was consistently recognized, because they had a clear idea of who their reader was and of what they wanted to tell her. Under Levin, Mademoiselle is in danger of losing sight of its original editorial purpose as defined by Blackwell and Locke, which was to be a "guide, philosopher and friend" to intelligent young women.

To borrow a phrase from a doughty phrasemaker, Jean-Louis Servan-Schreiber, Mademoiselle began by selling information, views, ideas and dreams to its readers. Like all consumer magazines, it also sold readers to advertisers. Levin now seems to be primarily interested in the latter function. But there is a danger now that in short-circuiting that primary function, Mademoiselle may lose readers and find itself unable to fulfill even the second.

But the overall trend today is clear. Editor-in-chief Amy Levin is out to grab readers, with bright graphics, seductive design, sexy cover headlines, and

lots of discussion of sex. She is gambling that by giving readers these things they will not mind getting less career coverage than they have told the editors they want. Whether her version of Mademoiselle can hold its own against the onslaught of new competitors is not yet clear. But one thing is certain: Levin's Mademoiselle is no longer the "demoiselle" birthed and brought up by Betsy Talbot Blackwell and brought to full feminist maturity by Edith Raymond Locke. She looks a little too much like "that Cosmopolitan girl" to be the girl of their dreams anymore.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

A key fact about magazines, unlike newspapers, broadcast networks, and most other corporate forms of information, is that one man can influence every idea, every layout, every word that appears in print.

--Clay Felker, editor
New York magazine

White (1970) expressed the conventional wisdom when she asserted that the majority of women's magazines were trend-followers, rather than trend-setters. But Mademoiselle, at least under its first two editors, consistently did lead its readers in new directions. In fact, its career coverage in the 1950's and 1960's so intensively encouraged women to enter non-traditional fields that critics of the period dismissed the advice as "unrealistic" for "ordinary girls" and thought that perhaps "ordinary girls" only used it for entertainment. The magazine's iconoclasm was by no means limited to careers. Blackwell in particular was always forward-looking. Under her, Mademoiselle's coverage extended to young women's broader lifestyle choices, discussing premarital sexual activity (favorably) in the 1950's,

advising girls not to hurry into marriage in the 1960's, and suggesting that sometimes single women should have children in the very early 1970's, when in most circles "illegitimate" babies were still discussed only in whispers.

Locke also kept the magazine's coverage at a level reflecting the seriousness with which she took her readers. There are not such dramatic examples of her coverage to recount as there were with Blackwell's, for, in effect, what happened in the 1970's, during Locke's tenure as editor, was that the times caught up with Blackwell. Her brand of coverage, confronting serious issues, had begun to be more common in women's magazines then, so that Locke's editorial direction does not seem so distinctive.

In 1980-81, what seems to have happened is that the competition caught up with Mademoiselle. Amy Levin dropped most of the serious discussion pieces, in favor of "how-to" get ahead and "how to" have an orgasm advice. But even then, the magazine was still clearly keeping up with the times; there is none of the "lag" behind the realities of women's lives that characterizes so much of magazine fiction and non-fiction (cf. pp. 31-34).

In short, the first assumption of the study, which was that changes in magazine content follow upon and happen more or less in response to changes in reader demographics, was not borne out. It's surprisingly clear that the major determinant of a magazine's character at a given time is the personality of the editor.

This is not to say that reader tastes and needs have no effect. They do, but it's not usually as "cause and effect" as merely adding more articles on careers because more readers have gone to work full-time. That obviously does happen to some extent; for instance, the magazine did have more employed mothers as readers in 1975-76 and there were more articles dealing with the concerns of employed mothers (as there had been during the 1950's and early 1960's, when there were also many employed mothers in the readership). But if it were as simple as that, recent issues of Mademoiselle would feature cover headlines promising readers "advice to the worklorn" and pages of articles providing such advice, based on demographic reports showing that 75% of all readers work full or part-time, and reader surveys identifying careers as life's single more important issue.

The suitable metaphor for the process whereby a magazine's identity is created, then, is not the literary one of "a co-creative act between writer and reader." It is more like--cookery. The good commercial editor, like the family chef, knows her family's likes and dislikes, and offers them a variety of dishes which she knows they like. But she also keeps up with new ideas, and when she spots a new "recipe" that, based on her knowledge of their tastes, she thinks they will like, she unhesitatingly serves it up. The truly creative editor, however, will scent a new idea, one that perhaps she's pretty certain will give readers pause, and set it on the table, saying "Here. You're going to have to taste this sooner or later. Try it--you'll like it!" The great editors don't stop there--they find a way of serving up the dish that convinces readers that they do like it, even if it takes a little getting used to.

It should be clear to the reader now that I consider Blackwell to be one of the rarest breed of chefs, the ones who, in impresario David Belasco's words, "give the people what they want before they know they want it." Locke shows a consistent creative spark, and Levin seems capable of merely a sound journeyman's work. (And even this is doubtful. She is turning

Mademoiselle into a demoiselle who is virtually indistinguishable from all the rest of the crowd, a suicidal course for a magazine in a highly competitive field.)

How did Mademoiselle stay ahead of its reader needs? The answer is that it was by Blackwell's design. She saw her magazine as talking with and for young women who didn't just want to keep themselves occupied (The "I Don't Want to Play the Harp Department"--remember?) but who wanted to use their brains, and skills, and energy. It was her editorial plan to "stay ahead of" expressed reader desires, because she saw her job as expanding readers' horizons and raising their own expectations of what life might offer them and what they could offer life.

What made that formula successful is as non-quantifiable as voodoo. From the earliest days on, there were always readers who wanted to hear Blackwell's message--and Blackwell's message is what distinguished Mademoiselle from the higher-selling Glamour, and, later, from other young women's fashion and beauty magazines.

As Clay Felker, well-known as a visionary editor himself, says, great editors are unconsciously "right" for the spirit of the moment, and that

The vitality of a magazine depends not on great publishing organizations, precision editorial formulas, vivid promotion, or high-powered salesmen but on the vitality of one man's editorial dream. It's the beginning and end of magazines. (1972: 97)

Just as Mencken was The American Mercury, Rolling Stone is Jann Wenner, Esquire was Arnold Gingrich, the Reader's Digest is forever DeWitt and Lila Acheson Wallace--Mademoiselle was Betsy Talbot Blackwell. Even after her retirement, Locke continued Blackwell's vision, even to the titles of regular columns, instituting almost no new ideas of her own. Levin, as we have seen, has watered down Blackwell's vision, with the result that the magazine has lost focus.

The first assumption, then, was not borne out by the study. Comparison of each period of career coverage with reader demographic figures indicated that Mademoiselle's career coverage was consistently somewhat ahead of changes in readers' lives. As was pointed out in chapters five and six, the reader demographics for the magazine, at least as shown in their in-house surveys, changed gradually over the time period in some areas and remained remarkably consistent

in others.¹ To reiterate briefly the relevant changes, the median reader age increased 1.8 years, from 21 to 22.8. There was a 14% increase in the percentage of 25 to 30-year-old readers, bringing this group up to one-fourth of all readers. This age group has a high percentage of working women: 65.3% of all women aged 25 to 34 were in the labor force in 1980 (Fullerton, 1982: 16). And, as was pointed out in chapter two, the most rapid increase in women's participation in the labor force between 1963 and 1978 occurred in the 20-34 age group, Mademoiselle's target readership group (Almquist, 1977).

The most significant demographic change was in reader occupations. There was an 11% increase in the number of readers working full-time, a 5% increase in those working part-time, and a 25% increase in those who described themselves as working, keeping

¹There is some doubt about the accuracy of Mademoiselle's in-house surveys as sources of demographic information, cf. Miller's statement that a 1973 Simmons report put Mademoiselle's median reader age at 26.1, when the magazine's own 1969 and 1975 surveys showed 21 and 22.4 respectively (Miller, 1974). Therefore, perhaps independent demographic information, such as that gathered in the Starch and Simmons reports, would show greater changes in reader characteristics.

house, and/or going to school. By 1980, then, more than half of all readers worked full-time, another one-fourth worked part-time, and more than half saw themselves as combining some amount of paid work with their other responsibilities. Though changes in types of occupations held were minor, there were 18% more readers in non-clerical, teaching, and nursing jobs by the end of the time period. That is, by 1980, there were 10% fewer secretaries, 5% fewer teachers, 9% more managers, officials, and proprietors, 5% more readers in sales jobs, and 4% more readers in professional and semi-professional jobs.

These small changes in age and occupational status were accompanied by a major change in reader attitudes, as shown by the two attitudinal surveys the magazine carried out, in which readers overwhelmingly indicated that their work was of major, permanent importance in their lives. Yet, as we have seen, the magazine's coverage anticipated such changes in readers' lives, rather than following them.

Thus, close examination of the contents of the magazine for each of the three time periods showed that in 1969-70 and 1975-76, Mademoiselle was actually ahead of changes in its readers' lives.

In the earlier period, Mademoiselle was one of the first of the traditional women's magazines to embrace the new feminism whole-heartedly and to begin including reporting on sex discrimination in employment fields. Similarly, in 1975-76, the magazine articulated for readers concerns about working mothers, about losing one's femininity, and other serious matters so new that readers were just beginning to think about them. Not until 1980-81 does the extent of career coverage seem to match readers' expressed concerns with their careers.

The second assumption of the study, that some of the changes in Mademoiselle's coverage over the time period would be related to its new competitors, was borne out by the study. The most influential competitors seem to have been Ms. and Cosmopolitan. Ms., less visible "alternative" women's journals, had pioneered writing about hitherto "untouchable" subjects such as abortion, date-rape and incest, as well as serious writing about financial matters for women, and very soon, Mademoiselle, along with other established women's magazines, began running serious analysis and reportage of these subjects. At the other end of the vulgarity scale, but still in the name of frankness, Cosmopolitan pioneered writing about sex. Mademoiselle waited longer to follow Cosmopolitan down the "primrose

path" of detailed writing about vibrators, clitoral versus vaginal orgasms, "swinging," and all the other ramifications of the "sexual revolution"--but follow they did. Cover headlines clearly indicate the trend, which continues unabated in 1983.

The magazine also followed the general publishing industry trend of more vibrant color, splashier graphics, and more movement in fashion photography. This trend, however, cannot be attributed to the leadership of one magazine. It's simply an example of the process of "collective selection" identified by Herbert Blumer (1969) as an explanation of the operation of "fashion" in any field. The contemporary look of Mademoiselle and other women's magazines is a reflection of the zeitgeist, the changing sense of what looks aesthetically "right" to art directors. If anything, Mademoiselle, along with Glamour, was probably one of the leaders in this trend. Even Ms. has climbed up onto the "brightness" bandwagon, and recently changed its graphic design. In sum, the second assumption, that there is a relationship between Mademoiselle's coverage and that of its competitors, was borne out by the research.

In short, the most important factor determining changes in coverage was unforeseen. With the hindsight

engendered by examining six years of magazine contents, it's evident that the magazine's editor plays the biggest role in determining a magazine's emphasis. Obviously, Mademoiselle would have devoted more space to careers, no matter who was directing its editorial mix, because that was the temper of the times, and because reader demographics did change enough to justify it. But the individual at the editor's desk chooses style and approach, which are everything in magazines. The editor is the gatekeeper who determines, not just content, but format and that elusive entity, tone. The effects of changes in editors are as evident as the effects of new competitors or emerging demographic trends.

Suggestions for Future Research

The process of thinking through answers to the questions this study was devised to examine gave rise to many other questions. Since the present study could not encompass so many other matters, I would like to suggest the following areas as fruitful topics for future research.

Demographics. In the light of the apparent discrepancy between the magazines' reported reader demographics and Simmons reports for the same period,

it would be informative to do a study comparing the findings of Mademoiselle's in-house reader demography surveys and those done by Simmons.

Editorial influence. Likewise, given the importance of the editor's role in shaping the magazine, it would be interesting to interview present and former editors to compare their perceptions of the magazine's readers and their needs.

Differences in competitor's coverage. Glamour has outsold Mademoiselle since 1947; for the past twenty years, it has out-stripped the older magazines two to one. Self, the Conde' Nast publication which debuted in 1979, has already begun to approach Mademoiselle's total circulation. A study contrasting the three magazines' readerships, circulation, and editorial emphases, perhaps a content analysis, would be an appropriate study.

Charm magazine's influence on magazine development. Helen Woodward's (1960) comments on Charm and its editors are intriguing. A study of Charm would shed light on the development of women's magazines in general and Mademoiselle in particular.

Comprehensive review of women's magazines.

Carrying out an extensive survey of a particular women's magazine, one is quickly struck by the unanimity of the critical opinion on all women's magazines. Critics almost universally consider women's magazines bad. It is de rigeur for intellectual critics to decry their mindlessness and absorption in trivia (Griffith, 1949; Schesinger, 1946; Woodward, 1960; McCarthy, 1955), and for feminist critics to condemn women's magazines for their stereotyping of women (Bailey, 1968; Ferguson, 1979; Flora, 1971, 1979; Franzwa, 1974, 1975; Friedan, 1962; Lazer and Dier, 1978; Morelock, 1971; Newkirk, 1977). Some of the criticism is deserved. Women's magazines, like all lifestyle magazines, have been guilty of bowing to advertiser's pressures, of assuming women readers weren't interested in political or current events, of keeping some legitimate subjects taboo, and of lagging behind reality in their portrayal of women's lives. But White noted in 1970 that such faults were disappearing and the past ten years have accelerated the process of opening up deeper discussion in women's magazines.

And even beneath these valid criticisms, there's still something more. One hears a smug delight in "exposing" the shallowness, pretensions, and expressions

of "commodity culture" found in women's magazines. Some of this is doubtless part of the intellectual's standard dismissal of all popular culture artifacts: the highbrow disposing in a few well-chosen--and preferably witty--words of the pedestrian tastes of the middlebrow and lowbrow. This condescension will probably always be part of serious exegesis of popular culture, and can claim a certain amount of aesthetic validity.

But even behind that, I think, there lies something deeper: an unconscious condescension toward (women's) trivial concerns. After all, women's magazines deal with "women's work" (domestic concerns, children's welfare and needs) and "women's concerns" (fashion trends and beauty advice) and the most common critical stance in our culture is to denigrate women's work. As an experienced British women's magazine editor, Mary Grieve, put it:

What is seldom understood by the critics of these magazines is that they do not attempt to cater for woman in her whole humanity. As a human being she has capacities and tastes beyond her interests as a woman, but these are well catered for in many media of communication.... The women's press caters exclusively for women's requirements as women. This field of publishing grows ever wider because women as a sex have a vast and complex activity which has no equivalent in men's lives. This area of activity is composed chiefly, but not

exclusively, of strenuous care of other people--husbands, children, parents--plus a perennial and touching anxiety about their own capabilities and appearance. (Hancock, 1968: 53)

Concerns about coming up with 21 meals a week for a family, raising children to be happy, healthy and productive; keeping homes livable, comfortable and aesthetically pleasing, and keeping oneself in touch with design aesthetics are all considered a waste of time and beneath "serious" consideration, and, therefore, the magazines that concern themselves with such topics put themselves "beyond the pale" for serious, open-minded examination. Their dismissal may, in fact, rest simply in the general assumption that men don't read them. There is a pervasive unconscious misogyny operating: the Bems' 1973 "nonconscious ideology" rears its ugly head again. In light of all this, I would welcome a critical evaluation of the field of women's magazines that does not begin--and end--with the assumption that they're focusing on the wrong things. The closest thing to such a study is White's (1970) monograph, Women's Magazines, but that dealt primarily with British women's magazines, giving only a chapter to American magazines, and also was completed before the recent upsurge of new special-interest women's magazines.

Teenage Girls' Magazines. Lastly, it's past time for an examination of the magazines directed at teenage girls, such as Teen, Ingenué and Seventeen. The content of these magazines is designed to enculturate teenage girls into their future roles as women (and of course, as consumers). To that end, they offer beauty and fashion advice, that is, training in how to be properly "feminine." There is no comparable body of skills prerequisite to a boy's learning "how to be 'masculine'," so there are no magazines for them. Their faces are not their fortunes, and everyone, including advertisers, knows it. Their adult self-image will depend more on class and employment role status; girls' will depend on their husbands' status, and, at least to some degree, on their looks. There has been such study of British teen magazines (Alderson, 1968), but none for American magazines. It would be revealing to discover when the rise of such magazines took place and to relate that to social and cultural history; for which age groups the magazine's editors aim, and for which age groups their advertising is directed, and at what age girls actually begin to read them; and whether girls who grow up reading Ingenué and Seventeen are more likely to read Glamour, Self, and Mademoiselle. All would be worthwhile contributions to our understanding

of social history and the role of women's magazines in our cultural history.

A First-person Postscript

As a woman who read Mademoiselle (sporadically; I never subscribed) from college through my twenties and even now occasionally is persuaded to buy an issue because of specific cover headlines, I feel it is appropriate to offer a more personal reflection at this point. During the early period of coverage reviewed by this study, 1969-1970, I was a college student. In those days, I read the magazine entirely for fashion and beauty coverage. I studied all those articles on how to paint a perfect lipline, how to smooth rough heels, how to accessorize one outfit five different ways. I brought Glamour, too, for the same kind of information, and don't ever remember distinguishing between the two. To my amazement now, I don't even remember any of the feminist articles I uncovered while doing the study.

In 1975-76, I was in the third year of my fourth job, and just beginning to wonder dimly how long I'd be working. I shared the ambivalence exhibited by the women interviewed (in the 1969-70 issues) about being a "career girl." I was genuinely shocked the

day my company sent me pension information, noting that my anticipated retirement date would be April 1, 2013. My spontaneous reaction was a heartfelt prayer that I wouldn't have to spend the next 37 years of my life working with only two weeks off per year! I loved my job, but it had honestly never occurred to me that I might work all my life. I definitely saw myself as working "until," even though the question of whether it was to be "until" marriage or "until" babies was vague in my mind.

In 1980-81, I was learning to cope with the pressures of being a full-time employed worker and a full-time mother, as well as a part-time student working on this study. The 1975-76 articles I was reading then on the plight of the working mother really touched a chord. I found these articles wonderfully relevant and timely, even though I was reading them five years after their publication. (Mademoiselle certainly seems to have anticipated this reader's needs!)

As to the 1980-81 and current direction, I'm afraid I concur with Jane Michaels, who wrote the "Opinion" article stating "I've Had It with How-to-Succeed" Books" (May, 1981). However, my lack of

interest in these articles is not because, like her, I have already figured all this out for myself, but because I find the advice unnecessary. After reflection, I've decided I don't subscribe to the "climbing the ladder" notion of career success. For awhile, in fact, all the advice to play my next move before I got left behind was just one more source of pressure, one more guilt stimulus, which is something no working mother needs. (Of course, it may turn out that the magazine is once again anticipating my needs, and in five years, I'll be looking these "how to succeed" articles up in back files of the library!)

I don't know what relevance the future Mademoiselle may have for me. If it continues to aim at an 18-34 year old age group, I will presumably outgrow it. But so far, although I lament the passing of the Blackwell-Locke perspective, I suspect I'll continue to pick up an occasional copy, lured by promises such as "Weekend Specials: 45 Going-Out Looks" and "Help! I Hate My Clothes!" "Nine No-Fail Basics," both featured on the cover of the November, 1983 issue. (I bought it.)

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APPENDIX A

Discussion of the Scholarship on American Magazines

Of all the types of American mass communication, the least subject to analysis has been the popular, large-circulation magazine. There are both academic and popular journals devoted to television, radio, broadcasting in general, video, film, music, newspapers, books, book publishing, advertising, marketing and communication in general. The picture is different for magazines. As the journalism teacher Robert Kenyon said in 1974, "The standard books in the field are dated and articles about magazines are scattered through many different publications" (Miller, 1974: 3). The only regular publication devoted to magazines are for specialized professional audiences. Folio, a lavish, closed-circulation trade publication, goes only to editors and well-connected journalism teachers; Magazine: Newsletter of Research, is published irregularly by the Magazine Publishers Association and sent to media buyers as a sales and marketing tool; and Print, the Magazine of Graphic Design, is for art editors and designers. The only regular reviews of magazines,

similar to book and film reviews, are those written by librarian Bill Katz in his regular column in each issue of Library Journal, and those in a new periodical, the New Magazine Review, published in Las Vegas since the early 1980's and devoted exclusively to reviews of periodicals.

The magazine More: The Media Magazine, started in 1971, ran frequent articles on magazine industry trends and on individual publications, along with coverage of publishing, newspapers, and the media in general. Unfortunately, it was absorbed by the Columbia Journalism Review in 1978. The Review continues to run occasional pieces on magazines.

The "generalist" scholarly communication journals, Journal of Communication, Communication Quarterly, Communication Research, The Journal of Applied Communication Research, Communication Monographs, the Southern Speech Communication Journal, the Western Journal of Speech Communication, and Central States Speech Journal, rarely run studies having to do with magazines. Occasionally magazine studies are published in the scholarly journals Social Forces and Public Opinion Quarterly, and Journalism Quarterly includes them fairly often. The News Media and the Law and

Publishing History: The Social, Economic and Literary History of Book, Newspaper and Magazine Publishing, include them in their purviews, but the former is limited to current media legal issues, most of which affect broadcasting and the daily press more than magazines; the latter is limited to early historical studies (typically, 17th and 18th centuries).

While the advertising and marketing journals (International Advertiser, Journal of Advertising, Research, Journal of Marketing, Journal of Marketing Research, Market Research Journal) and trade publications (Advertising, Advertising Age, Marketing News and What's New in Advertising and Marketing) frequently cover magazines, their discussion of the communication process or of editorial content is incidental to marketing information.

While trade publications provide exhaustive data on magazine circulations and reader demographics (e.g., Standard Rate and Data Service, Ayer Directory of Publications, Target Group Index, Simmons Special Market Reports, and Starch Consumer Market and Magazine Report), their figures are not designed to shed light on readers' opinions of the magazines or their coverage, or why a reader chooses one over a similar competitor.

Also, recent contradictions in such quantitative data surveys, as reported in the Columbia Journalism Review (Welles, 1975), and More (Henkoff, 1977; Hills, 1976) have led publishers to admit the necessity of more thorough research.

Serious writing about women's magazines, and fashion magazines in particular, is even scarcer than writing about magazines in general.

APPENDIX B

AN OPPORTUNITY TO ASSIST YOUR EDITOR: We at Mademoiselle occasionally have questions we'd like to ask our readers. It is important, both to you and to us, that we know more about you, your interests and opinions. So won't you please fill in the questionnaire below and send it along to me as quickly as possible? we'll be forever grateful.

Edith Raymond Locke
Editor-in-Chief

ALL OF THIS INFORMATION WILL BE KEPT STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

1. Where did you buy this issue of Mademoiselle?
(Please check only one.) Subscriber Drug-store Supermarket Other _____
2. How often do you buy Mademoiselle? Regularly (12 issues per year) Frequently (8 to 11 issues a year) Occasionally (4 to 7 issues a year) Seldom (1 to 3 issues a year)
3. How long have you been reading Mademoiselle? _____
year _____ months
4. What other magazines do you read regularly? _____

5. If married, do you live in _____ a house or _____ an apartment? Do you _____ own or _____ rent?

If single, do you live: _____ with parents or _____ in your own apartment or house? Do you: _____ own or _____ rent?

APPENDIX B (Continued)

6. Education (Please check level completed.) (Double check (XX) if still attending)

	<u>Self</u>	<u>Husband If Married</u>
Graduate school	_____	_____
College graduate	_____	_____
Partial college	_____	_____
High school grad.	_____	_____
Partial High sch. grad.	_____	_____
Grade school only	_____	_____
Other (business, art, etc.)	_____	_____

7. Are you: ___ single ___ engaged ___ married ___ divorced
or separated
8. Do you have any children? ___ Yes ___ No If so,
age of each child: _____ If married, number
of years married: ___ years ___ months
9. At the present time, which of the following do you
do? If more than one, please check as many as
necessary. ___ Keep house ___ Go to school ___ Have
a full-time job ___ Have a part-time job ___ Other:
- If you have a job, what is your occupation?
Position? _____ Kind of business
in: _____
10. Would you please indicate below your total family
income? (Be sure to include yourself, as well as
other members of your family with whom you are
living.)

_____ \$5,000-\$6,999

_____ \$7,000-\$9,999

_____ \$10,000-\$14,999

_____ \$15,000-\$24,999

_____ \$25,000 and over

APPENDIX B (Continued)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

(Please do not include subscription renewals, checks, etc.
with this form.)

Thank you. Just mail to:

Mrs. Edith Raymond Locke
Editor, Mademoiselle
350 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10017

Copied directly from Mademoiselle, August 1975: 266.