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AUTHOR Byerly, Carolyn M.
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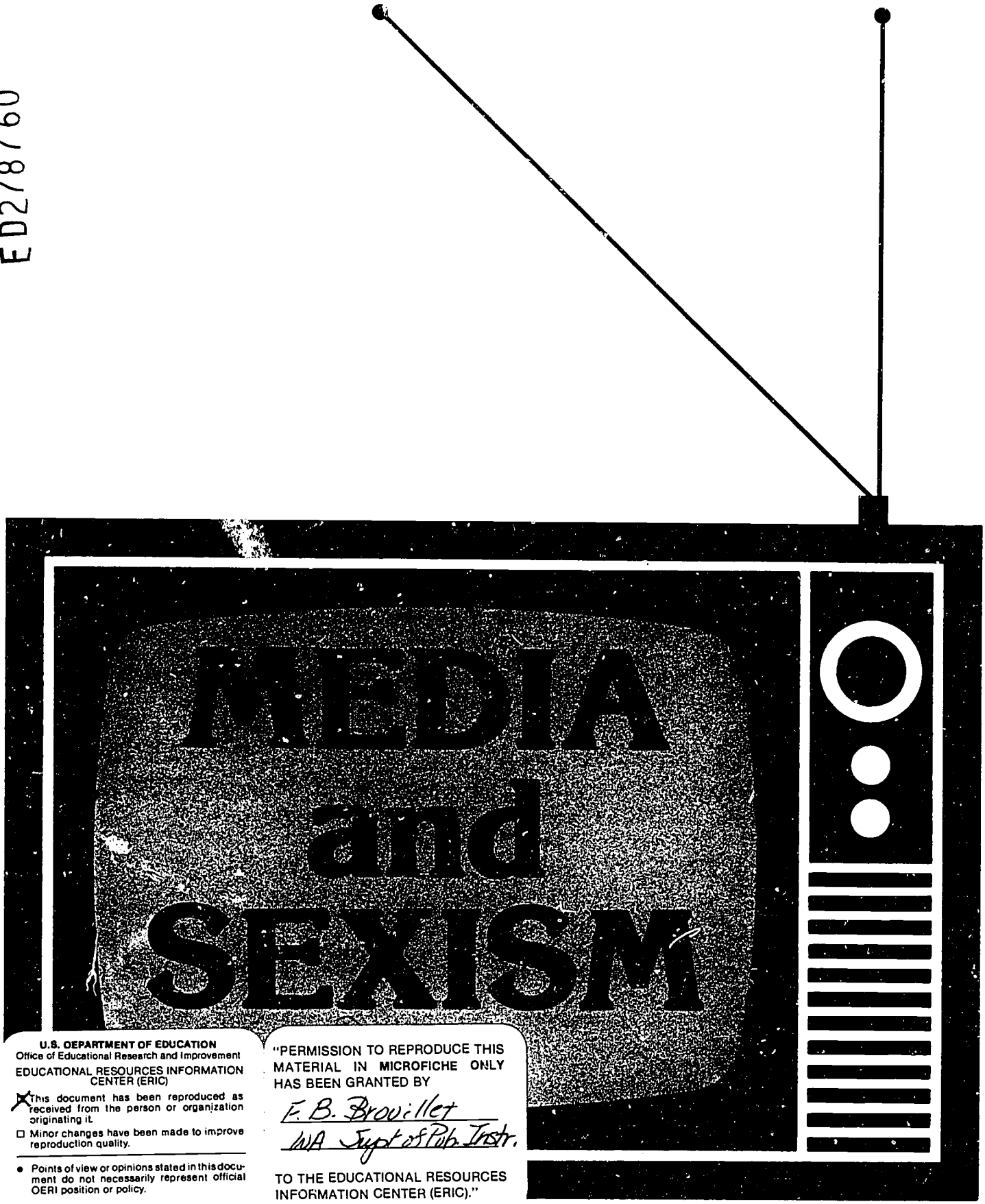
ABSTRACT

This manual presents background information and teaching activities for secondary school instruction on the relationship of sex roles and the media in American society. Section I provides background for teachers by defining basic terms, presenting a brief history of the mass media, and discussing why media are thought to play a strong role in perpetuating sex role stereotypes. Fifteen magazine advertisements are included and analyzed. Section II presents five secondary school student lesson activities on these questions: (1) What are the media? (2) What is sex role stereotyping and where does it appear in familiar media form? (3) How does advertising perpetuate sex role stereotyping? (4) How can we stop sex role stereotyping? and (5) Additional (optional) activities. Section III provides supplementary readings on sex role problems in the media including reprints of articles from several feminist, legal, and business journals, a selected bibliography, and a list of other resources. (KH)



(An Instructional Manual For Secondary School Teachers)

State of Washington

Dr. Frank B. Brouillet
State Superintendent of Public Instruction

MEDIA AND SEXISM

(AN INSTRUCTIONAL MANUAL FOR SECONDARY TEACHERS)

Mona H. Bailey
Assistant Superintendent
Division of Grants and Equity Programs

Warren H. Burton
Director
Office for Equity Education

Gene Canque Liddell
Program Administrator
Office for Equity Education

Prepared By:
Carolyn M. Byerly

Typed By:
Jill M. Darby

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-- Carolyn M. Byerly

FOREWORD

Our association with the media is a daily event. As both adults and children we are bombarded each day with hundreds of thousands of individual pieces of finely edited, carefully chosen words and images that shape how we see the world, what we will do, what we will believe, and above all, who we will become.

The way we see ourselves as men and women, and subsequently, elect to live our lives, is determined to a great extent by this accumulation of messages transmitted to us via television, films, books, magazines, newspapers, records, posters and other forms of media. In order to understand the many ways our values and self-images are shaped by external forces, such as the media, it is essential that we begin early to examine the issues, motives and other factors surrounding them.

This manual is intended to serve as a primer for teaching in the secondary schools on the subject of the media and sex roles in American society. It includes facts, data, discussion guides and other activities for use in the classroom. Supplementary materials in the form of exhibits and examples will assist teachers to illustrate different concepts in their teaching. A series of readings will allow those who are interested in pursuing additional background in the effects of media, a place to begin. There are countless other ways that teachers and students can explore this topic together; this manual is offered as a first practical basis for that exploration.

SECTION I: Background for Teachers

A. WHAT ARE THE MEDIA?

Forms of media

Media is a plural word. The term is a shortened version of "mass communications media", which refers to a vast assortment of technologies used to communicate thoughts, values and other messages among numbers of people.

The media are usually divided into two general categories:

The electronic (or broadcast) media:

television	radio	videotape
films	records	

The print media:

newspapers	text (and other) books	cartoons
magazines	newletters	illustrations
posters	billboards	photos
pamphlets		

This manual will focus on the major media: television, newspapers, films, magazines, photos and the record industry.

Purpose of the media

The primary and obvious purpose of the various media is to communicate with others. However, it is also important to understand that most media operations are established as businesses which, to survive, must become and remain economically self-sufficient. This profit motive is particularly significant where advertising is concerned, because advertising and other forms of commercial support are the lifeblood of nearly all media. This issue is discussed in this section.

How the media are operated

Because most media enterprises are established as businesses, they will reflect the full-range of different forms of ownership and management as other businesses in this culture. A large-scale media operation, such as a national magazine, for instance, is likely to be established as a corporation, with a board of directors, a large staff and many

different departments (news, advertising, feature, etc.). A local newspaper or radio station in a small or medium sized city, however, might well be owned and operated by a single person or by a partnership of two or more persons, with news, writing, advertising and other functions all carried on by a small number of people. Time Magazine, Inc., is an example of a large national corporation media enterprise. The Weekly, a weekly newspaper in Seattle, is an example of a smaller scale media enterprise that is owned and operated by one person, and which has a small staff. Most film and record industries are corporate enterprises that operate on a national or international scale, with their main office headquartered in a major city such as New York or Los Angeles.

Local community radio and television stations may either be locally owned and managed or may be owned by corporations with offce headquarters located someplace elso is the state or nation. Many radio and television stations also may belong to national networks, which provide common programs and information to the public through their local affiliate stations. When we tune in to the evening TV news with John Chancellor and David Brinkley, we are actually getting information directly from the National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC), a network headquartered in New York and Washington D.C. The local channel (i.e., station) which carries the program is an affiliate of NBC. Local stations will present national programs, such as the evening news, via their national networks, as well as other programs broadcast right from their local studios. Radio has this same ability to combine national network and locally broadcast programs.

In nearly all media enterprises, regardless of the form or size, however, there is a separation between the business and communication functions. This means simply that the persons and activities which work to maintain a medium's economic survival are usually distinct from the persons and activities related to news and editorial decisions, the selections of visual and other content, etc.

Daily newspapers and most magazines generally separate these functions by establishing:

A Business department to oversee:

- classified advertising
- display advertising
- subscriptions
- bookkeeping

An Editorial department to research and present editorial opinions and to otherwise carry out the publisher's editorial policy directives.

Individual news and feature departments, including:

- local, state and national news
- sports news
- business news
- human interest news and features

Medium and large commerical radio and television stations i.e., stations supported by income from advertising may separate the business and communications with this kind of organization:

A business/advertising/promotion department, to: oversee advertising sales and income, to promote the use of the station by viewing/listenting audiences, and to maintain other business activities for the station's survival.

A news department to coordinate the station's coverage and presentation of news and other information.

A public service department, which assures that the station will present a certain amount of air time programming "in the public interest", in line with federal licensing requirements.

An Historical Conflict

There has been a long-standing atmosphere of conflict between the business and communications functions of the media in this country. The conflict is present both in individual local enterprises, as well as on a national scale. The basis for conflict is this: the business that use these media to further their own products, services or industries want to assure that there is a public climate favorable to their own commercial interests. This climate can be greatly affected by the kind of information communicated by the same media that advertisers, in other words, depend on for furthering their sales. These advertisers look to the business departments of newspapers, magazines television stations, etc., to influence the kind of news and other information conveyed to the public, as it may relate to their commercial interests. The news and editorial (i.e., communications) departments of the media, however, feel a responsibility to report and convey information as it happens, and staff resist any wishes to the contrary on the part of their colleagues in the business office.

This conflict between economic survival and responsibility to provide unbiased reporting in the media has both practical and ethical dimensions. On the one hand, there is commitment of journalists and editors to inform the public fully and accurately an ethical matter. On the other hand, there is the practical matter of a newspaper, television or radio station's survival and continued operation with the profits from advertisers. There is yet another aspect of this issue with advertisers, and that is the content of advertising itself. Because the presence of advertising so heavily dominates our broadcast and print media, there is the matter of how and if media managers should regulate its content. The question will be explored more fully in a later section of this manual.

B. THE RISE OF THE MASS MEDIA

The origins of human speech go back an estimated one million years. Languages developed slowly over the eons after that, and finally writing appeared about 250 generations ago -- first in Mesopotamia,

and later in the Chinese and Mayan civilizations. Once writing was developed, however, its spread was very slow and limited to certain classes and professions of people. Literacy of the masses, including common persons, is a relatively recent phenomenon, going back about 150 years.

Mass literacy or education grew out of a combination of circumstances in Western Europe and America.

Johann Gutenberg had turned the handles of his crude wooden printing press, the first with moveable type, in the Fifteenth Century, yet it would take another four centuries for the western world to use this new cultural element in the way we know it. The factors which really gave rise to mass printing and, in turn, to mass education, include the presence of new political systems which called for an informed public to take part in democratic governmental processes, and the advent of new technologies, including the telegraph and automated printing presses in the Nineteenth Century.

The forerunners of our modern newspapers were found in Europe, England and American colonies several centuries ago. The role of the American colonial press in fueling the Revolution for Independence is well known, and later in the new United States, the penny press journals kept the residents of New York City unformed about changing events. These early "newspapers" were aimed at a broad audience of artisans, mechanics and merchants -- in short, the middle classes emerging in a coming urban industrial set of nations, particularly the United States. The first penny press in New York City, with its rapid printing and distribution, was the first prototype mass media. Soon after the appearance and acceptance of this mass press in the mid 1830's, other forms of mass communication devices also were born. These included the telegraph (by the first decade of the Twentieth Century), the household radio (in the 1920's) and home television (in the 1940's) -- all in the U.S. By the early 1950's radios were in nearly every American home and in many cars, and only a few years later television sets were a commodity for a majority of American families. With this saturation of communications technology in our lives, the "ear of mass media" became a significant and inescapable fact of modern life.

This dramatic rise of mass communications media has by now spread throughout the western world and to most parts elsewhere, including relatively unindustrialized nations. It is not uncommon to find television antennae rising from the rooftops of poor villages in Mexico or to hear music pouring forth from transistor radios in the backcountry of Indonesia. Here in the U.S. we cannot deny the omnipresence of all forms of mass media in our everyday life. And this within a very short amount of time in our human history. (See tables 104 on following pages).

Although social scientists have not fully concluded all the ways that the media affect us, they have conducted a number of studies which can help to formulate some early observations. Some of the information

now available from them points to the media's profound influence on such aspects of our lives as language, fashion, consumer habits and men's and women's roles. It is the last of these, sex roles, that we will now explore as it relates to the mass media.

C. RATIONALE FOR EXAMINING EFFECTS OF MEDIA ON SEX ROLES

We have attacked sexism from nearly every conceivable angle for a decade and a half now. Yet women still earn only 59 cents to every dollar earned by men, still are grossly underrepresented in public office and other positions of influence, and, in general, are anything but equal with men under many laws and in political, social and economic planes in the United States. This imbalance holds profound implications for both men and women. As we begin to look around for factors that perpetuate this intolerable situation -- factors that must be addressed -- we stumble almost immediately onto our mass communications media.

The media are only what their name implies, a means by which something is transmitted. And here is the problem. Our communications media -- television, radio, films, newspapers, other publications and records -- make it possible for millions of people to receive the same visual and verbal messages. Yet the substance of those messages does not always promote equal treatment of men and women, in fact, it is quite the contrary.

The perpetuation of sex role stereotyping in the media has been a public concern since the late 60's. Since then a good deal of study has been conducted to document the problem of sex role stereotyping and its effects on women and men, and many groups have already begun active movements to reverse this. George Gerner, Nancy Signorielli and others at the Annenberg School of Communications (University of Pennsylvania) has uncovered much about the treatment of women and minorities in television. Journalist and Professor Jean Kilbourne has vividly illustrated the cumulative effects of advertising on women's and men's roles. Mathilda Butler and William Paisley have revealed other issues, particularly related to women and the media. These are only a few of the scholars whose work has formed the basis for actions on the part of the national Women Against Violence Against Women, Action for Children's Television, the Los Angeles Men's Collective Women Against Violence in Pornography and Media, the National Organization for Women and others. Many of these efforts to date have been focused on specific problems related to sex role stereotyping. However, as public awareness of the issue grows, new and broader efforts will begin to emerge on the scene.

The work of educators and their allies in defining and otherwise educating diverse audiences on sex role stereotyping has greatly strengthened the focused work of these organizations and is probably our greatest hope for long-range change. The role of education in the scheme of reversing the verbal and visual treatment of men and

women by our media cannot be underestimated. It is an integral and necessary part of raising the public consciousness, motivating the sexes in the media, and, eventually in all aspects of our lives.

Sex role stereotyping is the perpetuation of men's and women's unequal treatment through spoken, written and visual messages. This is not an abstract problem. Sex role stereotyping becomes real and concrete anytime we afford higher status or power to men than we do women. Common phraseology such as "man and wife" (instead of man and woman or husband and wife), workman (instead of workers), housewife (instead of homemaker, consumer, etc.), "girls" for women over 18, "men's work" and "women's work" (instead of simply work), and so forth, reflects and perpetuates superior and inferior relationships between men and women. Also, portraying women in roles that are demeaning as opposed to placing men in roles that reflect competence and success reflect definite power imbalances between the sexes. It is belittling for women to be shown as a failure because they cannot make a good cup of coffee for their husbands or get the ring out of their shirt collars -- two common images in television and magazine commercials. It is also belittling for the focus of women characters in the various media to be on sexual characteristics instead of on positive skills, insights and capabilities -- all of which of course, underlie the typical male roles in the media.

These images and messages say something to both men and women -- they set forth an unfortunate set of standards for both sexes to emulate and they perpetuate old myths about what men and women ought to be. In addition, many sex roles of women and men in the media may actually encourage harmful behavior to women, particularly. Studies by Gerbner, Signorielli, et. al., indicate that women are shown as victims of physical and sexual violence far more often than men in television drama. The victimization of women also carries over into images of magazines and films, in literature, in the lyrics or songs and on record album covers. Women as victims is a "big money image," as Jean Kilbourne's excellent film about advertising, Killing Us Softly, illustrates. But not only in woman as victim, but man is an abuser. This is not a healthy dichotomy for either sex, and through education, we must begin to understand the implications of these negative sex role stereotypes and then work to end them.

One of the real tragedies in the sex roles which come to us via the media is that they too often represent something quite out of line with the reality many of us know. News that fails to give equal coverage to the new accomplishments of women in lieu of continued focus on men's deeds are missing an important fact of modern American life -- that women have never been busier, more public, more outspoken or more successful then they are today. Females have also never had the wide range of choices available to them in American history, with respect to work, homelife and lifestyles, nor have they acted on it so decisively. These matters deserve to be reflected in the media in place of tired, negative old stereotypes of women as a slave to her washing maching, subservient to her husband or boss, and with little or no identity beyond motherhood (wifehood, etc.). Men, on the

other hand, are also getting the short end of things with the roles and images they are asked to assimilate and imitate. Why on earth should a man have to be tough, objective, competitive and even violent in order to succeed at manhood, many males are starting to ask? Shouldn't a man be able to express a fuller spectrum of human emotions and qualities than these narrow, limiting roles permit? The answer is, "of course".

D. FACTS AND ISSUES ABOUT THE EFFECTS OF MEDIA

The average American adult is exposed to an estimated nine hours of media each day. This includes both the media we choose to read, watch and hear, and those we do not -- such as the countless billboards and signs, random sounds from radio and television, and various printed messages that swarm past our eyes and ears each day. Of this nine hours, about six hours involves contact with television -- an indication of how powerful and pervasive an influence television is in this society. The remaining three hours of our exposure is a mixture of other print and broadcast messages.

Average American children will view 27,000 hours of television before they graduate from high school. This viewing time is compared to only 18,000 hours spent in the classroom. This comparison points out that for most adolescents, television is the medium which provides a broader and more continuous source of information and stimulation than the formal educational process. Adolescents themselves display the influences of television in their humor, fashion, language (particularly slang), and male and female values.

Research on television programming conducted by George Gerbner and Nancy Signorielli, at the Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, gives us a dramatic look at the source of television influence. Their analysis of the characters that populate "prime time" programming (i.e., the hours between 8-11 p.m.) and weekend programming over a ten year period (1969-1979) and their interviews with viewers explains the relationship between our exposure to television and our subsequent views of social and personal reality. Their findings on role characteristics and occupations of television personalities and attitudes are especially useful to us in understanding the influence of television on our lives.

Gerbner and Signorielli found that both non-fiction (news, documentaries, etc.) and drama play significant roles in forming viewer attitudes, but that drama predominates during prime time and presents a more constant influence during the hours that most people watch television. Among their finding are that:

- Men far out number women in both major and minor character roles, in fact men predominate over women 5.4 to 1;

- This problem decreased slightly between 1975 and 1978, with the proportion of females rising from 25% to 37% in dramatic leading roles;

- The major concerns of women characters were marriage, romance and family related, while men were concerned with occupations and a wide variety of interests;

- Only 10% of the characters were under 19 years old (as compared to 33% in the real world) and 2.2% of the characters are 65 years and older (as compared to 11% in the real world);

- Before children graduate from high school they will have seen more that 13,000 deaths on television;

- Of these deaths, the overwhelming majority of victims are young adults and elderly women (as well as young boys, non-white persons, foreign persons and persons from the upper and lower economic classes);

- Six out of every 10 major characters in television drama are involved in violence;

- There are an estimated 10 deaths per hour depicted in weekend children's programming.

Studies conducted by Gerbner, Signorielli and other researchers at Annenberg also conclude that there are definite connections between television and viewer conceptions of social realities. Young viewers with heavy exposure to television, they found, are likely to see the would as a violent place than those who watch very little. In addition, these viewers (particularly females) express fear toward certain real-life situations, such as walking alone in a city at night.

But the most serious consequences of television violence, these researchers assert, is long term. The durable messages that violence is prevalent, that victims are primarily female or minority, that men take greater risks in every day life and that men are the perpetrators of violence will become self-fulfilling in those who hear and see them. The result of this is that there will continue to be imbalances between the sexes, and between minorities and whites; unrealistic fear levels, and growing pro-violence attitudes within television watching citizens, they say.

Research by Dr. Lenore Walker in Denver, on battered women and learned helplessness, indicates that sex-role socialization in children is a major factor in women's feelings of helplessness and subsequently, their becoming victims of battering. Walker cites studies by Kemler and Shepp (1971) and Dweck, Davidson, and Nelson (1975) to show some of the components of that socialization, including reinforcement for boy's intellectual achievement as opposed to girl's development of social skills, and messages that boys gain success through their achievement and efforts while girls gain it through a man. These sex role stereotypes are inherent in not only television drama, but in other media as well. And these messages that women are helpless victims while men are their abusers are becoming more prevalent.

In 1978, Barry Spinner and Neal Malamuth of UCLA conducted a content analysis of pornographic pictures and cartoons in Playboy and Penthouse

magazines -- two periodicals commonly found in American homes. They found that the sexual violence contained in those magazines increased steadily during the five years of issues they examined. Follow-up research through pornography in magazines, films and other media, our culture has come to see sexual arousal and agression as mutually interchangeable and enhancing. They say that one of the most troubling results of their work is the indication that men who view such material tend to be more stimulated than others by the idea of rape and less sympathetic to the victims.

Pornography is defined as materials which combine the elements of violence and sex. Pornography is available throughout our society -- in over-the-counter magazines (such as Penthouse, Playboy, Oui and Hustler), films at neighborhood theaters and theaters specializing in erotic (but, in fact, pornographic) art, on record album covers and materials that promote records, in advertising wherever it appears, and in all varieties of literature. Pornography is, by virtue of its prevalence, available to people of all ages and socio-economic backgrounds.

We cannot get away from the message of pornography:

- That women are tied up, beaten, raped, tortured and killed in common, everyday situations;
- That men are the persons who do these things to women;
- That women willingly participate in this victimization;
- That this violence is sophisticated, romantic and chic;
- That women are responsible for this behavior on the part of men by their willingness to participate in it.

Since the last 1970's pornography and sado-masochistic themes have increasingly made their way into common, ever-present forms of media around us. This "soft porn" is used to sell everything from scotch and bourbon to automobiles and is characterized by sexual poses, nude or nearly nude models, captions with implicit sexuality, subtle (seemingly invisible) overlays of sexual messages on top of basic photo art (subliminal sexuality), the use of young girls in adult sexual contexts, and explicit forms of violence (chained, roped, gagged and bruised models, etc.). This trend nearly always features female victims and male abusers, or casts the sexes into other stereotypic roles which express the various power imbalance we have earlier discussed.

Figure One is an advertisement which appeared in Vogue and other popular magazines around 1979. The ad's purpose is to illustrate the flexible cloth used to make the woman's jump suit. But this becomes only secondary to the message of violence, male superior and female inferior roles and the association of these themes with beauty, sophistication and wealth (note the model's body and facial lines, the quality of of their clothing, their fashion). These behaviors, we may imply, are things to aspire to, if we are to identify with a modern, affluent generation. The National Women Against Violence Against Women

organization learned that this female model was actually hit many times by the male in the course of photographing this ad.

Figure Two was photographed on a neighborhood grocery newsstand, where it was displayed prominently for customers of all ages to see. These themes from Figure One are repeated in this image and reinforced by the caption. Those who want more explicit description can read the magazine and read the story about the man who commits sex crimes for love.

Figure Three was an advertisement for the recent film "American Gigolo" starring Richard Geer. Both the ad and film reflect the notion that this suave, handsome man lives off the support of wealthy women (the definition of "gigolo") and that the women love it. Here again is the theme of the exploited woman juxtaposed with glamour, sophistication and wealth. We are asked to believe that these are the roles that men and women fill, that these roles are "chic" and that they are chosen willingly and knowingly. Because of the glamour associated with these kinds of media images, we are also asked to accept their statement as desirable and acceptable in society.

Figure Four, with its soft, muted colors and elements of physical comfort, seems innocent enough at first in this advertisement for Thai airlines. But what is really going on? In fact, we are seeing a classic stereotype of the woman stewardess serving the needs of her male passenger. The bottom line literally states that this is "How man was meant to fly." This ad contains both a economic message to men and women about differences in our statuses and portrays a social imbalance between the sexes.

Figure Five and Six are two of a series advertising Weight Watchers' products. They depict women in bondage because of their eating habits. The models are sad, overweight and obsessed with the desire for fattening food. In fact, the woman in stocks is being punished for her obsession. These ads not only exploit overweight women by trying to sell them expensive pre-prepared products, but they imply that overweight women are abnormal or deserve punishment for their condition. These are unflattering messages about women and they are untrue. Yet the flippant, somewhat humorous style in which they are transmitted makes them more subtle. At first sight and reading, we will laugh right along with Clara Wolkoff and Polly Margen's situation.

Figure Seven leaves a lot to be read between the lines. It asks men, "Have you ever thought of the effect you could have on women?" And below is pictured a young-ish man against a backdrop of blue sky and the masts of sailboats in the harbor. He might be a crewman on a yacth. A sportsman. Someone who makes his way among the boating set. The man also has a tousled, unshaven look about him. His eyes are direct and serious. There is a troubled or perhaps even sinister look about his face. He looks strong, unemotional. His hands grip a strong looking rope -- his left hand tugging at the rope draped about the mast of pole; his right, carrying a loop ready for action. The caption above implies he is thinking about how he will affect women. We are given the message he might use this rope and strong hands on

(in fact, against) women. And, the designer of this ad subtly included the unmistakable sexual element linking the themes of sex and violence: the object which rises phallic-like at the model's crotch. And suddenly this colorful ad for men's clothes takes on an eerie mood when we realize the implications it contains.

There is no question about the intent of such advertising. As noted by Wilson Bryan Key in his work Subliminal Seduction, every single element of a photo to be used in advertising is consciously, carefully chosen. While the explicit and implicit symbols linking sex and violence are more recent -- within the last five years or so -- sexuality itself is not. These ads, which cost manufacturers and businesses thousands and millions of dollars for design and publication (or airing over radio and television) transmit many primary and secondary messages. It is now possible to take courses in commercial art institutions and advertising programs on college campuses which train one how to use sexuality and sado-masochistic themes in design and product promotion with these messages.

Observe the ad for Arpege perfume in Figure Eight. Note the woman's sexual look -- moist lips, eyes slightly drooped, chin dropped in an attitude of submissiveness. She has offered herself for this perfume, says her statement. And we can ask, is this a fair or necessary trade? Is this to be the use of woman's affection?

The Arpege ad again implies a connection between sex and fashion (or affluence) -- things to aspire to. There is also a falseness of promise that people who use these products will somehow come closer to this ideal man and/or woman.

Other examples of the promise occur in advertisements in Figure Nine for Secret deodorant (also note in this ad the emphasis on men's strength and women's delicacy) and in Figure Ten for Three Flour Braided Bread. In addition, these ads cast women and men in particular stereotypes. The bread image shows women as the good housewife concerned for her husband's approval for her cooking. This theme is also primary in Figure Eleven for Tide soap (with its stress on how important it is for a wife to get her husband's clothes clean), and Figure Twelve for Hoover vacuum cleaners (which a good wife uses to take good care of her home).

Contrast the images of men and women in these different illustrations. They say that women succeed because of her charm, ability to clean clothes and keep a good house, sexuality, slimness and fashion consciousness. The men are the recipients of women's services, and are depicted for their qualities of strength and status. Also it is the men who are the determinants of women's success -- the judges of her cooking, charm and cleanliness.

Perhaps no series of advertisements has elaborated more consistently on the myth of male ruggedness, strength and unemotionality than the Marlboro cigarette commercials. Figure Thirteen is one example of this. Its message that men are tough and somehow tough men are enhanced by smoking Marlboros is ironical given health warnings these types of ads must carry now.

Men's and women's stereotypes in the media are in many ways an outdated carry-over of our western tradition that grants men greater access to power in economic, social and political arenas. The military, one of the last bastions of this male supremacy, however, has embarked on a new promotion campaign to attract women to its ranks, in response to demands for greater opportunities in military service from women. But look at what one such campaign tells us about the role of women and men in the service. Figure Fourteen says that a career in the National Guard is "The Measure of Men", while Figure Fifteen infers that women in the National Guard will want to be officers the next thing you know (and the implication in this second message is that such an ambition is out-of-line, unacceptable and unaccessible). His image is tough; hers is glamorous.

It is more difficult to illustrate the images and messages of television here, however, based on some of the examples this far, we can identify many of the same sex role inferences from familiar programs.

Charlie's Angels is a long running program. Its characters, three women, are dependent upon Charlie for their assignments, approval and direction. In addition, Charlie is invisible yet the primary determinant in their work. The angels are women who are glamorous, sexy and superhuman. They are sex objects more than strong, competent women who are successful because of their skills and intelligence. And they are beholden to Charlie and controlled by him.

There are many other among the current array of television dramas, as well as in dramas shown over the years. Who was the hero of the popular Perry Mason mystery series, and what role did the female main character Della Street play, for instance?

The lyrics of songs have always defined relationships between men and women. However, our modern melodies are coupled with lyrics so symbolic of the themes of violence and the status difference in men's and women's stereotypes that it pays to examine them. Let's look at the "Top 10".

"My Sharona", a recent hit by The Knack (from the album Get the Knack, Capitol Records, 1979) tells us that not only are women made for sex, but that men prefer very young female sex objects for their pleasure:

> Oh my little pretty woman/ When are you gonna give me some time, Sharona/ Oh you make my motor run, my motor run/ Give it coming off life, Sharona/ Never gonna stop, get it up/ Such a dirty mind/ I always get it up for a taste of the younger kind...

This same theme of dirty old men and young female objects appeared in another some by The Knack titled "Baby Talks Dirty" (from the album But the Little Girls Understand, Capitol Records, 1980). The lyrics say that:

> You know my baby talks dirty/ She says fuck me, fuck me, Oh more, more, more/ Oh my honey is not a sweet thing/ No, no my sweetie loves the real thing/ More, more, more...

This second song was removed from rock stations in some cities, such as Portland, Oregon, because the lyrics violate federal laws prohibting

certain words from crossing the public air waves. Most teenagers and young adults know the popular song, however, and record sales have soared.

The song, "Women", by Foreigner (from the album Head Games, Atlantic Records, 1979) typifies the stereotype that women are for men to push around, abuse and rape. Their lyrics read:

> Women behind bars/ Women in fast cars/ Women in distress/ Women with no dress/ Women in aeroplanes/ Women who play games/ Women in uniform/ See that woman with her clothes torn/ Women who satisfy/ Women you can't buy/ Like women in magazines and in limousines/ Women who sip champagne/ Women who feel no pain/ Women in a disco/ Women who don't wanna know/ Women waving sympathy/ Women feeling ecstacy/ Women bringing man to his knees/ Women who fall in love/ Women who need a shove/ Women who can't be beat/ GET THAT WOMAN IN THE BACK SEAT...

As mentioned earlier, these media messages can be examined when received one by one across the air waves or in the images that we perceive each day. But such examination is virtually impossible given the dose of media we are exposed to on a daily basis. Given the cumulative effects of these themes of inequality, violence, consumer choice and role differences between men and women, we have little left to do but process en masse what is recorded through our ears and eyes.

The conscious and subsconscious mind is dramatically influenced by the general standards set for men and women by the media. If, in the case of advertising, the message transmitted to us at great dollar cost were not effective, they would be ended by their users. So we know that we are, at least as far as the commercial establishment goes, being directed by their carefully composed messages. Because of the prevalence of media on our values and behavior it is essential that we learn to discern what we are receiving in the form of these and other media stimuli, particularly in our lives as men and women. This will enable us to be sharper, better prepared critics of what others say to us via the media, and, therefore, better able to define ourselves as we want to be.

E. HOW TO INCLUDE SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING STUDIES

Because the issue concerns different forms of media, teachers have almost unlimited opportunities to use visual aids, records and other media in the classroom to illustrate different learning concepts. This subject can be a lively as well as serious one, and one which can involve every single person in class in an active way.

F. LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS COMBATTING SEX ROLES IN THE MEDIA

Women Against Sexist Violence in Pornography and Media

Post Office Box 7172
Pittsburg, Pensylvania 15213

Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW) - chapters also in Seattle, Olympia, Tacoma, Portland, Bellingham, Boston, Cambridge, Columbia (MO), Ithaca (NY), Knoxville (TN), New Orleans, New York City, Philadelphia, Johnston (RI) and other cities

1727 Spring Street
Los Angeles, California 90012

Women Against Violence in Pornography and Media

Post Office Box 14614
San Francisco, California 94114

National Organization for Women

425 13th Street N.W.
Suite 1048
Washington, DC 20004

Action for Children's Television

Children's Television Workshop
#1 Lincoln Plaza
New York, New York

Women Against Pornography/New York

Post Office Box 3059
Grand Central Station
New York, New York 10017

Women Against Pornography/Michigan

Post Office Box 21024
Lansing, Michigan 48909

Women for the Abolition of Pornography

Box W, Majority Report
74 Grove Street
New York, New York 10014

NOTE: WAVPM is working with high school students and teachers to prepare a special slide show on violence in the media for use in public schools. There is a $55.00 rental charge for use outside the San Francisco area. Available after September, 1980.

SECTION II: Student Lesson

A. Activity #1: What are the Media?

Student Learning Objectives:

1. To identify the forms of the mass media.

2. To recognize the times and places that these media are present and influential in our (the student's) lives.

3. To become aware of the role(s) that specific media play in this community and in the United States today.

Learning Concepts:

1. There are two categories of media: electronic and print. Each of these has many different forms.

2. We are surrounded and constantly influenced by the media. Books, television, films, radio, newspapers and other forms of media have taught us much about what we know and perceive.

3. Because the media are everpresent in all communities, we can define the specific ways that media play a role in the general community in which we live, and in the nation.

Activities:

1. Identify the specific media.

2. Read about and discuss the rise of the mass media since World War II as forms of communication in the United States and the world.

3. Select a current local or national event and examine the ways it is covered by the media. Does one form of media give more exposure to one aspect if they want another --- why?

4. Determine which are the most common, influental forms of media in your community. Is one form more dominate than others? How would this differ in larger and smaller communities?

5. HOMEWORK: Watch a television program or read the newspaper and observe the ways that men and women are portrayed. Write down

the way in each is shown with relationship to dress, income, main responsibilities (in the article or program). How do men and women act toward each other in the television programs you usually watch?

Materials:

1. A handout defining the various kinds of media.

2. A fact sheet about how media is used in newsreporting, advertising and other functions in our society.

3. Familiar examples illustrating forms of media: record covers, posters, magazines, photos, etc.

TEACHER PREPARATION AND LESSON METHODOLOGY:

Specific Activities:

1. Identify the Specific Media...

   a. Use "Background for Teachers" section to present general information on electronic and print media.

   b. Write these categories on a chart, or on the blackboard.

   c. Ask the students for local examples of the different media, such as names of local newspapers, television stations, radio stations, prominently displayed billboards, etc.

   d. Write these on the chart or board, along with the general categories.

2. Read about and discuss the rise of the mass media since World War II...

   a. Use "Background for Teachers" section, and the bibliography to outline a presentation to the students. This could be a lecture style presentation.

3. Select a local or national event and examine the way it is covered by the media...

   a. Select the event. Some examples could be: a local news item; a local or national disaster such as a flood or drought; an important public meeting; a political campaign; a sporting event; a national news item. Try to choose an event which could be covered in a variety of ways.

b. Bring in as large a variety of media covering the event as possible. Some suggestions are: local newspapers, local weeklies, national news magazines such as TIME, television schedules, movies, books or anything else covering the event in any way.

c. Divide the class into small groups. Give each group a media example to discuss in terms of coverage of the event. Tell them to look at cartoons (political cartoons, but also strips such as Doonesbury), editorials, and also advertisements that might be "covering" the story. Some suggested discussion questions for the group are:

* How much coverage is given the event, especially in view of the size of the newspaper, or the media used? How many separate items appear concerning this event?

* What priority does the event receive? Where is it placed in newspapers or magazines? Is it on the front page? Was it the leading story on the television news?

* What tone is used to discuss the event? Is it matter-of-fact, flippant, serious, outraged, etc?

d. Ask group leaders to report back their findings, and discuss the differences between the different media. Discuss possible reasons for one form of media giving more exposure to one aspect of the event than another. Discuss the political nature of the media.

4. Determine which are the most common, influential forms of media in your community...

a. List all the local media you can find. Ask the students to assess which are the most influential.

5. Set homework assignment.

B. Activity #2: What is sex role stereotyping and where does it appear in familiar media around us.

Student Learning Objectives:

1. To define "sex role stereotyping".

2. To identify specific examples of sex role stereotyping in media familiar to us.

Learning Concepts:

1. Sex role stereotyping is the sum total of behaviors, values and activities of men and women characters, as seen in the media, when these behaviors and activities represent a fixed set of standards about men and women in this society.

2. This set of standards or "stereotyping", is unrealistic based on the wide range of roles that men and women assume in real life. Yet it still can be found in television programming, advertising (both on television and in publications), or record covers and record promotion materials and in other familiar media.

Activities:

1. Ask students to list (on a chalkboard or pieces of butcher paper) the characteristics they feel belong to real women and men (separate lists) they know. Ther ask then to list the characteristics they feel belong to women and men they see in the media. Compare the differences.

2. Bring examples of ads, songs, etc. which illustrate stereotyping.

3. Ask students to discuss how and why they think it is harmful for the media to perpetuate these stereotypes. Identify any ways that it (stereotyping) already affects their lives --- buying one product over another, fashion, behavior, etc.

TEACHER PREPARATION AND LESSON METHODOLOGY:

Specific Activities:

1. List the characteristics the students feel belong to "real" men and women and compare then with characteristics of media characters.

   a. Write lists on chart or board.

   b. Ask for the results of their homework, to list male and female characteristics as defined by the media.

2. Discuss examples of songs, advertisements, etc. which illustrates sex stereotyping.

   a. Find examples of advertisements, record covers, song lyrics, nursery rhyme lyrics, recent films, etc. which illustrate sex stereotyping. Bring them to class.

   b. Discuss what sex stereotyping is.

   c. Divide students into small groups. Give each group several examples of sex stereotyping. These examples can be record covers, magazines advertisements, or song lyrics that you brought with you to class. They could also be television

programs the students watch frequently or a film they have all seen. Ask the students to discuss the following questions:

- what is happening?
- what does it say about men and women and the way they relate to each other?
- what idea would someone from another planet receive about men and women if this was the first thing they saw or heard?

d. Report back from the groups.

3. Discussion on whether it is harmful for the media to perpetuate these stereotypes.

a. This discussion could involve the whole group of students, rather than small groups.

C. Activity #3: How does advertising perpetuate sex role stereotyping?

Student Learning Objectives:

1. To analyze specific ways that the media, and particularly advertising, perpetuate sex role stereotyping.

2. To compare characteristics of real men and women we know with images and characters in the media in order to understand in what ways stereotypes perpetuate false standards.

Learning Concepts:

1. The print and electronic media -- particularly through their advertising functions -- perpetuates a whole series of myths and stereotypes about women and men which can be very harmful to us if we try to aspire to what these ads (programs, songs, illustrations, etc.) tell us about being women and men.

2. We can, however, see around, through and beyond these false images when we compare the stereotype with what we know to be true about ourselves and other men and women we know.

Activities:

1. Show the film Killing Us Softly.

2. Follow the film with discussion focused on these questions:

a. What stereotypes of women appear in the film? Of men?

b. Why were these stereotypes out of line with real women and men?

c. What effects do these stereotypes have on us as young men and women? What effects do you think they have on adult women and men?

d. Do you think businesses could sell the same products using more realistic images of women and men. Why or why not?

3. HOMEWORK: Begin a scrapbook of ads you see which contain male and female stereotypes. If you can't cut them out, make room to describe them.

Materials:

1. A Bibliography on advertising and the media for students who want to do additional research and reading on the subject.

TEACHER PREPARATION AND LESSON METHODOLOGY:

Specific Activities:

1. Show the film "Killing Us Softly".

   a. Reserve film, preview and set up.

   b. Introduce the film by:

      - ensuring against embarrassment or "bathroom humor" by mentioning that all the advertisements are ones that anyone can see around them, but that some of them show some nudity or other may be offensive to some people. Ask the students to be serious about the subject.

      - mention that although the film deals mainly with stereotypes of women, that men are stereotyped too. Ask students to watch for the examples of men in the film. What others can they identify that are common in ads? Refer to previous activities concerning the sex-stereotyping of men.

2. Follow the film with discussion.

   a. Use discussion questions outlines.

   b. Ask for further examples of sex-stereotyping in advertisements.

   c. Ask for examples of good, realistic advertisements.

   d. Try to find some examples of these to bring in.

3. Set homework assignment.

D. Activity #4: How can we stop sex role stereotyping?

Student Learning Objectives:

1. To identify activities at both the personal and social levels which could reduce sex role stereotyping in the media.

2. To identify some of the groups and activities already underway to bring about an end to stereotyping.

Learning Concepts:

1. We need not remain helpless to the problem of sex role stereotyping in the media, in fact, we can determine some specific ways that each person

can take action individually and in social (organized) ways to bring about an end to this.

2. There are consumer action groups already playing a leadership role in addressing men's and women's stereotypes; these groups can use our support and also suggest ways for us to organize action in our local communities.

Activities:

1. Write a letter to a television station, newspaper, business, etc. that promotes sex stereotypes. Express your concerns and make it clear what you want the company to do about this.

2. Identify other ways that individual concerned persons and groups can take social action. (Monitoring local businesses such as theaters and record stores, boycotting, telling others, etc.)

3. Discuss the First Amendment and how it affects anything we might do to end sex role stereotyping.

Materials:

1. Handout on consumer groups addressing stereotyping.

2. Handout (article) discussing the First Amendment and the anti-pornography movement (one of the most controversial and visible issues involving sex role stereotyping today).

TEACHER PREPARATION AND LESSON METHODOLOGY:

Specific Activities:

1. Letter writing.

   a. Find out the official names and addresses of your local television station, newspaper, etc.

   b. Write down the names of the particularly offensive ads in "Killing Us Softly". Suggest that the students write to the advertisers, manufacturers, etc. responsible for these ads.

   c. Contact your local WAVAW. Ask them to identify local newspapers, stores, etc. that promote sex stereotyping. Or find your own.

   d. Prepare examples of letters to advertisers. Make sure students have the required writing materials in class.

2. Identify other actions possible to take.

   a. Contact local consumer groups. Find out what they and others are involved in locally.

3. Discuss the First Amendment.

   a. Read the article in the "Readings" section of this manual that discusses the First Amendment. Read all or parts of this article

to the class. Discuss the meaning of censorship and whether or not there are ways to reverse sex role stereotyping in the media without involving censorship.

4. Other activities:

   a. See optional activities for suggestions on further information and activities involving censorship. The consumer rights issue is one possible focus.

E. Other Activities - Optional:

1. Invite guest speakers to the class. These might range from representatives from the state Consumer Protection office; a local chapter of Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW), National Organization for Women (NOW), or other women's groups concerned with stereotyping in the media; a newspaper editor or a local men's group concerned with the issue.

2. Hold student debates on sex role stereotyping in the media. One subject might include "Censorship versus Responsibility in the Media".

3. Take field trips. Survey record stores for album cover art and other visible promotional materials that incorporate stereotypic images; visit a newspaper, television or radio station, etc. to see how they are managed and run; see a current film in town and compare its characters to real life men and women.

4. Make your own (student) survey of sex role stereotypes. Define what you (i.e., the students) are looking for, then keep careful notes on television programs. commericals, record lyrics and album covers, etc.

5. Make classroom displays which can be added to as time goes along. These could include both positive character images and stereotypes of men and women.

6. Make a whole classroom in-depth study of some aspect of media and sex role stereotyping. Topics might be the First Admendment and its various interpretations through court decisions; public policy decisions to limit the media's activities; what is pornography and why is it such a controversial current issue; etc.

7. Hold additional class discussion. Topics might include how is the issue of sex roles in the media linked to issues or equality; how should women and men be portrayed in the media; etc.

8. Conduct your own (student) research, essay and report writing. Topics might include: what the comics and cartoons say about men's and women's roles; prime time TV and sex roles; interviews with parents; family, friends, others in the community on their views of sex roles in the media.

Visuals

Pleasure


On our ne
Seattle to
with a little
get down, t
as silk to 3
we;
Tho
How r

LASAGNA WITHOUT GUILT

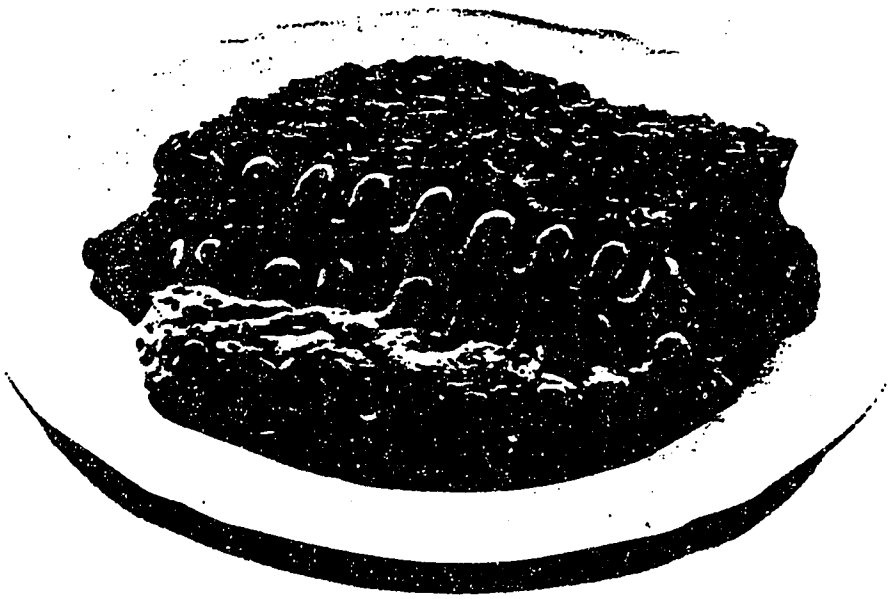
You know Clara Wolkoff. She's the girl who always tucks a towel around her waist at the beach. She zips her slacks lying down. She wears her blouses out. She's got 15 pounds to lose and she's lost it. At least 32 times. (A chronic dieter can lose and regain 480 lbs. by the time she's 35.)

wildest dreams thought you could eat *without feeling guilty.* Dishes like our Cannelloni. Baked Ziti. Veal, Eggplant, or Chicken Parmigiana.

And Lasagna. "Lasagna?" you question with raised eyebrow, skepticism waiting in the wings. Allow us to demystify our Lasagna:

by garlic. We use flavorful ingredients to enhance our dishes, rather than fats and fillers to mask its essence. In France, the mega-Chefs now tout this form of cooking as La Cuisine Minceur.

NOW YOU CAN ENJOY WITHOUT FEELING LIKE A CRIMINAL



MAMA MIA! LASAGNA ON A DIET!

Fad diets almost always fail because they're unrealistic. They expect you to eat the foods you *don't* like and resist the ones you *do*. Suddenly, forbidden foods look better than ever. You cheat. You feel guilty. You abandon the diet completely. Till the next time.

What Weight Watchers Frozen Meals offers you is 28 dishes specially made for a sensible weight loss program. 28 dishes you never in your

First of all, we serve you a sensible portion. Enough to satisfy you without stuffing you. Then we keep an eye on the ingredients. We believe you won't miss the autolyzed yeast, animal fats, and MSG other frozen food manufacturers resort to in *their* lasagna when you taste our thinly rolled pasta, blanketed by hot, bubbly cheese, nestling tender bits of lean, milk-fed veal in a rich basil-scented tomato sauce kissed

And it works.

So Clara Wolkoffs of the world, here's some food for thought: Let the dishes that always tempted you *off* your diet, tempt you *on*. You've got nothing to lose. Except maybe a few pounds.

WEIGHT WATCHERS FROZEN MEALS. THE TEMPTATION YOU DON'T HAVE TO RESIST.

TURKEY AND STUFFING WITHOUT GUILT

FIGURE #6

NO GUILTY AFTERTASTE.

One evening, as Polly Morgen sat nibbling on a carrot, a vision appeared: tender slices of juicy turkey drenched in rich, velvety gravy over a mountain of sage-scented stuffing.

She knocked a chair over running to the refrigerator.

Next thing Polly knew, she was tearing the tin foil off congealed pork chops and sodden mashed potatoes.

And you know what?

Ms. Morgen doesn't even *like* pork.

Most diets are so boring, they drive you to cheating. Guilt sets in. You feel so bad, you abandon the diet completely. Till the next time you catch a glimpse of your derrière in a 3-way mirror. Then the whole Diet-Temptation-Guilt Cycle starts again.

Weight Watchers Frozen Meals can help break this behavioral pattern. All of our 28 dishes are specially made for a sensible weight loss program.

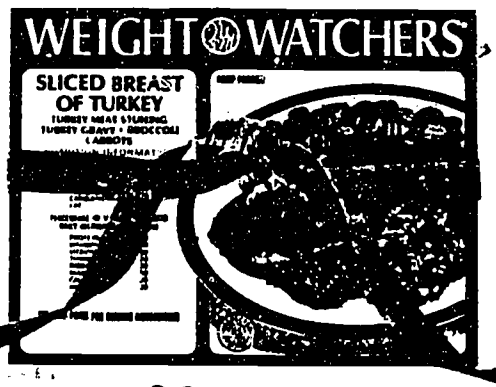
All of them have an extra something you never dreamed you could eat *without feeling guilty.*

Like the thick, brown mushroom gravy on our beefsteak.

Sublime lobster sauce or lemony bread crumbs on our fish.

Piquant soy sauce spiked with garlic on our delicate chicken livers and onions.

WEIGHT WATCHERS FROZEN MEALS. THE TEMPTATION YOU DON'T HAVE TO RESIST.



Tabooed gravy and stuffing with our turkey.

There's no tricks. No MSG. We simply start off with the finest well-trimmed meat and fish and serve them in a sensible portion.

Then we enhance them with rich-tasting yet ingredient-conscious sauces. Take our turkey gravy. We don't flavor it with the autolyzed yeast and non-dairy creamers you see on other frozen food labels. We flavor ours with

NOW YOU DON'T HAVE TO TORTURE YOURSELF WHEN YOU'RE ON A DIET.

sage, natural spices, a touch of onion and good old salt and pepper.

Sensible servings. Honest sauces. Food so delicious, you won't be wishing you were eating something else.

So throw out your pork chops, Polly!

Wash those mashed potatoes down the drain!

You've got Weight Watchers on your side now.

And after a few weeks on your program, if you look very carefully, you might just see that side getting smaller.

thou

you

vom

d high Italian fashion

I G

Bond S

I'll promise you

g, but give m

NEW UNSCENTI
SECRET SPRAY
"Reviewers agree, new Unscented Secret is strong enough for a man."
Sec
was designed by Dinolko/Beverly Hills

FIGURE #9

"That's right, it's as strong as Regular Scent Secret. But both are still rated For Women Only. Sorry, fella."

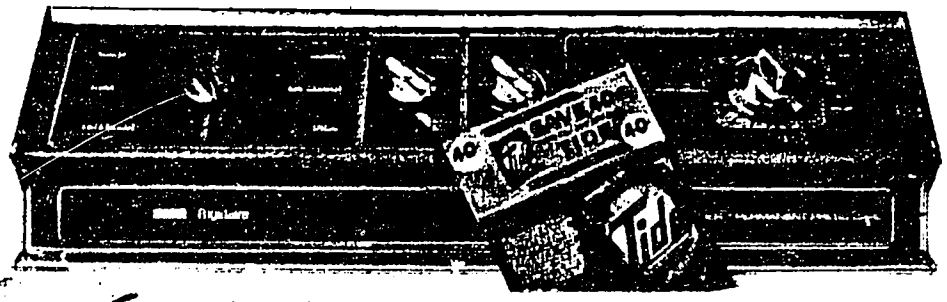
Now, ladies, there's a Secret spray made just for those of you who don't want a scent—new Unscented Secret.

Like Regular Scent Secret, Unscented Secret keeps you so dry... it helps you feel fresh and feminine all day long.

So whether it's Regular Scent or new Unscented, Secret's made for you.

Strong enough for a man, but made for a woman.

FIGURE #10



Frigidaire packs a Tide coupon to save you 40¢ on America's favorite detergent.

Frigidaire washers save time and effort every washday. Every Frigidaire model features strong Extra Surging Wash Action. Most models also feature recirculating lint filters, controls for the exact wash cycle and water level you want, plus heavy duty 18 lb. capacity. Whether you wash big loads or small, you'll find Frigidaire fits your needs.

"But I use Tide because it cleans muddy biking dirt the best."

"When my husband comes in from dirt biking all day his clothes are covered w tough muddy dirt. But Extra Action Tide really gets that dirt out beautifully. Onc my husband bought another brand on It didn't work. Not like Tide. With Tide clean clothes, I can really see a differen

Kim Courtney

For a difference in clean you ca really see on tough muddy dirt

Tide's advantage may vary by washing conditions and fabr

Washed in Extra Action Tide. | Washed in a Leading Liquid

Available in limited areas.

Tide has agreed with washer makers to supply Tid coupons packed by them and feature their washer in Tide advertising. The makers of 15 washers pac Tide coupons in their top-loading automatics.

FIGURE #12

Concept One.™ Our best yet.

Never in our 71 years have we seen anything to equal the demand for the Concept One™ vacuum cleaner.

People are sweeping out of stores with them almost faster than we can make them.

One reason: Concept One is so easy to use.

Because it's self-propelled. Power driven.

Just touch the handle and away it goes.

All you do is guide it.

Our Power Drive™ does the work.

Makes vacuuming just about effortless.

The best-cleaning cleaner we've ever made.

Concept One has an advanced cleaning system.

Different from any other.

A unique Quadraflex™ agitator for double brushing action.

Plus strong suction to clean today's carpets better than any Hoover cleaner ever made.

Cleaning power so dramatic, you'll immediately notice the difference.

Easy going, too.

Concept One has a floating nozzle that automatically adapts to various carpet types.

And it even has special settings for really easy cleaning on plush pile or deep shags.

Our cord reel is easy going, too.

Retracts back into the cleaner at the push of a button.

Easy-does-it bag changing.

Concept One has a whopping big 16-quart disposable bag.

Saves you money on replacement bags because you don't have to change them so often.

And when you do, we've made that easy, too.

With a bag that pops off without your hands ever touching the dirt.

Edge cleaning closer than any other.

Brushed edge cleaning. Concept One deep-cleans tight against the baseboard.

Closer than any other upright can.

Take it easy, America.

Vacuuming doesn't have to be hard work any more.

Concept One is here.

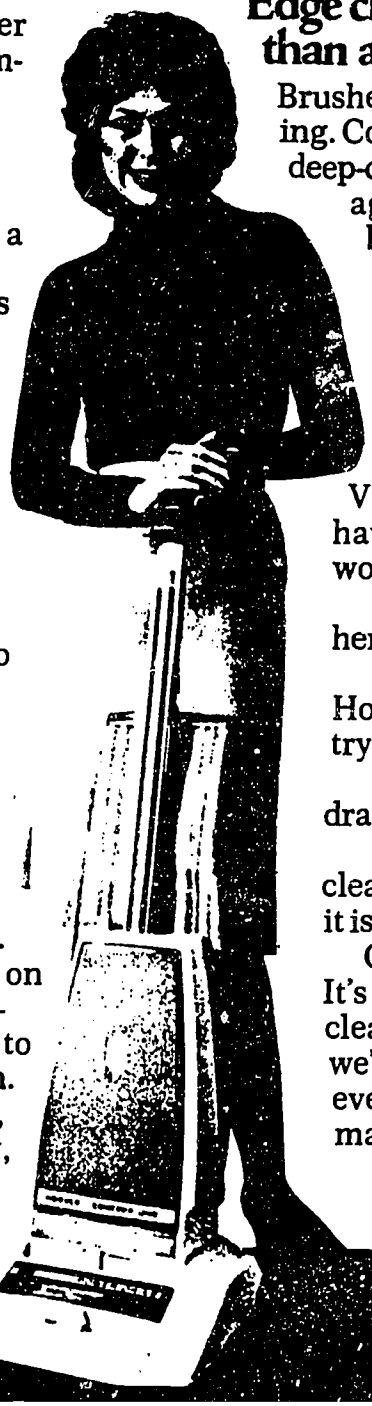
Stop by your Hoover dealer, and try it.

You'll notice a dramatic difference.

In how well it cleans. And how easy it is to use.

Concept One. It's the best vacuum cleaner we've ever made.

HOOVER®



38 Model U3101

Yarning: The Surge
at Cigarette Smokin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FILTER CIGARETTES
Marlboro
LIGHTS
LOWERED TAR & NICOTINE
FILTER CIGARETTES
Marlboro
LIGHTS
100's
OWERED TAR & NICOTINE

Readings On Sex Roles in the Media:

WOMEN AGAINST VIOLENCE IN PORNOGRAPHY & MEDIA

NEWS PAGE

VOL. V, No. 4 May 1980

PORNOGRAPHY AND THE FIRST AMENDMENT:
Prior Restraint and Private Action

by Wendy Kaminer

Questions about the First Amendment have frequently presented difficulties for feminist anti-pornography organizers. However, at WAVPM we believe that maintaining First Amendment rights and ending media violence against women are perfectly compatible. With this issue of Newspage *we explore various approaches to the First Amendment.*

Feminist protests against pornography often seem to posit a choice between the First Amendment rights of a few pornographers and the safety, dignity and independence of all women. Pornography is speech that legitimizes and fosters the physical abuse and sexual repression of women, and censorship appeals to some as a simple matter of self-preservation. A battle line has been drawn between "Feminists" and "First Amendment Absolutists," and the women's movement, which has been a struggle for civil rights and freedom of choice, has suddenly become tainted, in the popular view, with a streak of anti-libertarianism.

None of this has been necessary. This bitter debate over pornography and free speech derives from misconceptions on both sides about the methods and goals of the anti-pornography movement and the practical meaning of First Amendment guarantees of free speech. Feminists need not and should not advocate censorship, but we have every right to organize politically and protest material that is degrading and dangerous to women.

There are two basic constitutional principles that must be understood in formulating a position about pornography:

1) *Public vs. Private Action:* The First Amendment guarantees freedom of speech against government interference and repression. It does not restrict or even apply to private actions.

2) *Prior Restraint:* The government cannot impose restraints on the publication of speech that has not first been proven illegal. It can only act after the fact to punish someone for saying something illegal; it cannot stop her from saying it.

I

The First Amendment is a restriction of the power of the government to restrain or repress speech; it establishes a right to free speech in the individual in relation to her government. It does not affect or apply to private relationships; it does not restrict private actions.

Women can protest pornography with impunity under the First Amendment as long as they do not invoke or advocate the exercise of government authority. Only the government, by definition, can violate a First Amendment right. A woman who goes as far as "trashing" a porn shop could be convicted of a variety of offenses under the state criminal law and would probably be liable to the target business in a civil damage action, but she would not have violated any rights to free speech.

We have our own First Amendment right to protest pornography, to engage in consciousness raising and political organizing. The First Amendment is designed to maintain an open "marketplace of ideas," an arena in which competing private interest groups can assert their views free of government repression. Women speaking out against pornography are fulfilling a classic First Amendment role.

II

The First Amendment applies to government action at the state or federal level. Generally, the control of obscenity or pornography, in practice, is a matter of state law, although there are federal statutes prohibiting interstate, international, or postal traffic in obscene materials.[1] But official regulation of speech, any level, is governed by constitutionally mandated rules of legal procedure designed to protect the basic right to speak.

The heart of the First Amendment is its procedural safeguards against the imposition of prior restraints on any form of speech. It protects the act of expression, although it may not always protect the substance of what is said. Obscenity may, in principle, be prohibited under state law and is generally treated as a criminal offense. But the government may not restrain or prohibit any material before a judicial determination that it is, in fact, obscene. The government may not, in practice, take any general action, either civil or criminal, against a class of speech; it may only act against an individual utterance after it has been proven to fall within an unprotected class or to present an immediate threat to national security.

Freedom of speech is largely a matter of procedure; the First Amendment works by narrowly prescribing

the power of the government to enforce speech related prohibitions. Its enforcement process is borrowed from the criminal law. All speech is presumed protected until proven otherwise, just as all defendants in criminal cases are presumed innocent until proven guilty. In each case, the government bears a heavy burden of proof, and a conviction of guilt or a finding of obscenity depends upon the weight of the evidence. Every instance of speech must be judged individually, on its own merits, before it may be prohibited, just as every criminal defendant must be tried before she may be sentenced.

Obscenity is not, in theory, protected by the First Amendment. In 1957, *Roth vs. United States*, 354 U.S. 476, the Supreme Court held that obscenity, like libel, was simply not speech and could be prohibited. But the practical problems of defining obscenity and separating it from protected speech are overwhelming. The current definition of obscenity was enunciated by the Supreme Court in 1973, in *Miller vs. California*, 413 U.S. 15. It is material "that the average person, applying community standards, would find . . . as a whole, appeals to the prurient interest," material that "depicts or describes, in a patently offensive way, sexual conduct specifically defined by the applicable state law," and material that "taken as a whole, lacks serious artistic, political, or scientific value."

Most hard-core pornography would probably be found legally obscene under *Miller* and could, theoretically, be prohibited. But effective, generalized enforcement of obscenity laws is not possible without violating the basic prohibition of prior restraints.

Every single book, magazine, or film must be proven to be obscene, as a matter of fact, in an individualized judicial proceeding, before it may be enjoined. This makes it almost impossible for the government to take any generalized action against businesses that regularly deal in pornography. A bookstore selling allegedly obscene materials cannot be closed by the state until every book in it has been found obscene, in court. A store with an inventory of 1,000 books cannot be closed because of 50 or 100 or even 5,000 obscenity convictions. The state cannot restrain the sale of remaining or future stock that has been proven obscene and must all be presumed to be protected speech. Broad civil injunction relief against pornography related businesses is barred by the prohibition of prior restraints, regardless of the number of underlying obscenity convictions.[2]

Individual convictions for obscenity are, themselves, difficult to obtain, and the process in each case is complicated by First Amendment procedures. The seizure of any alleged obscene material for use in a pending trial must be based on a narrowly drawn judicial warrant and cannot completely cut off access to the material. A District Attorney may seize one copy of a book as evidence in a given case, but he cannot prohibit its sale or distribution before a hearing or judicial determination of obscenity. Evidentiary seizures in obscenity cases must conform with due process requirements under the First Amendment as well as with Fourth Amendment standards for search and seizure. Obscenity prosecutions are long, costly, and unpredictable and are, necessarily, a piecemeal approach to the "problem" of pornography.

The attempt to define and control obscenity simply hasn't worked, for feminists or First Amendment lawyers. The Court has been struggling with a legal definition for the past 20 years, since the current obscenity doctrine was formulated in *Roth*. The definition has undergone relatively minor changes since then, the most important being the shift to local standards of "prurience" and the loosening of the requirement that the work in question be entirely without redeeming value to an evaluation of the work "as a whole." These changes have apparently not increased the general number of obscenity prosecutions nor the rate of convictions.[3]

Moreover, the current definition of obscenity is conceptually unsound, for it does not set forth a predictable, objective test for even hard-core, sexually explicit material. It involves a balancing of the social and cultural utility of the material at issue with community standards of prurience that belies the principle on which it is based: that obscenity can be identified and prohibited.

III

There is, of course, a good deal of frustration among feminists with ineffective obscenity laws and a natural concern for developing feasible legal alternatives. It has been suggested that pornography could be readily prohibited because it is dangerous and incites violence against women, based on the "clear and present danger" standard of review traditionally invoked by the Court in free speech cases. The perception that pornography is dangerous is basic and one that must be impressed upon the public consciousness, but it does not translate so simply into First Amendment law.

The clear and present danger standard would actually afford greater legal protection to pornography than current obscenity laws. It is a strict standard of review, governing the regulation or prohibition of protected speech. It is, arguably, sounder constitutional law than the formulation of obscenity as "non-speech," and it does, on some level, more accurately reflect a feminist view of pornography as dangerous propaganda; but it would substantially restrict government control over obscene material. The clear and present danger standard is more logically invoked in defense of pornography, and it was, in fact, unsuccessfully advocated by the defendant in *Roth vs. United States*, 354 U.S. 476, in which the Court, instead, carved out an obscenity exception to the First Amendment. Feminists who urge the adoption of this standard had better understand its legal and political implications, and they may find themselves, unwittingly, on the side of pornographers and, even, First Amendment absolutists.

"No, we can't accept ads for your Nazi rally."

"Sorry Dave, we really don't accept ads for the KKK."

"Sally dear . . . don't forget the full page ad for the porno theater."

The clear and present danger standard describes a very narrow exception to the general restriction of government power over protected First Amendment activity, formulated to review instances of official repression of political speech: clear and present danger essentially means an immediate threat to the national security. The standard was first enunciated by the Supreme Court in 1919, after the First World War, to allow for prosecutions for anti-draft pamphleteering under the Espionage Act: it was used early in the 1950s to uphold convictions for allegedly "subversive" speech, under the Smith Act: it has recently been invoked unsuccessfully by the government in its attempts to restrain the publication of the Pentagon Papers.[4] It is applied in cases in which the government appears as the "aggrieved party," in its role as guardian of the national security, and its use in a pornography case would raise an initial problem of identifying a plaintiff; pornography may be a crime against women, but it is not necessarily a crime against the state.

Adoption of a clear and present danger standard to prohibit pornography would be an implicit recognition that it is protected political speech, which would considerably heighten practical problems of proof and enforcement. It is probably easier to prove that a given instance of speech is obscene than to prove that it presents an immediate danger, and the clear and present danger standard imposes a particularly heavy burden of proof on the government. It must demonstrate, in every case, with direct factual evidence, a compelling, even overwhelming threat to the national security. This does not mean that the speech at issue might be or could be dangerous, and it does not refer to a cumulative effect of a certain kind of speech. It means a tangible, immediate and individualized danger that can only be avoided by suppressing publication.

Sociological studies and expert testimony pointing to a connection between pornography generally and violence against women would not establish a clear and present danger in an individual case, as a matter of law, and it might not even be properly admissable as evidence. Use of this sort of generalized evidence to demonstrate that a given instance of speech was dangerous would be like trying a defendant in a criminal case with evidence of "similar" crimes committed by "similar" people. Every instance of speech must always be tried on its own merits: restraints could still only be imposed on specific utterances actually found to present an immediate danger. Moreover, a retreat to a clear and present danger standard and the acceptance of pornogrphy as protected speech would actually strengthen these prohibitions against prior restraints.

The final irony is that feminists are politicizing pornography and, unintentionally, signalling a need for a return to more permissive, clear and present danger standards in obscenity cases. Pornography is being redefined by women in terms of power, instead of sex and "prurience"; it is being characterized as dangerous, political speech, and the Courts are being asked to weigh its argued connection with violence against the underlying right of speech. This is the kind of balancing involved in a clear and present danger case, but, again, this is the standard applied to protected speech and the strongest restriction of government authority under the First Amendment. Feminists, by framing pornography as political speech, are, in some ways, legitimizing it in ways that First Amendment absolutists never could.

IV

This does not mean that pornography protests are necessarily counter-productive, but it underscores the need to fully understand the legal process in shaping an effective anti-pornography movement. It makes little sense for feminists to focus on a legal "war" against pornography or to direct much energy to reformulating obscenity prohibitions.

The primary obstacles to effective legal control of pornography are procedural, not definitional; its not so much a matter of the standard used to identify unprotected speech in each case, which may change, but the procedures by which they are applied, which must remain constant. We cannot point to a dearth of women judges, prosecutors, or jurors to explain the failure of the system to enforce obscenity laws, because the problem is not in the way in which pornography is perceived but with the ways in which laws

The following positions on the First Amendment and pornography are expressed by two WAVPM members.

Choosing a Strategy to Fight Pornography

by Jill Lippitt

The First Amendment prevents the government from suppressing ideas. While we as individuals have a Constitutional right to picket a pornographic theatre and attempt to close it down, the First Amendment prevents the government from taking sides. Any legislation against violent pornography constitutes state action to suppress the woman-hating ideas within it. Since the First Amendment clearly prohibits this kind of government action, the only way to get around it legally is to argue that violent pornography should be seen as a special exception which is not lawfully entitled to protection from government interference by the First Amendment.

A great deal of impressive work has been done by feminist legal scholars who are interested in developing just such a legal exception, or theory, which would allow the government to ban violent pornography. To me this begs the basic strategic question of whether or not it is in our real long-term interest to legitimate an expansion of the state's power to suppress unpopular ideas. If we work to erode the historically broad protections of the First Amendment, are we prepared for the consequences as other interest groups argue, for example: that since abortion advocacy is inherently dangerous to the lives of the unborn, abortion pamphlets should be banned as an exception to the First Amendment, as well. While I am firmly convinced of the righteousness of our arguments against pornography, I simply do not trust what the patriarchal, racist and elitist state would do with the expanded powers of suppression which we feminists might give to them.

By asking that violent pornography be made illegal through government legislation, we end up with a strategy that pits us against the very people who by rights should be our allies. Civil libertarians, political progressives and many people of color have had long histories of fighting against government repression, and while often the First Amendment did little to protect them, still, they oppose any expansion of the state's power to suppress ideas. Not only would we be fighting our potential friends, but ironically, we would most likely be supported by the reactionary Right. The Right doubtless would support banning pornography, as it has supported banning obscenity, banning dissemination of abortion information, banning sex education, and banning open advocacy of lesbian/gay rights. The Right is all for banning ideas. Does anyone really believe that we could safely stop at violent pornography once we let the government start banning?

Our power is better spent by directing it against the pornographers in our own communities. We should use our own First Amendment freedoms to speak out, organize, picket, demonstrate and demand that merchants not sell violent pornography, that theatre owners now show woman-hating films, and that men not purchase such materials or patronize such events.

By working at the grassroots level to expose and eliminate the woman-hatred within our culture, we can build a strong feminist movement which may one day eliminate sexism from our society.

An Activist's Analysis of the First Amendment

by Julie Greenberg

I love the First Amendment and wouldn't want to weaken it in any way. But I want to understand my rights around the First Amendment so anti-feminists can't use irrelevant arguments to confuse feminist issues.

At the Boalt Hall action a couple of months ago (in which 25 women in the audience shouted out feminist analysis of an offensive movie until the movie had to be stopped), some people criticized the feminists for violating the rights of the movie-goers. But let's look at what the First Amendment says:

The First Amendment says, "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging freedom of speech, or press." It does not guarantee anybody the positive right to freedom of speech; it merely says *government* shall not interfere with the public's speech. Men watching porno movies have no constitutional right to see those movies. But the government is constitutionally prevented from censoring the movie unless it falls into a category of speech that is considered by the courts to be unprotected speech.

If we wanted the government to censor violence against women in pornography we would have to argue that these images fall into one of the categories of unprotected speech; speech that will cause clear and present danger to the state or imminent lawless acts; speech that is defined as obscene; libelous speech or fraudulent commercial speech.

Some feminists are trying to argue in court that images of violence against women used for sexual stimulation are a clear and present danger or obscene. We all know that these images are dangerous and unhealthy for the class of women. The question is, could we prove our arguments in a white male legal system? and is a legal strategy our first priority even if we could be successful?

I think all fronts of our struggle—legal, theoretical and organizational—are important and of course, interrelated. But right now, I think it is crucial that we be building a *movement* of women who simply will not tolerate abuse in the media or in real life. Movements grow in part, through successful direct actions; occupations of porno stores, feminist educators on the inside of oppressive theaters, Take Back the Night Marches. As I act in these ways I remember I am a private individual, not the Congress, and therefore the First Amendment cannot stop me from directly protesting violence against my people.

Legal Strategies for Fighting Pornography

The feminist attack on porn has touched many issues. Women in law are looking at pornography. The following article by Nan Hunter was printed in the National Lawyers Guild Women's Newsletter, August, 1979.

The attack on pornography as the propaganda of woman-hating has spawned intense discussion of what strategies are appropriate to use in anti-porn actions and organizing. The most delicate issue has been censorship.

The pro-censorship position advocates banning all pornography which depicts rape, torture, murder and bondage for erotic stimulation and pleasure, as well as all pornography which uses children.

There is not agreement about censorship as an antidote. The Feminist Alliance against Rape has written that stopping showings of films like "Snuff" is a priority, but rejects use of censorship laws. An editorial by two members of the *Off Our Backs* collective took the position that censorship merely serves to increase the power of a repressive state.

The issue of pornography evokes not only an analysis of its content but also the question of what is "free speech" in this society. The right to free speech is tied to property rights. Pornography, a multi-billion dollar industry, is a good example of that. The marketplace of sexual fantasy has been dominated by male supremacist images ranging from sexual-pseudo-liberation, at best, to outright terrorism, at worst. In recent years the trend has accelerated as porn has become more and more fashionable. The porn industry now has tremendous economic power which translates into quantitatively far more "free speech" than that of proponents of sexuality based on consent and equality.

Until we live in a society committed to equality and human dignity, there can be no true free speech. All oppressed groups including women have historically been denied the means for self-description. What we have learned about ourselves as "truth" has been a patriarchal description of our lives and our sexuality.

Depiction of women as flesh is an extreme form of objectification—the perception of a human being as a thing, a stereotype, a non-entity set in a role, lacking self-definition or self-determination. Objectification is not just sexual—it exists in virtually all advertising and in most other media images of women and other oppressed groups.

There are a number of possible avenues of anti-pornography legal work. The enforcement or passage of laws banning violent pornography is one possibility. It runs the greatest risk, however, of creating tools which are amended so that they can be used against us by right-wing, anti-sexuality, anti-gay groups and of channeling our energies into close cooperation with some of the most conservative components of the legal system.

Other alternatives include using zoning and public nuisance laws to control or drive out porn shops or at least to break up a concentrated porn district. In a similar vein is the tactic of specifically presenting feminist criticism challenging license renewals of public broadcast media.

Yet another set of legal strategies would be the litigation of civil rights suits alleging that specific forms of pornography interfere with the rights of a class of citizens to travel safely on the streets or to enjoy public accommodations.

There may well be the need for defensive legal work, such as representing women who participate in boycotts or direct action against pornographers.

An underlying concern of our overall strategy should be that porn which conveys the greatest violence should trigger the greatest restrictions. A checklist of other criteria could include the following:

- Does the strategy increase the power of the state? Against whom?
- Can this tool be used against us?
- Does it distinguish porn from sexual explicitness per se?
- Does it tie porn to other forms of objectification?
- Is it aimed at those who manipulate/profit from porn?
- Does it link porn and violent acts against women?
- Does it link porn with its psychological effect on women?

Continued from page 3

must be enforced, under the First Amendment. And, we must understand that procedural safeguards cannot be suspended simply to deal with pornography or any other single class of speech. These procedures are meaningless if not applied in every instance, because they are specifically designed to insure a consistance legal process; in First Amendment cases, they provide additionally for the narrow enforcement of speech related regulations, so as not to infringe upon or deter protected activities. The underlying principle of the First Amendment is that the power of the government to regulate speech and political dissent that would derive from a system of prior restraints would be more dangerous than any given instance of protected speech.

V

We simply cannot look to the government to rid us of pornography; legally, there are no "legal solutions." The feminist movement against pornography must remain an anti-defamation movement, involved in education, consciousness raising, and the development of private strategies against this industry. We have a crucial role of our own to play in a marketplace in which pornography is flourishing.

But it is essential for us to maintain a larger political perspective and a sense of ourselves as one of many competing private interest groups. We can and we should speak out and organize against pornographers, because they comprise a hostile group with interests antithetical to our own, because they threaten our independence and our psychic and our physical well-being; but, we cannot ask the government to speak for us.

The women's movement is a civil rights movement, and we should appreciate the importance of individual freedom of choice and the danger of turning popular sentiment into law in areas affecting individual privacy. We should understand that equal treatment under the law is a matter of procedural consistency and that minority rights derive from procedural rules and "technicalities." We should know that we are, in the end, in the minority, although we may have a good deal of mainstream majority support on the issue of pornography. Any power we confer upon the government can always be turned against us. We should remember that Margaret Sanger was jailed in her attempts to introduce birth control in the United States, that the first federal obscenity statute was directed, in part, against contraceptive "devices," and that there are a frightening number of people in this country today who believe, with passion and conviction, that pro-abortion literature is obscene and profoundly dangerous.

Legislative or judicial control of pornography is simply not possible without breaking down the legal principles and procedures that are essential to our own right to speak and, and ultimately, our freedom to control our own lives. We must continue to organize against pornography and the degradation and abuse of women, but we must not ask the government to take up our struggle for us. The power it will assume to do so will be far more dangerous to us all than the "power" of pornography.

To be published in the upcoming book Take Back The Night: Women On Pornography, *ed. by Laura Lederer to be published by William Morrow, October 1980.*

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[1] 18 U.S.C. §§1461, 1462, 1465; 39 U.S.C. §§3001-3011; 19 U.S.C. §1305

[2] Several jurisdictions have enacted nuisance or "padlock" statutes that provide for the closing of an entire business on the basis of individual obscenity violations. These ordinances are unconstitutional under prevailing law, because they impose prior restraints on free speech. (See *Spokane Arcades, Inc. vs Ray*, 449 F. Supp. 1145 E.D. Washington, 1978). The Supreme Court has agreed to hear a case involving the constitutionality of similar procedures in a challenge to a Texas nuisance statute. *Universal Amusements vs. Vance*, 587 F2d. 159 (5th Cir., 1978)—a ruling by the Court upholding the statute in *Vance* would be a significant departure from established principles of free speech that would change the law governing the enforcement of speech related regulations.

[3] An Empirical Inquiry into the Effects of *Miller vs. California* on the Control of Obscenity, 52 New York University Law Review 810, 8o3-910 (1977).

[4] *Schenck vs. United States*, 249 U.S. 47 (1919); *Dennis vs. United States*, 341 U.S. 494 (1951); *NY Times Co. vs. United States*, 403 U.S. 713 (1971).

From the National Lawyers Guild Women's Newsletter August 1979

But as Diana Russell told the First Conference on Feminist Perspectives on Pornography sponsored by WAVPM on Nov. 17-19, 1978, the issue of censorship is a question of tactics. Sensitivity to First Amendment and censorship issues should never prevent our asking and acting on the prior questions of "What and why should feminists be concerned about the image of women that is being promoted?"

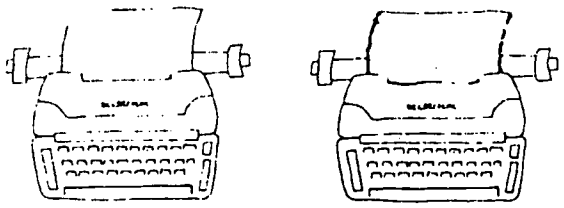
The prolonged slavery of women is the darkest page in human history.
—Elizabeth Cady Stanton

WAVPM Calendar

Ongoing Feminist Tours of the Tenderloin, a San Francisco Porn Distrist. $5 Call 552-2709 or 552-2774 for information and reservations.

Friday, May 23 "Abusive Images of Women in Pornography and Mass Media" — WAVPM slideshow, at the Network Coffeehouse, 1036 Bush in San Francisco, 7:30 pm. Donation.

Sat., May 24 Business Meeting for Active Members, 12 noon — 1 pm. Community Forum on Erotica. Free for members, $2.00 for general public. Childcare by reservation one week in advance. 1 pm — 3 pm. Both at La Peña, 3501 Shattuck, Berkeley.



Flash . . . Anyone willing to donate a typewriter to WAVPM (remember all contributions are tax deductible) or having information about accessible typewriters, please contact the WAVPM office on the 4th floor of the Bay Area Women's Building.

GOOD NEWS!

According to Jane Hall, a vice-president of Transamerica Corporation (which owns United Artists), the movie **Windows** will not open in the Bay Area. **Windows** is a mainstream United Artists movie about a psychotic lesbian who hires a man to rape the woman she loves so that she'll hate men. Then she listens to the tape of the rape to turn her on. The movie equates lesbianism with psychosis, teaches the lie that women are responsible for and enjoy rape and further perpetrates violence against women.

To protest these images, WAVPM organized a coalition of fifty individuals and organizations (including Women Organized Against Sexual Harrassment, Lesbians in Law, The Stonewall Alliance, The Susan B. Anthony Democratic Club, Lesbians Against Police Violence, Stop the Movie Cruising, The Women's Building, and many more).

Hall said, "**Windows** has done abysmally at the box office. And from all I've heard, it deserves this . . . I think the work WAVPM and others are doing is very useful and is certainly going to have an impact on the way decisions are made."

The Coalition will be ready just in case Windows does open in this area.

Editors: Karen Elcaness, Bridget Wynne, Lisa Falls, Bridget Lawhon, Lani Silver, Beth Miller.

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CAN THE IMAGE OF WOMEN BE CHANGED?

By Christine Terp
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor
Cambridge, Massachusetts

"You've come a long way, baby." Or have you?

That very slogan, says a veteran scrutinizer of ads, suggests how far women still have to go to get realistic treatment in advertisements.

For ten years Jean Kilbourne has been ripping apart magazine and newspapers bought at the corner newsstand to analyze how the ads depict women. And she has found that despite feminism's very real gains in other areas, women in ads are almost exclusively sex objects or, in her words, "housewives pathologically obsessed by cleanliness."

Since she was teaching women's studies and media studies at the high school and college levels, it was almost inevitable that she should become concerned with women's image in advertising. Her writting and researches have made her a recognized expert in her field, and she recently received a grant from a private foundation to study sex role stereotyping on television. Now she faces the formidable task of viewing 25 hours worth of 30-second commercial spots.

She distilled all that she has learned about the image of women in advertising into a show call "The Naked Truth: The Cultural Conditioning of Women Via Advertising," and has been touring the country with it for the last year. Her audiences see some 200 slides of ads and hear her witty commentary designed to drive home her points.

A UBIQUITOUS INFLUENCE

Taken signly, the ads she shows seem trivial, scracely worth a second look. But Jean Kilbourne stresses we must consider "the profound seriousness of the ubiquitous influence, the redundant message, and the subliminal impact of advertisements.

"Of course sexism exists everywhere," she says, as the audiences at the Harvard Business School, their eyes sharpened under her guidance, actually gasps at some of the slides. "But nothing is more pervasive than advertising.

"Some believe that advertising reflects the attitudes of the culture," she continues. "I contend that it does a good deal more than that. Advertising surrounds us with these attitudes, bombards us with them, and makes them the norm."

The average American is exposed to about 500 ads each day, she says,

with the industry spending nearly $30 billion each year to convince us to buy this detergent rather than that. And in doing so, she says, we also "buy" the image of women presented by those ads.

UN COMMISSION CONCURS

That image is a caricature of femininity -- either objectifying beauty or at the other extreme degrading "women's work." Rarely do ads show women demonstrating a product or even understanding it, even though they will be using it. The volunptous woman is used to appeal to everyone; men supposedly desire her, and women want to emulate her.

Jean Kilbourne is not alone in her views. The United Nation Commission on the Status of Women recognizes in its report that "advertising is the worst offender in perpetuating the image of women as sex symbols and an inferior class of humanbeing." And the National Advertising Rview Board, the industry's self-policy agency, said in its 1975 report, "Advertising and Women," "To deny that the problem exists, in fact, is to deny the effectiveness of advertising. For what the critics are saying is that advertising, in selling a product, often sells suppiementary images as well."

As the slides flash by, Jean Kilbourne asks her audience to consider why housewives are sold a product to remove ring aroung the collar, when a "man's dirty neck is his own problem." She critizes the implied sexism she sees in a men's cologne ad that proclaims "Macho is b-a-a-a-d. And that's good." And she objects to the common use of double entendre, such as the classic "Does she or doesn't she?"

ADS AS PORNOGRAPHY

And she points out example after example of subtle sexual sell: car descriptions that would make the most prurient blush; women in poses appropriate for the raunchiest of magazines.

"Advertisers are America's real pronographers," she says later in her sun-filled apartment/office. She points to the bulletin board behind her, which is cluttered with examples of ads, many of which display half-dressed women.

Obviously, one assumes, sex sells. That disturbs Jean Kilbourne beyond her concern for women's image. "If they only thing that sells is sex, then we're in big trouble. What does that say about us as a society?"

Interestingly, researchers at Moorhead State College in Minnesota have found that nudity reduced advertising recall by up to 50 percent. Evidently, Jean Kilbourne muses, advertisers haven't gotten the message.

She comes down especially hard on "fashion model" ideals, the line of advertising out to convince women that the face they want is never the face they have. She feels it can only lead to frustration and a poor self-image for women to be told they must strive for flawless beauty to get a man.

"This woman has no scars or blemishes," she says, pointing to one ad on the bulletin board. "Indeed, she has no pores.

INNOCENCE AND SEXUALITY

"And this one is abnormal," she says of another, a 50-ish gray-haired woman. "She has wrinkles. She also has the bad taste to grow old."

Jean Kilbourne believes such objectification of body and face ultimately leads to abuse of women. Regarded as objects, they will be treated as objects. In fact, abuse is starting to appear in ads, particularly fashion ads and record album covers, says Julie London of Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW), a national organization formed to fight this trend.

Another trend that disturbs Jean Kilbourne is the use of girls to create an air of both innocence and sexuality. One of the most offensive examples, she points out, is a perfume ad showing a heavily made-up girl (or woman -- it's hard to tell) clutching a teddy bear and purring, "...Innocence is sexier than you think."

This tack is also a clever extention of the age-old notion of competition between women. "Can you compete with your little girl's looks?" challenges one ad.

A good part of her show explores sexism aimed at the housewife who is passionate about her laundery and suffers, as Jean Kilborne describes it, "heartbreaking embarrassment if the kitchen glasses are spotted."

HOMEMAKING IS RIDICULED

The work of maintaining a home is constantly ridiculed in these ads, she points out, and this in turn ridicules the people - usually women - who do that work.

There are some worthwhile trends, however. She applauds ads like the one for Gant clothing that showed a father tenderly dealing with his son. However, she thinks this type of ad will remain a rarity for a while.

"In this society, the contempt is for women. So women can be like a man, but it's unthinkable for a man to be like a woman."

Another positive sign is the advent of advertising directed toward working women. "It's dawning on advertisers that women work!" she says with mock wide-eyed wonder.

But she has reservations about the "superwoman" image, an image she finds as unrealistic as the moronic housewife. The "superwoman" is the one who cleans house, raises kids, holds down a full-time job, does volunteer work at the library, and still looks sexy when hubby walks in the door rumpled and disgruntled.

Vicky Hudspith of Ms. Magazine shares Jean Kilborne's misgivings. This "superwoman" will set another frustrating standard for women, she fears. The image is "just not true," she says. "Women work because they have to," and few hold the high-powered jobs depicted in these ads.

ADDING MOMENTUM?

An offshoot of the "superwoman" variety is the ad that belittles the

women's movement, such as the "You've Come a Long Way, Baby" campaign for Virginia Slims cigarettes (Ms. Magazine finds those ads so offensive it won't run them), and the Lark cigarette ad that appears in a popular magazine several months ago: "A moment ago women's rights! Male chauvinism!" the ad gushes. "Suddenly...a warming smile. A light time and a Lark!"

A spokeman for the Phillip Morris tobacco company, which manufactures Virginia Slims, says the company feels its campaign is right on traget, and has, helped the women's movement...adds to the momentum of the women's movement," says Bob Ryan.

The company is not distrubed that the leading magazine of the "liberated woman" refuses to accept ads for the cigarette supposedly tailored for her.

Each month, Ms. Magazine runs a "No Comment" feature of sexist ads culled from other publications. Although the number of submissions from readers has grown, says Vicky Hudspith, from 400 a month to 400 a week, now they are clipped mostly from small trade magazines; fewer and fewer come from national magazines.

"They've had to clean up their act," she says. "Women won't put up with it." The dramatic jump in readers' submissions, she feels, shows readers use the column as a vent for their frustration about the ads.

CONSUMMER PRESSURE CAN HELP

What can be done besides mailing clipping to Ms? Naturally, Jean Kilbourne has given this much thought. She does not advocate anything as drastic as censorship or federal guidelines. She hopes the industry will establish its own guidelines according to standards demanded by the public -- in the way the image of blacks has changed.

Several years ago, the National Organization for Women (NOW) launched a boycott of Wisk, the ring-around-the-collar product. While the ads still carry that slogan, no longer does the husband glare accusingly at his inept wife.

More recently consumer complaints halted a Finnair campaign that dramatized the creation of hte sauna; a man locked his wife in a smokehouse, set it on fire, beat her with birch leaves, "and discovered she loved it." Within weeks, the series was withdrawn.

WAVAW's most notable success has been forcing Atlantic Records to haul down a billboard that showed a woman bound and bruised advertising the Rolling Stones album, "Black and Blue."

NOW, once highly visible in its battle for better treatment for women in ads, has taken a low-key approach recently. "We are working with the advertisers, trying to show them that women are good business and should not be insulted," says Kathy Bonk of NOW's media reform task force.

TO MORONIC HOUSEWIVES AND SEX OBJECTS

IMAGES OF WOMEN IN ADVERTISING

The image of women projected by the communications media, an issue of top priority to feminists and of deep concern to other social critics, has become the focus of additional close study and scrutiny during International Women's Year. Numerous committees, task forces, and special projects have sprung up to confront and deal creatively with the issue. Among these are many church and church-related groups.

While some corporations have become increasingly responsive to the changing roles of women and have attempted to modify their advertisements accordingly, others remain particularly insensitive to this issue.

Of course, individual reactions to advertising vary widely. Some people consider much advertising and programming featuring women offensive, demeaning, and a means of perpetuating traditional forms of discrimination against women in society. Others accept these images as true-to-life portrayals and question those who would label them unbalanced or distorted.

This "CIC Brief," written by Mary Harvey, research director of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, focuses on the images of women in the mass media with specific reference to the portrayal of women in television commercials and in magazine print advertisements.

Limited Images of Women

The function of the mass media is closely related to the institutions, values, and norms of society. While the mass media consistently lag behind the changes in attitudes and practices that are occurring in society at large, the media still constitute one of society's shaping forces, maintaining and reinforcing commonly held attitudes regarding the status of women. It appears that the image of women presented by advertisements not only reflects but strengthens sex-role stereotypes. As noted in a recent report by the National Advertising Review Board, "to deny that the problem exists is to deny the effectiveness of advertising."

Critics charge that contemporary attitudes toward women, men, manners, morals, and economics have not been adequately reflected in the media. The most frequently voiced complaint has been that women are consistently cast in minor, if not subordinate, roles and portrayed in a very limited and negative manner that does not accurately reflect the diverse participation and accomplishments of women in modern society. It is claimed that the media have historically overemphasized the role of women as mere housekeepers and have presented an unbalanced, distorted picture of women in program, story, and news content and in print and commercial messages.

Traditionally, women tend to be portrayed in the media as homemakers, fashion objects, and sex objects. These portrayals usually do not recognize that the family structure may be changing, that women work (they now comprise nearly 40 percent of the U.S. workforce), or that they also fulfill other roles.

An additional complaint is that the media tend to emphasize women's sexuality above their individuality. Women are hardly ever attributed with intelligence, sincerity, culture, originality, or talent. Using subtle psychological techniques, advertisers promise supplementary images such as beauty, youth, glamour, sophistication, or sensuality along with the product. By implication, the latter qualities define the ideal woman.

Studies of Print and TV Ads

A study reported in the February

ITEM I

FALL 1975 STOCKHOLDER ACTIONS ON WOMEN IN MEDIA

A stockholder proposal has been submitted to Columbia Pictures (annual meeting at the end of October) and will be filed with one other company by Barbara Brusco, a member of the National Organization for Women. The resolution calls for the corporation to "provide guidelines whereby management will seek out and develop film roles that reflect women's changing status in today's world." Two additional proposals have also been submitted by Ms. Brusco. One is a proposal to nominate women to the board of directors; the other, to report to shareholders on employment practices.

Two separate proposals dealing with the images of women in advertising have been filed with Procter and Gamble (annual meeting in October). One, submitted by the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., asks for a detailed report on the portrayal and use of women in the corporation's advertising. Another resolution, submitted by Susan Dearth of Cincinnati, requests the corporation to insure that the corporation's advertising "accurately reflect the images of women today." The proposal offers three recommendations "to focus attention on the primary purchasers of the company's products, who are intelligent, perceptive female consumers."

A CIC Brief appears in each edition of The Corporate Examiner, a monthly newsletter on corporate social responsibility. Each CIC Brief highlights a particular social area – foreign investment, environment, military contracting, consumerism, or policies affecting minorities and women – and focuses on one or more corporations. It also provides information about action options and resources for issues studied.

Copies of the CIC Brief may be obtained from the Corporate Information Center, Room 566, 475 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y. 10027. Telephone: 212 870 2295. Price: 1-10 copies, $.60 each; 11-19 copies, $.40 each; 20-49 copies, $.35 each; 50 or more copies, $.15 each.

1971 *Journal of Marketing Research* analyzed the roles portrayed by women in a variety of magazines to discover whether advertisements present a full view of the diverse roles women actually play in American society. In the print ads examined during a 20-month period, women were only rarely shown in working roles. Not a single woman was shown as a professional or high-level business executive. Women were rarely shown interacting with other women, and when they were, 90 percent were in nonworking roles – of these, 70 percent were in a decorative (nonactive) role.

A follow-up study published in the same journal in May 1973 indicated that "there has been a substantial improvement in emphasizing woman's expanding role as a working member of society." The percentage of working women increased by 12 percent (from 9 to 21 percent), a noticeable shift in emphasis. When further comparisons were made with the earlier study, however, no significant changes could be claimed in the tendency for advertisers not to show women: 1) interacting with other women in a working situation; 2) operating independently of men in major household or business transactions; 3) participating in a professional capacity in activities involving economic and business institutions.

The four stereotypes reflected in the magazine advertising examined were: a woman's place is in the home; women do not make important decisions or do important things; women are dependent on men and need their protection; and, finally, men regard women primarily as sex objects – they are not interested in them as people.

Jean C. McNeil, who teaches telecommunications programming at California State University, recently examined and tested eight criticisms women commonly make of television prime-time fictional programming. Her findings indicate that: 1) female characters are fewer and less important; 2) marriage and parenthood are considered more central to a woman's life than to a man's; 3) virtually unaffected by the feminist movement, television portrays the traditional division of labor in marriage; 4) women workers are depicted in traditionally female occupations, as subordinates to men, with little prestige or power; 5) females are depicted as physically weaker than their male counterparts; 6) the world of the television series female is far more personally and less professionally oriented than that of her male counterpart; 7) passivity is one of the most significant psychological traits of the television series female; 8) television series programming does not adequately acknowledge the existence of the feminist movement.

Taken together, these criticisms and stereotypes summarize most of the complaints voiced by those who feel advertising has been slow to reflect the societal changes experienced by men and women during the past 20 years.

Stereotypes

Woman as helpmate. In a study conducted by Dominick and Rauch in early 1971, an analysis of network prime-time TV ads revealed that 75 percent of all ads using females were for products generally found in the kitchen or bathroom. According to these ads, it would seem that a woman's place is almost exclusively in the home. Looking at the data on discernible occupations, we find that, not surprisingly, the single largest occupation (56 percent) recorded for women was housewife. If the categories stewardess, secretary, and cook-domestic are included, 70 percent of females hold jobs in service roles.

In the advertising of household products, women are too often portrayed as incompetent – too inept to cope with routine household tasks unless instructed by a man or a supernatural male symbol. The National Advertising Review Board, in its recent *Advertising and Women* report notes: "the advertising of household products often involves psychologically unflattering portrayals of women .... the image of the housewife in advertising appears frequently to be not only a circumscribed one, but also that of a person with a warped sense of values." TV commercials, for example, make it blatantly clear that the way to social approval and your family's acceptance is not just through fresh-smelling laundry, but fresh-smelling, softened, scented laundry. Tremendous emphasis is placed on cleanliness. If dishes fail to shine, you know that's "a reflection on you."

– *Woman as sex object.* During the summer of 1970, Franchellie Caldwell, president of Caldwell-Davis, a New York ad agency, interviewed a panel of 607 women selected at random and asked them what TV commercials they found especially objectionable. The top ten were all ones in which women were depicted as either sex objects or idiots. Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn, one of the largest agencies, after soliciting reactions to commercials from a large sample of militant females, concluded that in future advertising it would have to show women more as equal people.

The continued portrayal of women as sex objects reveals the industry's insensitivity to changing times and mores. The woman portrayed as sex object becomes little more than a living mannequin devoid of intellect or personality. Women, for the most part, feel that advertising of this nature diminishes their personal self-esteem and ignores other qualities that women possess.

Since advertising aims at reaching the widest possible public and advertisements are based on those attitudes that are most generally accepted, it is understandable why advertisers have historically used sex as a means to sell products. However, single-dimensional portrayals of women as sex objects, often using double-entendre and innuendo, are especially inappropriate when the product promoted, such as an automobile, is not even remotely related to the female body.

– *Woman as fashion object.* When not in the home women are shown in a limited number of decorative or fashion-object roles. Here women ostensibly attempt to sell certain personal or beauty products to other women. However, what they're actually doing is selling a supplementary image (beauty), a supplementary concept (sex), and also the notion that these products once obtained and used will enable the buyer to get and keep a man or a woman.

– *The liberated woman.* The sex-object presentation of women also spills over into ads specifically aimed at the modern or "natural" woman with slogans such as, "what to wear on Sunday when you won't be home till Monday," and "Marvelous in bed? It's not enough anymore."

While advertisers have received few complaints about the suggestions in these ads, some feminists claim that the pitch merely takes advantage of the women's movement. Without acknowledging real demands for change, they say, such ads use changing sexual mores and the language of new opportunities for women

simply to update old sexual and other come-ons. In fact, the liberation motif is now used to promote everything from cigarettes to perfume and women's magazines themselves, not just wearing apparel. Whether the selling of an image is considered right or wrong, the liberated woman presented in advertising constitutes an additional stereotype.

Where are the Women who Work?

Although the proportion of women working continues to increase, working women are still significantly underrepresented in both television and print advertising. Neither the numbers nor the range and variety of their occupational roles receive a fair showing.

In 1971 the National Organization for Women monitored 1,241 commercials to classify the extent and types of "unflattering" portrayals of women in television advertising. The researchers found that in 42.6 percent of the commercials women were portrayed as household functionaries, in 37.4 percent as domestic adjuncts, in 16.7 percent as sex objects.

In the Dominick and Rauch study, 43 different occupations were coded for men while there were only 18 for women. Research undertaken by the Screen Actor's Guild in November 1974 indicates that females have a decidedly minority role in television commercials. While the overall percentage of males significantly exceeds the normal 50 percent one would expect, a more striking finding is the low percentage of women (7 percent) used as off-camera speakers (voiceovers). The only categories where women are in the majority, with respect to on-camera speaking roles, are cosmetics, household products and pet foods, and apparel. The researchers indicate that if a large number of extras are used, however, there will be a substantial increase in the number of women employed.

Alternatives

If advertising is to continue to persuade the modern woman, it must treat her as an intelligent adult who will respond to a reasonable, believable presentation of the product's merits. E.B. Weiss warned in an article in *Advertising Age* in 1972, "Manufacturers are facing ten times as many product liability suits as ten years ago. Probably, one-third of all liability suits are lodged by women – a high percentage by young women."

A further observation made in the *Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll* is that while women are less inclined to abandon the traditional aspects of the masculine and feminine images, they appear to be less bound by sexual stereotypes than men. "They [women] tend to admire the same qualities in either a man or a woman . . .they are more flexible in their attitudes than men. Men appear to accept more – if not cling to – sexual stereotypes. They [men] aspire to different qualities in themselves than they want in women, and what they themselves aspire to be is different from what women want."

– *Guidelines.* Criteria must be established and adhered to that will insure a more positive image of women as independent, responsible, and capable people successfully pursuing diverse roles. Guidelines, such as those developed by McGraw-Hill for its publications, must be formulated to encourage advertisers and agencies to

ITEM II

DON'T JUST SIT THERE . . .COMPLAIN!

When you are offended by a sexist ad, you should write directly to the sponsor. A letter should be sent to the chairman of the offending corporation with a copy to the ad agency president and the account executive responsible for the product in question. Manufacturers of specific brand names and agencies producing the ads may be found in *The Standard Directory of Advertisers* and *The Standard Directory of Advertising Agencies,* available in most libraries. A copy of your letter along with a covering letter should also be sent to the appropriate medium. Local television stations and networks are listed in the telephone directory and publishers' names are usually listed on the first few pages of a magazine.

If you're not sure who manufactures the product, consult the *National Television Advertisers Networks and Spots.* In the case of magazine print ads and television spots, the initial decision to accept the ad may be considered, reversed, and a less offensive ad substituted. It's worth a try.

Letters may also be sent to the National Advertising Review Board, a private organization that suggests guidelines for voluntary industry self-regulation; to the Federal Trade Commission, which monitors advertising for false or misleading claims; and to the Federal Communications Commission, which has responsibility for reviewing and regulating the media. The National Organization for Women has formed a Media Reform Task Force to work with industry and government regulating agencies.

Complaints should be sent to:

1. the manufacturer (chairman of the company)

2. ad agency (president and account executive)

3. the medium (for TV – attention: Continuity and Acceptance Department of the network; for magazine – attention: publisher).

4. Richard E. Wiley, Chairman
   Federal Communications Commission
   1919 M St., N.W.
   Washington, D.C. 20554

5. Charles A. Tobin, Secretary
   Federal Trade Commission
   Washington, D.C. 20580

6. William Ewen, Director
   National Advertising Review Board
   850 Third Ave.
   New York, N.Y. 10022

7. National Organization for Women
   National Media Task Force Coordinator
   5 South Wabash, Suite 1615
   Chicago, Ill. 60603

'Violent Pornography' & the Women's Movement

WOMEN'S WORK

Marjorie M. Smith

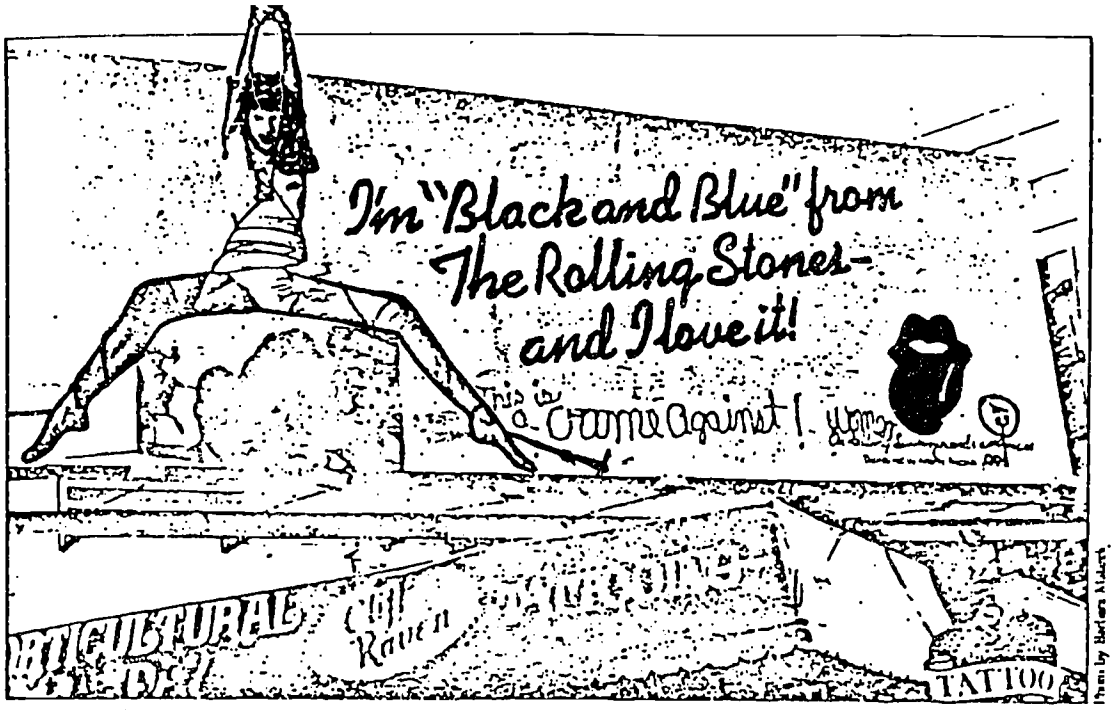
The women's movement has given considerable attention over the past decade to the related problems of sexual assault and battered women, while at the same time attacking the stereotype of women as weak and ineffectual. Concerted efforts have been made to achieve greater sensitivity by the medical profession, police, and prosecutors to victims of rape, and women have been encouraged to learn self-defense. Assistance for battered wives has taken many forms, from establishing shelters to lawsuits against police and court officials for frustrating the prosecution of complaints. At the root of such activity is the very real concern that perceiving women as passive sex objects and willing victims conveys the notion that sexual assaults and beatings are tolerable behavior.

Marjorie M. Smith

While many feminist activists have spoken out over the years against pornographic literature as degrading and insulting to women, until recently there were no feminist groups organized to combat portrayals of violence against women or pornography. The most prominent of these groups is Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW) which grew out of organized opposition to the showing in Los Angeles two years ago of "Snuff"—a film that depicted as entertaining the murder and mutilation of a woman.

WAVAW describes itself as "an activist organization working to stop the gratuitous use of images of physical and sexual violence against women in mass media—and the real-world violence against women it promotes—through public education, consciousness-raising, and mass consumer action." This group has focused on the record industry, campaigning aginst the pictorial violence against women which frequently appears in record advertising. One of WAVAW's first activities was to protest a Sunset Strip billboard which depicted a smiling, bound and bruised woman declaring, "I'm 'Black and Blue' from the Rolling Stones and I love it!" The billboard eventually

Marjorie M. Smith is an attorney on the national staff of the American Civil Liberties Union. A 1970 graduate of Columbia University Law School, Ms. Smith was formerly a staff attorney for the New York City Legal Aid Society's Prisoners' Rights Project, and a deputy consumer advocate with the New York City Department of Consumer Affairs.



The offending billboard: It may be a "crime against women," but should such advertising be suppressed?

was removed by its sponsor, but the production of record album covers and advertising campaigns which use "sex violence" and violence against women as a theme continues.

A spokesperson for WAVAW elaborated on the group's purpose:

> The record albums' covers perpetuate the myths that women like to be victims, that they're easy and appropriate targets, that as victims they're sexually exciting and entertaining, as well as the myth that this is appropriate and natural behavior for men. We think it's harmful in that it contributes to the overall environment that romanticizes, trivializes, and even encourages violence against women.

WAVAW neither advocates nor supports governmental censorship. Instead, it urges that the record industry demonstrate the same sensitivity to women that it has shown in refraining from racist advertising and advertising that glorifies drug usage. WAVAW writes to executives of the major record companies considered to be "industry leaders in the use of violence against women" explaining its views and seeking meetings for further discussion. It encourages consumers to complain to stores selling offensive album covers, and to inform the record companies that they will boycott their products until the covers are changed.

WAVAW has gotten a considerable amount of publicity from all this, and various groups, including several NOW chapters and two state IWY conferences, have supported its activities. Its campaign has generated over 1000 letters from all parts of the country to targeted record companies. Apparently encouraged by WAVAW's success, several prominent feminists—including Gloria Steinhem and Susan Brownmiller—met in New York over the summer to consider the formation of a new group to mount a much broader campaign against "violent pornography," including such outright forms of censorship as seeking a city ordinance limiting its display.

While government proscription of "violent pornography" cannot be countenanced by a civil libertarian feminist, for obvious reasons, what should be the response to WAVAW, which does not advocate government censorship? It seems undeniable that such a group's programs raise some civil liberties questions. Even though the First Amendment prohibits only government control or interference with free expression, a boycott designed to eliminate expression of a particular kind does potentially involve a curtailment of the diversity of

expression which the First Amendment seeks to protect.

It is fundamental that suppression of First Amendment rights does not become acceptable because the cause is holy. In deciding whether or not to support the activities of groups like WAVAW, then, one should not begin by deciding whether one agrees that it is important to address the problems of rape and battered women or even whether "violent pornography" contributes to the incidence of violence against women. Decisions concerning the merits of positions being urged should only be relevant after it has been determined that the means being employed are consistent with the First Amendment.

Because of recent increases in private pressure on the media—most of it concerned with the issue of violence on television—the ACLU last year modified its position on this issue. The new policy recognizes that picketing and boycotting to influence the content that a medium of communication will present are "not inconsistent with the guarantees of the First Amendment . . . even where the consequences of such tactics is to curb expression of opinion." But concern is expressed that such organized group activity:

> . . . Can result in the removal of material to which members of the public may wish access. Therefore, although such activity may be legally permissible . . . in situations where the result or the likely future consequence of such activity will be to remove material or to close down a media outlet . . . media officials [should] respect the principle of public access to all materials.

The WAVAW campaign plainly is consistent with the ACLU position insofar as it utilizes picketing, leafletting, letterwriting, and similar methods. Efforts to educate and "raise the consciousness" of those who market records, and those who purchase them, about the offensiveness of gratuitous, exploitative violence against women by the media are not inconsistent with the First Amendment. But WAVAW's goal, like that of most protest groups, is not simply to educate, but also to convince the record companies that the disliked record covers and advertising should not be used. To that extent the group seeks "the removal of material to which members of the public may wish access."

The ACLU position starts with the premise that a civil libertarian must favor the individual's right and opportunity to communicate as broad a spectrum of ideas as desired. It concludes that diminishing expression of a particular idea, *whether brought about by law or public pressure*, is inimical to the goal of freedom of expression. An argument can be made, however, that the distinction between government restriction and private pressure is significant.

Consider the facts of a case decided by the Supreme Court last term concerning the constitutionality of a Willingboro, New Jersey ordinance banning homeowners from placing "For Sale" signs in their front yards. The Supreme Court struck down this ordinance, allegedly aimed at diminishing "block-busting" and the "panic selling" of homes by whites in a newly integrated township, because it violated the First Amendment rights of those who wished to communicate that their house was available. The Court stated:

> If dissemination of this information can be restricted, then every locality in the country can suppress any facts that reflect poorly on the locality, so long as a plausible claim can be made that disclosure would cause the recipients of the information to act "irrationally."

As an alternative to what the Court called a "highly paternalistic approach" which the First Amendment forbids, the Court said the proper course was to open the channels of communication. The township itself could participate in the system of freedom of expression—continuing "the process of education" it had already begun—in order to persuade individuals to follow a particular course.

In the same way, a private group in the

How should a civil libertarian feminist respond to groups like WAVAW which do not advocate governmental censorship?

township can organize to persuade other townspeople that it is not either in their own interest or morally right to participate in the "white flight" movement. If such a successful effort were made by a private group in a community like Willingboro, would a civil libertarian have to deplore the result because the effect would be to diminish the "diversity" of expression in the community?

Some might argue that the acceptability of the Willingboro example hinges on the fact that each individual concerned would have made the decision not to post a sign. In the commercial sphere, however, there is no ready analogue. An advertiser will not wait until 100 percent of his audience has not purchased his product because it is accompanied by offensive advertising. Rather, a company will change its ad campaign as soon as it finds that product sales are slipping significantly below that of similar products promoted differently. There is no opportunity, in the commercial sphere, to see to it that no form of expression ceases as long as "members of the public may wish access."

It is recognized that in the world of commerce—including the media—normally only products and ideas desired by a minimum percentage of consumers will be produced. Of course, should a company wish to continue the advertising which is the subject of the protest, no boycott can force it to do otherwise. In this respect, pressure exerted by members of the public is different from a law prohibiting certain communications.

Consistency and devotion to neutral principles are served by upholding the right of any group to attempt through persuasion and peaceful boycott techniques to influence the media. Beyond that, civil libertarians are free to oppose or support any particular group's activities based on whether the position espoused seems worthy of support and the tactics are appropriate.

The "free market place of ideas" exists not simply so that diversity of thought can flourish but also in the hope that the public will distinguish, in Justice Stevens' words, "that which is useful or beautiful from that which is ugly or worthless." Those who boycott media advertising are acknowledging the power of ideas and expression to influence action—they are taking ideas seriously, a result which can hardly be deplored by civil libertarians.

WAVAW probably cannot demonstrate that particular media portrayals are directly responsible for antisocial conduct, although it is not irrational to believe that the offending material may well have harmful effects. As WAVAW claims:

> When millions of people see women portrayed as victims day in and day out, an impression is created that women *are* victims, that it's safe and in fact normal to pick on women. . . . Furthermore, a lot of record advertising uses images of violence to women in a joking . . . manner—which at the least is an outrageous insult, and worse, trivializes and demeans the very real pain that raped and battered women suffer. . . .

While reasonable people may disagree about whether the problem of media glorification of violence against women is sufficiently widespread, or has sufficiently serious consequences, to warrant involvement in WAVAW's efforts, the decision to participate can be made by a civil libertarian feminist without abandoning civil liberties principles. Only when such groups seek by statute or physical coercion to suppress the offending expression do their protests fly in the face of the First Amendment. It is this mode of action which civil libertarian feminists must guard against. ●

Supplementary Materials:

COMMUNICATION AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT -- by George Gerbner

Messages are the medium in which human beings exist. Precisely how human behavior and attitudes are shaped by the multifarious forms of mass communications is now beginning to be investigated.

The ways in which people reflect on things and relate to one another are rooted in the human ability to compose images, produce messages and employ complex systems of symbols. A change in these processes transforms the nature of human affairs. We are in the midst of such a transformation. It stems from the mass production of symbols and messages, which represents a revolution in information and popular culture. Of allthe changes in what has come to be called the quality of life, none has had a larger direct impact on human consciousness and social behavior than the rise of communication technology.

Long ago the development of writing freed memory of much of its burden and shifted control over the accumulation of knowledge from storytellers to makers and keepers of records. The spread of literacy broke that monopoly and prepared the ground for the mobility of ideas and people that is so important in modern industry. Printing sped ideas and commands to all who could read. Today satellites fly and spy overhead, and we are wired together so tightly that a short circuit can fry us all. A "hot line" is needed to make sure that if humankind seems about to exterminate itself, the deed is purposeful rather than the result of error. When most people can be exposed to the same sources of power at the same time, the shape and pace of history have changed.

The Scottish patriot Andrew Fletcher once said: "If a man were permitted to write all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of the nation." The mass production of all the ballads is at the heart of the cultural transformation now is progress. The ballads of an age are powerful myths depicting its visions of the invisible forces of life, society and the universe. They are blends of fact and fiction designed to reveal how things are or ought to be. They compel attention for their own sake. They inform as they entertain. They make entertainment - the celebration of conventional morality - the only collective drill in which most members of a culture engage with pleasure. Today's popular entertainment in news, drama and fiction has become the universal source of public acculturation.

Developments in communication not only have extended human ability to exchange messages but have also transformed the symbolic environment of human consciousness and are continuing to alter it. Perhaps the most profound human dilemma is this: Just as knowledge can be said to confer power, so power generates and uses knowledge for its own purposes. Social and institutional structures (the Government, the broadcasting networks, the publishing houses and the educational institutions) have a steadily increasing role in shaping the symbolic environment.

Self-government can no longer be supposed to follow from the assumption that the press and other communication agencies are free. In a highly centralized mass production structure of the kind characterizing modern communications, "freedom" is the right of the managers of the media to decide what the public will be told. The question is whether enlightenment through communication can lead to liberation from the shackles of mind and body that still oppress mankind or whether only liberation from those shackles can lead to further enlightenment through communication.

The simplest organisms take energy from their immediate surroundings. They need little information except what is contained in a fixed herefitary code. Higher organisms have specialized senses to receive information and complex brains to process and store it. They can reach out, search a larger area, pick up signals from a distance, accumulate impressions over a period of time, relate to one another, assume different roles and engage in behavior based on a sharing of learned significance. Only man, however, acts primarily in terms of symbol systems.

Symbolic content gives an act its human significance. Meanings do not reside within people any more than breathing resides only in the lungs. Meanings are the product of an exchange between the brain and the symbolic environment, which is to the brain what air is to the lungs. The exchange is the reason one can say that although all organisms behave, only humans act. Action is behavior that derives its distinctively human meaning from the symbolic content in which it is embedded or to which it is related.

The exchange by means of the symbolic environment is what I define as communication. It is interaction through messages. Even when people interact face to face, they usually do it partly or wholly through the patterned exchange of messages. By messages I mean formally coded symbolic or representational patterns of some shared significance in a culture. Indeed, culture itself can be regarded broadly as a system in which messages cultivate and regulate the relations between people. In one form or another such processes appear in all types of life and in all social systems, but it is in human culture and in the conduct of human life and society that communication plays its most complex and distinctive part.

Even the most primitive peoples have employed shapes and images for symbolic and representational purposes and have erected imposing symbolic structures of religion, statecraft and play. Through communication they have performed elaborate rituals, observed intricate kinship systems and conducted the affairs of the tribe or nation. Today systems of messages that can be recorded and widely transported enable man to bridge vast reaches of space and time and to cultivate values of collective survival. They also facilitate spasms of mass destruction, a distinctively human trait.

A change in the relation of people to the common culture marks the transition from one epoch to another in the way that members of our species are "humanized." The increasing rate of this change and the lengthening span of life mean that different generations living side by side can now be humanized in different ways, so that they live in essentially different (but overlapping) cultural epochs. Distant storytellers mass produce new tales steadily and can tell them to millions of children, parents and grandparents simultaneously. As a result the traditional process of socialization has been altered. Never before have so many people in so many places sharedso much of a common system of messages and images - and the assumptions about life, society and the world that the system embodies - while having so little to do with creating the system. In sum, the fabric of popular culture that relates the elements of existence to one another and shapes the common consciousness of what is, what is important, what is right and what is related to what else is now largely a manufactured product.

The experiments in self-government that brought to an end the era of absolute monarchs were based on a new conception of popular culture, namely that reason confronts reality on terms made available by the culture. It was thought that popular self-government consisted in citizens' collectively creating alternatives of policy rather than simply responding to them. A

great deal has happened since these assumptions found expression in evolutionary documents of societies at a time when public communications were mostly handcrafted by individuals speaking for diverse publics. Now that public communications have become commodities manufactured by powerful agencies of the industrial society for sale to heterogeneous audiences, the perspective of the communications reflects institutional organization and control.

The organs of mass communications -- printing, television, and radio -- provide the means of selecting, recording, viewing and sharing man's notion of what is, what is important, what is right and what is related to what else. The media are the cultural arms of the industrial order from which thye spring. They bring into existence and the cultivate a new form of common consciousness: modern mass publics.

The significance of mass communications does not stem from the numbers of people involved. Large groups of people were reached by other forms of communication long before the advent of the modern forms. The modern concept of masses is groups so large and dispersed that only methods of mass production and distribution can reach them with the same message in a short period of time. The significance of the mass media therefore lies in their ability to mass-produce messages that create mass publics: heterogeneous social aggregates that never meet face to face and may have nothing in common except the messages they share. The biggest of the mass media form the only common bond among all the groups in an otherwise fragmented society. As an official of a broadcasting network said recently, television is "the only mass entertainment and information medium that does not disfranchise the rural and urban poor." They are therefore the first poor people in history who share much of the culture of the rich, designed by and the the more affluent -- a function that only the church served in earlier times.

Such "public-making" is the chief instrument of modern social cohesion. When rebels take over a radio station or candidates demand equal time or advertisers buy space or time, what is fought for or bought is not time or space but the chief product of the modern media: access to the publics they have created.

These publics are maintained through continued publications, by which I mean the output of all the organs of mass communication. The publics are supplied with selections of information and entertainment that are regarded by the selectors as important in terms of the perspectives to be cultivated. Publication therefore is the selection of shared ways of viewing events and aspects of life.

Publication is thus the basis of community consciousness among diverse groups of people too numerous or dispersed to interact face to face or in any other personally mediated way. The great signidicance of publication is its ability to form new bases for collective thought and action quickly, continuously and pervasively across boundaries of time, space and class. That is why the organs of public communication have a special place in all modern states, which through legal or economic mechanisms confer the right to control large presses, motion-picture and television studios and postal and wireless communcations on government agencies or on proviate holdres of licenses, patents, franshises or properties.

Selectivity and control, which are inherent in any communication, dominate the mass-communication process. The tight to acculturate a nation and to shape the public agenda has never been open to all; it is one of the most

carefully guarded powers in any society. The real question is not whether the organs of mass communication are free but rather: By whom, how, for what purposes and with what consequences are the inevitable controls exercised?

A few programs of research in mass communication, mostly affiliated with the universities, have begun to ask this question. The development is fairly recent. Until the late 1950's such research was under the influence of the marketplace. The methods of the behavioral sciences were applied mainly in an attempt to control, influence or manipulate behavior on behalf of clients rather than to understand elements of the social environment.

For more than 40 years various governmental and private bodies have called for some kind of surveillance of the organs of mass communication. Nonw of the proposals, however, specified how the surveillance might be done or limited the scope to manageable proportions. As a result there is probably no area of important social policy in which far-reaching decisions are made with as little reliable, systematic, cumulative and comparable information about trends and the state of affairs as the area of the mass production and distribution of the most broadly shared messages of our culture. Little is known about trends in the composition and structure of the mass-produced systems of messages that define life in urbanized societies, and no more is known about the institutional processes that compose and structure those systems. Much of the standard research on how people respond in various situation lacks insight into the dynamics of the common cultural context.

Other reasons can be cited for pursuing the university-based programs of research in communication. One is to look for evidence of cultural trends. Citizens concerned with such issues as health, education, delinquency, aging, generational conflict, drugs and violence often point to cultural "trends" to support their case, but there is no convincing evidence to support any case.

Moreover, educators wonder increasingly about the consequences inherent in the commercial compulsion to present life in salable packages. Corporate, technological and other processes of producing messages short-circuit former networks of social communication and superimpose their own forms of collective consciousness -- their own publics -- pm ptjer social relations, harnessing acculturation to consumer markets. The new programs of academic research in mass communication are designed to monitor the elements of the system of generating and using bodies of broadly shared messages that are most relevant to social issues and to issues of public policy.

Much of what I say about these research programs is based on my own work, first at the University of Illinois and later at the University of Pennsylvania. My colleagues and I have studies such subjects as popular conceptions of mental illness; ideological perspectives inherent in news reporting; the portrayal of teachers, schools and education in the mass-produced cultures of several countries; the image of the film hero in American and foreign movies, and the social functions of symbolic violence as presented in television drama. With these studies we have developed the areas and terms of analysis for examining modern communication.

I have defined communication as interaction through messages bearing man's notions of existence, priorities, values and relations. Codes of symbolic significance conveyed through models of expression form the currency of social relations. Institutions package, media compose and technologies distribute message systems to heterogeneous mass publics.

How is this massive flow managed? How does it fit into or alter the existing cultural content? What perspectives on life and the world does it express and cultivate? How does it vary across times, societies and cultures? How does its cultivation of collective assumptions relate to the conduct of public affairs and vice versa?

The questions suggest three areas of analysis: institutional processes, message systems and cultivation. The first area involves questions of how the organs of mass communication make decisions, compose message systems and relate to other institutions. In examining message systems one asks how large bodies of messages can be observed as dynamic systems with symbolic functions that have social consequences. Cultivation analysis asks what common assumptions, points of view, images and associations the message systems tend to cultivate in large and heterogeneous communities and what the implications are for public policy.

Every decision to communicate certain things is at the same time a decision to suppress other things. What comes out is a result of competitive pressure breaking through structured inhibitions. When only a fragment of all available and plausible messages can be selected for transmission, an analysis cannot realistically focus on whether or not suppression is involved but must consider the question of what systems of pressures and inhibitions determine the patterns of selection by communication.

How do media managers determine and perform the functions their institutions, clients and the social order require? What is the overall effect of corporate controls on symbolic output? What policy changes do in fact alter that output and how? These are the main questions for the analysis of institutional processes.

The policies of the mass media reflect not only a stage in industrial development and the general structure of social relations but also particular types of institutional powers and pressures. Mass communicators everywhere occupy sensitive and central positions in the social network. The groups that have a stake in shaping content and influence or power over it include the authorities who issues licenses and administer the laws; the patrons who invest in or subsidize the operation; organizations, institutions and loose aggregations of publics that require attention and cultivation; the managements that set policies and supervise operations; the auxiliary groups that provide services, raw materials and protection; the creative talent, experts and technicians who actually form the symbolic content and transmit the signals, and the colleagues and competitors whose solidarity or innovation helps to set standards and maintain vigilance.

Our studies suggest that any message system produced by an institutional source has certain ideological orientations implicit in selection, emphasis and treatment. Other researchers have found that most newsmen respond more to the pressures and expectations of the newsroom than to any generalized concept of audience or public interest. One study of newsroom decisions concluded that three out of four publishers are active in directing news decisions, with their influence greatest in news of the immediate market area and in subjects that affect the revenue of the paper.

Our recent survey of how the content of television programs is regulated concludes, with regard to dramatic programming: "In a fictional world governed by the economics of the assembly line and the 'production values' of optimum appeal at least cost, symbolic action follows conventional rules of social morality. The requirement of wide acceptability and a suitable environment for the sponsor's message assure general adherence to consumer

values and to common notions of justice and fair play. The issue is rarely in doubt; the action is typically a game of skill and power."

Intellectuals who assume that television can commit substantial resources to high-risk cultural productions have been talking past the issue. The basic role of television - the most massive communication medium of modern society - is to provide the symbolic functions formerly performed only by popular religions. The highly predictable scenarios of news, fiction, drama and "intimate" conversation watched by millions can easily pass for the rituals, cults, passion plays and myths of modern life.

Studies of the occupations in communication suggest that they may represent anachronistically upper-class standards of quality and autonomy, particularly in the news area. With new technological developments that may come such a proliferation and fragmentation of channels that the communication professional may give way to even more direct control by the business office and to a kind of populist commercialism that can be most easily programmed by technicians.

I turn now to the analysis of message systems, which observes the record of institutional behavior in mass-producing messages for entire communities. The observation reveals collective and common rather than individual and unique features of the process of forming and cultivating public images.

Our program of research in this area rests on two assumptions, one of which is that communication is the environment of social behavior rather than just specific acts, utterances and campaigns. The most profound effects of communication can be found not in making sales, getting votes, influencing opinions and changing attitudes but in the selective maintenance of relatively stable structures of images and associations that stem from institutional structures and policies and that define the common perspectives of a society. The difficulity (often failure) of any campaign designed to change views or attitudes indicates how powerful the currents that cultivate the prevailing outlooks are. Without knowing what these currents are, what they cultivate and how they change, neither social behavior nor public attitudes can be fully understood.

Our second assumption is that just as the effects of communication cannot be limited to specific messages or to attempts to change or control behavior, so the effects are not necessarily available to the conscious scrutiny of any of the parties involved in the communcation. Onw always communicates more things - or other things - than one is aware of. Indeed, there are no failures of communication, only failures of intention and of understanding of what the message was in the first place. Many breakdowns in social and personal communication result because the recipient gets the message beeter and more accurately than the sender realizes and thus turns the sender and his message off.

Symbolic functions are the consequences that flow from a communication, regardless of intentions and pretensions. To investigate these functions one must analyze the sumbolic environment and particular configurations of symbols in it. In this way one can obtain information about what the actual messages, rather than the presumed messages, might be. The next step is to form a hypothesis about what conseptions the particular symbolic functions might cultivate in an exchange with particular communicating parties. The human and social consequences of the communication can be explored by investigating the contributions that the symbolic functions and their cultivation of particular notions might make to thinking and behavior. These contributions are usually of a cultivating and reinforcing kind; that is what culture does.

Cultures also change, however, and from time to time real shifts in perspective become possible. Herein lies the subject matter of the analysis of cultivation.

The most distinctive characteristics of large groups of people are acquired through living in one culture rather than another. Individuals make their own selection of materials for cultivating personal images, tastes, views and preferences, and they seek to influence the materials available to their children. They cannot, however, cultivate what is not available, and they will seldom select what is scarcely available or not much emphasized. A culture cultivates not only patterns of conformity but also patterns of alienation and rebellion. The culture's affirmation pose the issues most likely to be the targets of symbolic provocation or protest.

The dominant agencies of communication produce the message systems that cultivate the dominant image patterns. They structure the public agenda of existence, priorities, values and relations. People use this agenda (some more selectively than others) to support their ideas and actions in ways that on the whole tend to match the general composition and structure of message systems, provided of course that there is also other environmental support for these choices and interpretations.

A significant change in this process takes place with a change in the technology, ownership, clientele or other institutional characteristics of the dominant communication agencies. Decisive cultural change does not occur in the symbolic field alone. When it occurs, it stems from a change in social relations that puts the old symbolic patterns out of step with the new order. In such a case the relative meanings and functions of the existing images and practices change before the images and practices themselves change. When the new cultural patterns are developed, they restore to public communication its basic function: the support and maintenance of the new order.

Cultivation analysis begins with the insights derived from the analysis of institutions and message systems. It goes on to investigate the contributions these systems and their symbolic functions make to the cultivation of common assumptions about life and the world. The study does not pay much attention to style of expression, quality of representation, artistic excellence or the nature of the individual's experience with mass culture. It focuses instead on the functions that large systems of messages perform regardless of what people think of them.

The main approaches taken in cultivation analysis are projective techniques (wherein respondents are presented with situtations that tend to lead them to reveal views, expectations and values they may not be conscious of or might not talk about if they were asked directly), interviews in depth and periodic surveys of sample groups. We work with panels of adults and children. In all these activities the aim is to see how exposure to the mass media has influenced the thinking of the responsents about selected issues and aspects of real life.

Two areas are of particular concern is this study. One is the impact of television, since for most people television is culture. The other is the cultivation of the social symbolic patterns established in childhood are the ones most easily cultivated throughout life.

The cultural transformation resulting from mass communication has created societies whose parts increasingly relate to one another through distant

communication. The more complex, specialized, extended and interrelated a system becomes, the more information it needs (and generates) to maintain stability. Moreover, self-governing social systems of high specialization and complexity require indicators that measure the trend of events in the intricate society. In recent years the effort to find such social indicators has gained momentum with the increasing speed of technological change, of which the developments in the space program are an example. The indicators would provide the society with information about its changing state while its methods of generating and using information are themselves being altered. When the symbolic environment is changing, the nature of social behavior and the usefulness of information relating to social policy can best be assessed if cultural winds and tides can be measured.

My colleague Larry P. Gross and I have recently launched a program at the University of Pennsylvania to collect and report such information. The program, which is sponsored on a pilot basis by the National Institute of Mental Health, is call Cultural Indicators. For the first time it will relate a long-term analysis of message systems (mostly television) to research on aymbolic functions and how they cultivate popular notions about people and life.

Cultural indicators will trace people, topics and types of action represented in mass-produced cultures. They will touch on the history, geography, demography and ethnigraphy of the symbolic worlds. The symbolic populations and their interpersonal and group relations will be observed. Themes of nature, science, politics, law, crime, business, education, art, health, peace, sex, love and friendship as well as violence will be noted. The roles, values and goals of the characters who populate the symbolic worlds will be related to the issues with which they grapple and to the fates to which they are destined.

We are developing tests of imagery to indicate the nature and extent of the contributions these elements of content and symbolic function make to the development and cultivation of basic concepts about people and life. Amid the clamor of commercial and political interests it may be helpful to have the third voice of social scientific inquiry keep a score of the functional significance of the deeper messages and points of view that capture public attention, occupy more time than any other activity and animate the collective imagination.

The inquiry will be the first step toward creating the conditions of cultural self-consciousness in the new symbolic environment. If it succeeds, it will help people to understand the impact of communication technology on the symbolic climate that affects all they think and do. We can then inquire into the institutional aspects of policy with a sharper awareness of the currents that tug at us all.

TABLE 1*

The Growth of Daily Newspapers in the United States

Year	Total Circulation of Daily Newspapers (Excluding Sunday)	Total Number of Households	Circulation Per Households
1850	758,000	3,598,240	.21
1860	1,478,000	5,210,934	.28
1870	2.602,000	7,579,363	.34
1880	3,566,000	9,945,916	.36
1900	8,387,000	12,690,152	.66
1904	15,102,000	15,992,000	.94
1904	19,633,000	17,521,000	1.12
1914	24,212,000	19,734,000	1,23
1919	33,029,000	22,110,000	1.30
1920	27,790,000	23,873,000	1.38
1925	33,739,369	24,467,000	1.13
1930	39,589,172	27,540,000	1.22
1935	38,155,540	29,997,000	1.32
1940	41,131,611	31,892,000	1.20
1945	48,384,188	35,153,000	1.17
1950	53,829,072	37,503,000	1.29
1955	56,147,359	43,554,000	1.23
1960	58,881,746	47,788,000	1.17
1961	59,261,464	52,799,000	1.12
1962	59,848,688	53,464,000	1.11
1963	58,905,000	54,652,000	1.10
1964	60,412,000	55,189,000	1.07
1965	60,358,000	55,996,000	1.08
1966	61,397,000	57,251,000	1.05
1967	61,561,000	58,092,000	1.06

Sources: U.S. Bureau of Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington, D.C. 1960), Series R 176, p. 500; Series R 169, p. 500; Series 255, p. 16; Series A 242-244.

U.S. Bureau of Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Continuation to 1962 and Revisions (Washington, D.C., 1965) Series R 170, p. 69.

U.S. Bureau of Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States (Washington, D.C., 1968), Table 747, p. 507.

U.S. Bureau of Census, Current Population Reports: Population Characteristics, Series P 20, No. 166 (August 4, 1967), p. 4.

Note: All figures after 1960 include Alaska and Hawaii.

* Melvin L. De Fleur, Theories of Mass Communication (New York: McKay Company), 1972.

TABLE 2*

The Growth of Motion Picture Attendance in the United States (1922-1965)

Year	Average Weekly Movie Attendance	Total Number of Household	Weekly Attendance Per Household
1922	40,000,000	25,687,000	1.56
1924	46,000,000	26,941,000	1,71
1926	50,000,000	28,101,000	1.78
1928	65,000,000	29,124,000	2.23
1930	90,000,000	29,997,000	3.00
1932	60,000,000	30,439,000	1.97
1934	70,000,000	31,306,000	2.24
1936	88,000,000	32,454,000	2.71
1938	85,000,000	33,683,000	2.52
1940	80,000,000	35,153,000	2.28
1942	85,000,000	36,445,000	2.33
1944	85,000,000	37,115,000	2.29
1946	90,000,000	38,370,000	2.35
1948	90,000,000	40,532,000	2.22
1950	60,000,000	43,554,000	1.38
1951	54,000,000	44,656,000	1.21
1952	51,000,000	45,504,000	1.12
1953	46,000,000	46,334,000	.99
1954	49,000,000	46,893,000	1.04
1955	46,000,000	47,788,000	.96
1956	47,000,000	48,902,000	.96
1957	45,000,000	49,673,000	.91
1958	40,000,000	50,474,000	.79
1959	42,000,000	51,435,000	.82
1960	40,000,000	52,772,000	.76
1961	42,000,000	53,197,000	.79
1962	43,000,000	54,369,000	.79
1963	44,000,000	55,705,000	.79
1965	44,000,000	56,956,000	.77

Sources: U.S. Bureau of Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington, D.C., 1960), Series H 522, p. 225 and Series A 242-244, p. 15.

U.S. Bureau of Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Continuation to 1962 and Revisions (Washington, D.C., 1965), Series H 522, p. 35.

U.S. Bureau of Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States (Washington, D.C., 1968), Tables 11 and 302, pp. 12 and 208.

U.S. Bureau of Census, Current Population Reports: Population Characteristics, Series P-20, No. 166 (August 24, 1967), p. 1 and p. 4.

Note: Figures do not include Alaska and Hawaii. Data on attendance for 1964 not reliably reported in sources. Household data from 1951 to 1961 revised for consistency with contemporary estimates of total population.

TABLE 3*

The Growth of Radio Set Ownership in The United States (1922-1967)

Year	Total Number of Sets	Total Number of Households	Sets Per Household
1922	400,000	25,687,000	.016
1925	4,000,000	27,540,000	.145
1930	13,000,000	29,997,000	.433
1935	30,500,000	31,892,000	.956
1940	51,000,000	35,153,000	1.451
1945	56,000,000	37,503,000	1.493
1950	98,000,000	43,554,000	2.250
1955	135,000,000	47,788,000	2.825
1960	156,000,000	52,799,000	2.955
1965	227,000,000	57,251,000	3.965
1967	268,000,000	58,845,000	4.554

Sources: New York World Telegram Corporation, The World Almanac, 1969 (New York, 1969), p. 62.

U.S. Bureau of Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington, D.C., 1960), Series A 242-244, p. 15.

U.S. Bureau of Census, Current Population Reports: Population Characteristics, Series P 20, No. 106 (January 9, 1961), p. 11; No. 119 (September 19, 1962), p. 4; No. 166 (August 4, 1967), p. 4.

* Melvin L. De Fleur, Theories of Mass Communication (New York: McKay Company), 1972.

TABLE 4*

The Growth of Television Set Ownership in the United States (1946-1967)

Year	Monochrome Sets in Use (in Thousands)	Color Sets in Use (in Thousands)	Total Number of Households (in Thousands)	Monochrome Sets Per Household	Color Sets Per Household
1946	8		38,370	.0002	
1947	250		39,107	.0064	
1948	1,000		40,523	.0247	
1949	4,000		42,182	.0948	
1950	10,500		43,554	.2411	
1951	15,750		44,656	.3527	
1953	28,000		46,334	.6043	
1957	47,200		49,543	.9527	
1960	55,500	200	52,799	1.0512	.0038
1961	57,600	400	53,464	1.0774	.0057
1962	60,800	800	54,652	1.1125	.0146
1963	65,000	1,600	55,189	1.1778	.0290
1964	70,000	3,000	55,996	1.2501	.0536
1965	75,000	5,000	57,251	1.3100	.0873
1966	78,500	9,700	58,092	1.3513	.1670
1967	81,500	12,700	58,845	1.3850	.2158

Sources: U.S. Bureau of Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington, D.C., 1960), Series A 242-244, p. 15.

U.S. Bureau of Census, Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics, Series P 20, No. 106 (January 9, 1961), p. 11; No. 119 (September 19, 1962), p. 4; No. 166 (August 4, 1967), p. 4.

New York World-Telegram Corporation, The World Almanac, 1969 (New York, 1969), p. 62.

Note: All figures after 1960 include Alaska and Hawaii.

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* Melvin L. De Fleur, Theories of Mass Communication (New York: McKay Company), 1972

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DR. FRANK B. BROUILLET
Superintendent of Public Instruction
Old Capitol Building. FG-11. Olympia. WA 98504

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