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Marching to a Different Drummer: Military Women in American Popular Magazines, 1975-1985.

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CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHRIDGE

MARCHING TO A DIFFERENT DRUMMER:

MILITARY WOMEN IN POPULAR AMERICAN MAGAZINES

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in

Mass Communication

by

Carolyn Sue Chorak



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ABSTRACT

MARCHING TO A DIFFERENT DRUMMER:  
MILITARY WOMEN IN POPULAR AMERICAN MAGAZINES

by

Carolyn Sue Chorak

Master of Arts in Mass Communication

In 1984, there were approximately 190,000 women serving in the American armed forces, an increase of almost 350 percent since 1972. As barriers to their service lifted, women rapidly moved into areas previously reserved only for men: entering military academies, serving on ships and performing a wide spectrum of non-traditional jobs.

Heretofore, no attempt had been made to examine the media's image of these women. Therefore, this thesis was designed to provide an analysis of the coverage of women in the military through a qualitative content analysis of popular American black, general-interest, specialized, women's and news magazines from 1975 to 1985. It was constructed to examine the amount and subject of the coverage, as well as to determine stereotypical presentations.

The results of this analysis clearly indicate that women in the military did receive consistent coverage throughout the period; however, there was considerable variation within the magazines' content which reflected their perceptions of the issues, with news magazines providing the broadest coverage. It was found that the majority of coverage in black, general-interest and news magazines was event-induced; increasing significantly to coincide with key events within military history, while coverage in women's and specialized magazines tended to reflect circumstances arising from the events rather than the events themselves.

Overall, the coverage was not as stereotyped as expected; however, the tendency to discuss women's marital status or personal life was present in black and general-interest magazines and in some women's magazines. The news and specialized magazines were relatively devoid of stereotypes.

The coverage was not representative of women's military service with its large emphasis on women officers and women serving in non-traditional positions. Additionally, the coverage was not consistent in that many issues related to women's service were not uniformly discussed in each magazine group nor were some important issues mentioned at all.

CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION

Amazon, WAC, WAVE, goblett, patriot, heroine, soldier, sailor or marine. Whatever they are called, be it acronym or slander, women have not only served in the American military since this country's inception, but have fought and died championing its causes.

On May 15, 1942, with the establishment of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corp (later to become the Women's Army Corps), women, for the first time, received official recognition as bona fide members of the United States armed forces. In all-women units, they served alongside men all over the world.<sup>1</sup>

On March 21, 1979, segregation symbolically ended when the Women's Army Corps was dissolved and the last of the armed forces all-women's units disbanded. With the integration into previously male units, military women are on their way to true equality within the military domain.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, as women's role within the military evolved during that period, women's role within society began to change from that of traditional homemaker to one as a more discernible member of the American workforce.<sup>3</sup>

Throughout the late 70s and early 80s, the media witnessed and reported on these transitions. Just as women throughout society were moving away from traditional roles into male bastions of power, military women entered an environment bound by tradition and fraught with a pervasively masculine attitude. The media's presentation of these changing military women was the subject of this study.

Specifically, this thesis examined and analyzed the coverage of women in the military in popular American magazines from June 1975 to June 1985: 98 articles from 28 American general-interest, news, women's, black and specialized magazines. This time period was chosen to provide an overview of the coverage as military women moved from segregated to integrated members of their society. It allowed for an examination of coverage predating the dissolution of the Women's Army Corps and of the integration process itself, as well as an analysis of current status.

It focused on patterns of stereotyping present within individual magazines and "types" of magazines. Various studies which have examined the sex role presentation of women in different media discovered that women have most often been portrayed as traditional homemakers displaying traditional gender-based stereotyped images.<sup>4</sup> They are often described as passive, emotional, excitable, and overly concerned with appearances.<sup>5</sup> This thesis sought to

determine if women who have chosen a non-traditional, masculine, aggressive environment and career field are subject to the same stereotypical presentation.

The following research questions, which naturally flow from this focus, were addressed throughout this study:

1) To what extent has the subject of women in the military been covered by American magazines? Has that coverage been predicated upon significant "events"?

2) In what way, if any, did the coverage change during the ten year period? Did coverage during the 70s depict servicewomen in a negative light and did that presentation change during the 80s? Were changes consistent within various magazines?

3) In what way, if any, did American magazines utilize stereotypical labels or produce stereotypical images? What were they? Were stereotypes focused upon the military aspect, the woman aspect or both?

4) In what way, if any, have American magazines editorialized their coverage? Have patterns of editorialized versus straight news reporting been consistent throughout the time period studied for individual or types of magazines?

5) In what way, if any, did the coverage of military women parallel that of the military coverage in general? What are the differences, if any? Was the coverage char-

acterized by a general attitude of skepticism of sources, data or information? What/who are the sources of information?

6) How has the coverage differed within the various types of magazines? Were feature articles more prevalent in women's, black or general interest magazines? How has the play within these magazines differed? How many and what kinds of articles received cover play?

7) What differences in coverage, if any, were exhibited in articles by male versus female reporters? How were these differences exhibited?

8) What issues have received the most coverage? What subjects were covered? Were these issues and subjects consistent within magazines?

Answers to these questions should add to our understanding of society's perceptions of women in the military and provide insight into magazine presentation of women in non-traditional occupational roles during this ten year period.

The subject of women in the military is still a somewhat controversial issue. As a mirror of the evolution of women in American society, any study addressing the topic becomes important. A study of the media's presentation of those women takes on an added significance as the media so often are responsible for setting the communication agendas of the American people.

Magazines have long had a powerful influence on Americans' lives and have been important shapers of public opinion.<sup>6</sup> Today they are read by approximately 75 percent of Americans 18 and over.<sup>7</sup> Magazines differ from other media because they are meant to be retained. Unlike newspapers that are tossed away as soon as they are read or television that flickers across the screen, and then is gone, magazines are kept. They are coffee table decorations that can be picked up and read by more than one member of a household. Use of color only increases their impact.

The magazines which will be examined in this thesis encompass an unusually large and varied scope. Ranging from the straight news format of Time and Newsweek to traditional women's magazines such as Woman's Day and Mademoiselle to specialized and popular magazines such as People and Psychology Today, the 28 magazines utilized for this study have a combined circulation of over 45 million.<sup>8</sup> They are regularly seen and read by business men and women, armchair psychologists, housewives, feminists, teenagers, science enthusiasts, political activists and virtually every other element of mainstream society.

Magazines' effects and influences are as diverse as their audiences. Some magazines studied in this thesis, such as People, are primarily designed for their entertainment value and make little attempt to influence

public opinion. Others, such as The Progressive, provide a discussion and analysis of important issues of our time. Black magazines not only provide a forum to highlight the achievements of the black population not found elsewhere, but promote black-owned businesses and black consumerism. Women's magazines provide service information on the home and family, counseling, political information and fashion. News magazines are a vital source of news and information for millions of American and foreign readers.<sup>9</sup>

Magazines are reflective of society. They provide a chronicle of changing social conditions.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, a study of this diverse group of magazines during a period of turmoil within the women's movement and the military was especially important.

In 1971, there were approximately 40,000 women in the United States military. In 1984, that figure had risen to over 190,000 making the United States the acknowledged world leader in the utilization of women in their military forces.<sup>11</sup> Despite these figures and the increasing numbers of women moving into non-traditional military occupations, there have been no formal studies of the media's presentation of women in the military.

The majority of the American population has little direct contact with the military and must form opinions about its policies and personnel based upon the media's presentation of it. For this reason, the media's por-



trayal of the military is responsible, in large part, for the development of American attitudes, perceptions and prejudices about the military in general and, consequently, women in the military. The average American may not ever step foot onto a military base or meet a military woman, but because of the media's influence and high level of credibility, they will believe what the newscaster tells them about the military. An article in a magazine may provide the only image of the American military woman they ever see. Thus, there was a need for this examination.

Several hypotheses were constructed to assist in this examination. They were based on the focus and research questions of this thesis and upon the literature searched as background material:

- 1) The coverage of women in the military in American magazines examined in this study will be sporadic throughout the ten year period, but will increase significantly to coincide with key events within military history such as admission of women into the military service academies.

- 2) The subject of the coverage will change throughout the time frame, initially focusing upon women in the military as a whole unit, but changing to profiles of individuals within the last three years.

- 3) Magazines featuring profiles of individuals will tend to depict military women in a stereotypical manner

through a discussion of appearance characteristics rather than performance characteristics. This trend will not change over time.

4) News and women's magazines will concentrate their coverage on the broad spectrum of the women in the military issue while other types of magazines studied will offer "softer," more personalized feature articles. Black magazines will depict images of positive, successful military women. Men's magazines will depict women as "soft" in contrast to their harsh environment and "coarse" male counterparts.

5) The coverage of women in the military will concentrate primarily upon personal and social aspects and will not be characterized by the intense press scrutiny normally associated with military reporting in general.

6) Male authors will focus their reporting on the problems military women are experiencing adjusting to their environment. Women reporters will focus on the successes the women are enjoying in their new careers.

These hypotheses were tested through qualitative content analysis, which allowed for the examination of verbal and visual messages contained within each article.

Research questions were addressed and hypotheses tested through a review of all articles addressing service women located through a search of Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature and the Magazine Index between 1975 and 1985.

To ensure a more thorough appreciation for the issues involved in this study, some essential background information is necessary.

Traditionally, service in the military of the United States (as in most other countries) has been thought of as a masculine endeavor. For most Americans, the concept of women in the military is an idea which has not yet been fully accepted. Historically, however, women have always had a place within the military structure. In fact, disguised as men, women have served in a combat role in every war this nation became involved in prior to the twentieth century.<sup>12</sup>

The Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948 established standards and ceilings of recruitment and directed the utilization of women until 1967 when changes were made which expanded women's roles. It was in 1972, however, that the decision was made to increase the proportion of women in the armed services. And, in 1979, the last of the all-women's units was disbanded.<sup>13</sup>

Women now constitute approximately nine percent of the U.S. military's personnel strength.<sup>14</sup> With the exception of direct combat positions (in which they are prohibited by Congress from serving), women are assigned to all military occupational specialties--over 80 percent of all jobs.<sup>15</sup> These figures have stabilized within

recent years and there is no reason to expect that the trend toward expanding roles will reverse itself.<sup>16</sup>

For the majority of the population, the military is just too vast or technical an operation to fully comprehend. Americans, therefore, rely heavily upon national and local media to interpret and explain their defense system.<sup>17</sup>

It is hard to imagine any two institutions in American society that philosophically, at least, have less in common than the journalistic and military professions. One is devoted to public disclosure while the other often operates in utmost secrecy. The press is the military's natural antagonist--the military frequently views the press as its enemy. This natural antagonism is compounded by the dearth of trained full-time journalists specializing in military affairs.<sup>18</sup>

The press's relationship with the military has deteriorated since the mid-70s when, at the height of America's involvement in Vietnam, the two organizations were in direct conflict.<sup>19</sup> The open hostility and distrust generated between the two during Vietnam, culminated with the military's imposition of total press censorship of the Grenada invasion in 1983. The result is reduced military credibility and open skepticism by the press with wariness on all sides.<sup>20</sup>

The media's relationship with women has also undergone changes. For two decades, from the mid-50s through the mid-70s, males dominated the media not only in number, but in symbolic presence.<sup>21</sup> Women routinely were pictured in stereotypical roles of mother and homemaker and were generally viewed as passive and dependent upon the males in their lives.<sup>22</sup>

Those middle-class women who were shown working normally were not "serious" about their careers, opting to give up jobs in favor of their families.<sup>23</sup> And, those who did work were shown as subservient to male superiors.<sup>24</sup> Despite the fact that during this time period women's participation in the work force doubled, the "typical" woman was not portrayed as working outside the home.<sup>25</sup>

Recent studies indicate that this image of women may be changing as traditional sex roles receive less social support.<sup>26</sup> The media, followers rather than innovators, are slowly changing their presentation of women to more closely reflect society.<sup>27</sup>

One medium which has had a pervasive influence upon our society is the magazine. It is unique among the media because, by its very nature of offering long, in-depth articles, it is read more attentively. Magazines are kept and passed from one person to another.<sup>28</sup> They have been creators of cultural interests by exposing their readers to new ideas.<sup>29</sup>

Over the last two decades, the magazine industry, too, has undergone serious alteration. Higher levels of affluence, education and leisure time coupled with the advent of television resulted in a fragmentation of the mass audience and the virtual disappearance of the mass magazine.<sup>30</sup>

Still, the magazine industry is a healthy one with more periodicals issued in the United States now than ever before.<sup>31</sup> Over the last decade, magazines have shed their "mass media" label and have gained strength by providing increasingly specialized information to their readers.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, many of the magazines which were examined in this thesis are highly specialized.

Because the military has a language all its own, military terminology is often unclear to the uninitiated. For that reason the following definitions are provided:

1) Women in the military - all enlisted, commissioned, or warrant officers on active military duty or members of the National Guard or reserves. This definition does not encompass family members of male service members.

2) Enlisted - members of the armed forces ranking below a commissioned or warrant officer. Comprising the majority of the military personnel structure, they are the "working force" of the armed forces. Enlisted personnel

provide the skilled and unskilled labor and first line supervision necessary to run the military.

3) Officers - members of the military service ranking above an enlisted servicemember and holding positions of authority or command. They are generally acknowledged as equivalent to the managers and executives of civilian corporations.

4) Sexual stereotypes - strongly held, oversimplified beliefs that males and females, by virtue of their sex, possess distinct psychological traits and characteristics.<sup>33</sup>

Time and practicality limited the scope of this study. This thesis only examined coverage of women in the military in particular magazines during the period 1975-1985. It did not attempt to present a detailed historical overview of women's coverage. It only examined media coverage of women in the military and did not examine specific controversies surrounding their utilization.

This chapter is followed by a literature review which will examine literature pertinent to this study. This is followed by a chapter outlining the methodology used which describes, in detail, how the data was gathered. This is followed by background chapters on women in the military, media coverage of the military and of women, and the magazine industry, then by three chapters detailing signifi-

cant data and findings and a chapter which offers conclusions and a discussion of the findings.



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Mattie Treadwell, U.S. Army in World War II, Special Studies: The Women's Army Corps (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1954).

<sup>2</sup> Jeanne Holm, Women in the Military (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1982), p. 212.

<sup>3</sup> Gertrude Joch Robinson, "The Media and Social Change: Thirty Years of Magazine Coverage of Women and Work (1950-1977)," Atlantis 8 (Spring 1983): 9.

<sup>4</sup> Jean C. McNeil, "Imagery of Women in TV Drama: Some Procedural and Interpretive Issues," Journal of Broadcasting 19 (Summer 1975): 283-88; John F. Seggar, "Television's Portrayal of Minorities and Women, 1971-75," Journal of Broadcasting 21 (Fall 1977): 435-46; Atlantis 8 (Spring 1983): 87-111; L. Ann Geise, "The Female Role in Middle Class Women's Magazines from 1955-1976: A Content Analysis of Nonfiction Selection," Sex Roles 5 (February 1979): 51-62.

<sup>5</sup> S. Scott Whitlow, "Private Images Gatekeepers Bring to News of Public Women," Mass Comm Review (Winter 1978): 10-16.

<sup>6</sup> Roland E. Wolseley, Understanding Magazines (Ames: The Iowa State University Press, 1969), p. 231.

<sup>7</sup> Lieberman Research Inc., How & Why People Buy Magazines (New York: Publishers Clearing House, 1977), p. 29.

<sup>8</sup> Bill Katz and Linda Sternberg Katz, Magazines For Libraries (New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1982).

<sup>9</sup> A.J. vanZuilen, The Life Cycle of Magazines (Uithoorn, The Netherlands: Graduate Press, 1977), pp. 72-77.

- <sup>10</sup>Roland E. Wolseley, "Social Effects of Magazines," in Mass Media and Communication, ed. Charles S. Steinberg (New York: Hastings House, Publishers, 1972), p. 188.
- <sup>11</sup>Holm, p. xiv.
- <sup>12</sup>Martin Binkin and Shirley J. Bach, Women and the Military (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 1977), p. 5.
- <sup>13</sup>Holm, p. 212.
- <sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. xiv.
- <sup>15</sup>Helen Rogan, Mixed Company (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1981), p. 17.
- <sup>16</sup>Binkin and Bach, p. 25.
- <sup>17</sup>Steven H. Chaffee and Michael J. Petrick, Using the Mass Media (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1975), p. 89.
- <sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 94.
- <sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 111.
- <sup>20</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>21</sup>Gaye Tuchman, "Introduction: The Symbolic Annihilation of Women by the Mass Media," in Hearth and Home, eds. Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels, and James Benet (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 3-38.
- <sup>22</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>23</sup>Helen Franzwa, "Working Women in Fact and Fiction," Journal of Communication 24 (Spring 1974): 104-09.
- <sup>24</sup>McNeil, pp. 283-88.
- <sup>25</sup>Robinson, p. 9.
- <sup>26</sup>Giese, pp. 51-62 and Robinson, pp. 87-111.
- <sup>27</sup>Giese, pp. 51-62.
- <sup>28</sup>James Playsted Wood, Magazines in the United States (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1971), p. 15.
- <sup>29</sup>Wolseley, p. 231.

<sup>30</sup>Karen Heller, "Hot on the Press: Magazines That Are Making a Mint," Washington Journalism Review, April 1984, p. 26.

<sup>31</sup>Robert Root and Christine V. Root, "Magazines in the United States: Dying or Thriving?" Journalism Quarterly 41 (Spring 1964): 15.

<sup>32</sup>Dennis Holder, "The Decade of Specialization," Washington Journalism Review, November 1981, p. 28.

<sup>33</sup>Susan A. Basow, Sex Role Stereotypes: Traditions and Alternatives (Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1980), p. 6.

CHAPTER II  
LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is divided into four sections for the purpose of clarity and convenience: introduction; analysis of indexes and abstracts; analysis of books and articles; and conclusions.

Introduction

The literature collected during this literature search has been divided into five general categories for discussion in this chapter: women in the military; media coverage of the military; media coverage of women; magazines; and content analysis.

Because different publications were found to be more productive for different areas of this study, it is not possible to label only one or two as the most valuable.

Books were unquestionably the best source of information on content analysis. Books and journals were the best source on women in the military and media coverage of the military, while journals and magazines were of most help in locating literature on media coverage of women and magazines.

The Humanities Index and Communication Abstracts produced the most sources in all areas. Women's Studies Abstracts was extremely useful in locating literature about media coverage of women. And, the Index to Media Report to Women provided two sources invaluable to this study.

Although a laborious affair, the search of the tables of contents of Journal of Communication, Journal of Broadcasting and Columbia Journalism Review from January 1970 to April 1985 and Washington Journalism Review from October 1977 to April 1985 provided a wealth of material.

All literature cited in this chapter which was not personally owned was located in the Oviatt Library and the South Library of California State University, Northridge, the Journalism Library of California State University, Northridge, the University Research Library of the University of California, Los Angeles, and the Ventura County Library in Simi Valley, California.

#### Analysis of Sources

##### Indexes

Overall the Humanities Index, which is a quarterly and cumulative listing of articles addressing social and cultural activities, was the most useful index for this study, yielding the largest quantity of literature. This

is a particularly strong source of literature for subjects dealing with the mass media and women.

Literature pertinent to this study was found under the following subject headings: mass media; government and the press; journalism; periodicals; United States Department of Defense - press relations; reporters and reporting; journalism and politics; servicewomen; and women in the media. The dates searched were 1974 (the inception of the Humanities Index) to December 1984.

Social Sciences and Humanities Index once included the Humanities Index and Social Sciences Index as one reference. It consequently was helpful for locating older material. The same subject headings utilized with the Humanities Index were used in this case. Dates searched were March 1971 to August 1976 (the date it ceased publication).

Journalism Quarterly Index has been published in three volumes which cover the journal's entire publication: Volume I - 1924 to 1963; Volume II - 1964-1973; and Volume III - 1974 to 1983. All articles published in Journalism Quarterly are listed by author and subject. It was a valuable resource for this study, particularly within the fields of media coverage of the military (World War II, Korea and Vietnam) and media coverage of women.

The topic areas searched within this index were: content analysis; criticism and defense of media; freedom

of the press; magazines; war and the press; public relations; and press and society.

Resources in Education (ERIC), published monthly and annually, is an index to information on a wide variety of topics as reported within an educational framework. As such it is an excellent resource. Subject areas searched included women's studies, periodicals, media appraisal, media bias, media research, media government relationship, media roles, press opinion, press role and military. Dates searched were January 1970 to December 1984.

The Los Angeles Times Index, New York Times Index and the Wall Street Journal Index were searched from January 1970 to February 1985. Although all three indexes yielded articles on magazines, the overall results were sparse. Subject areas searched were: journalism; press; news and news media; mass media; magazines; women; and armed services.

Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature is a semi-monthly, monthly and annual index of articles in popular United States periodicals. Articles are indexed by author, subject or title, and are of a general nature. Categories are broad and although of use to locate data for analysis in the thesis itself, it did not provide much assistance in the gathering of literature for this study.

Subject areas searched were: servicewomen; mass media; press; journalism; military; women; women's maga-

zines; and men's magazines. Titles of the 28 individual magazines utilized for this study were also searched. Dates searched were July 1970 to December 1984.

The Magazine Index is a microfilm subject index to a wide variety of both popular and technical periodicals. Similar to Reader's Guide, this index offers articles of a popular nature. Updated monthly, it offers periodical listings covering the past five years (February 1980 to June 1985). As it is an excellent source for current information and conveniently packaged, it is a good starting point. As with Reader's Guide, however, it was of little help in the literature search yielding only one useable source.

Subject areas searched were: women in the military, United States military; media; mass media; journalism; periodicals; magazines; women's magazines; and women.

The Popular Periodical Index, which supplements Reader's Guide by listing periodicals not indexed there, was searched from 1973 to June 1984. However, only one article relevant to this study was located. Subject areas searched were: women; military; mass media; journalism; servicewomen; and periodicals.

Similarly, utilizing the subject headings news reporting and print - magazines, a search of Topicator from 1973 through 1985 yielded two articles on the media's coverage of the military.



Public Affairs Information Service (P.A.I.S.) is a subject listing of books, pamphlets, articles and government documents within the areas of political science, economics, law and public affairs. It addresses specific aspects of the broader topics and is a particularly strong source for literature dealing with the government; however it is a very selective index, preferring to concentrate on controversial issues. Although it was expected that it would provide a large quantity of information on the military and journalism, it was surprisingly lacking. Two articles were located through this index which were relevant to this study.

Subject areas searched were: mass media; press; journalism; periodicals; government and the press; women's periodicals; reporters and reporting; service women; United States - military policy: press coverage; and women. Dates searched were from October 1965 to December 1984.

Business Periodicals Index, a monthly and annual index of business periodicals, was helpful in defining advertising trends, marketing and financial status of the magazine industry, and provided excellent source material on specific magazines. Generally it was useful as it indexes several journalistic publications not found elsewhere, such as Editor & Publisher. The many magazine

articles located through this index were instrumental to the study.

Topic areas searched included servicewomen, periodicals, men's periodicals, women's periodicals, black periodicals, women, mass media, and the 28 individual magazine titles utilized in this study. Dates searched were from 1970 to March 1985.

Similar to the Magazine Index, but concentrating on business periodicals, is the Business Index. It is a microfilm subject index which covers a three year period (January 1982 to March 1985). Topic areas searched were identical to those in the Business Periodicals Index. As it indexed one source (Advertising Age) which produced a wealth of information on magazines, it was very useful.

Index to Media Report to Women is published in both annual and cumulative five-year editions (1972-1976 and 1977-1981). Articles, which are indexed by subject, encompass widely diverse subject matter. It was an excellent tool for locating vital material about women in the media and women in the military not listed elsewhere.

Topic areas searched were: advertising; language usage; media change - portrayal; media philosophy; books noted; stereotyping; discrimination; magazines; options; working women; women's issues; and ridicule of women by media. Dates searched were from 1972 to 1984.

Several other indexes which were presumed to be of importance to this study were searched without productive results: Access (1977-84 under topic areas: women in the military; media; mass media; and periodicals); Bibliographic Index (January 1974-August 1984 under topic areas: military; mass media; periodicals; press; and the armed forces in mass media); Alternative Press Index (1975-84 under topic areas: periodicals; women media image; black media image; sexism in the media; and racism in the media).

#### Abstracts

Communication Abstracts, a listing of scholarly works within the mass communication field, is indexed by both subject and author and offers a brief abstract with each citation. It is an excellent source with specific subject categories not found elsewhere such as media stereotypes and media coverage. It also provides valuable literature on research methodologies. Communication Abstracts provided a wealth of literature for this study.

Literature pertinent to this study was located under the following subject headings: media stereotypes; content analysis; media coverage; press coverage; military; magazines; women; women and the media; and women's representation. This abstract was searched from January 1978, when it began, through December 1984.

Women's Studies Abstracts also proved to be an invaluable assistance in this research. It is a quarterly listing of scholarly works, conference reports and books dealing with all aspects of information dealing with women to include social, physical and psychological evaluations.

Subject areas searched were: United States military; military; soldiers/sailors; media stereotypes; women's representation; and magazines. Dates searched were from 1977 (its inception) to September 1984.

The "Articles on Mass Communication" section of Journalism Quarterly was another excellent resource being extremely useful in locating a number of key articles. This section, included at the back of the journal, provides a subject listing of current articles within various media-related areas. Topic areas of particular assistance were the "magazine" and "women and the media" categories. Dates searched were 1970 to Summer 1984.

Journalism Abstracts is an annual listing of mass communication-related master's theses and doctoral dissertations. The research is listed under broad major headings. This is an excellent resource for locating research not listed elsewhere. Several works were located through this abstract which, upon examination, were not particularly useful. However, it did produce one thesis that was of assistance.

Subject areas searched were: women and media content; content analysis; magazines; military; government and the press; special minorities; criticism and defense of the press; and miscellaneous. This source was searched from 1963 to 1983.

Several other abstracts were utilized for this research with no productive results: Dissertation Abstracts International (1973-80); Studies on Women Abstracts (from its inception in 1983 to April 1985); and Sociological Abstracts (1970-April 1985).

This literature search was completed without undue problems. Most sources were located with ease, the major problem being the lack of scholarly material published about the media's relationship with the military in several fields. As will be further discussed, much of that material was too specific to provide the broad overview that was needed.

### Analysis of Literature

#### Women in the Military

It is well documented that women have served in the United States military since this country's inception (albeit sometimes illegally). Within the past four decades, both the numbers and roles have increased dramatically. In order to more fully understand the complex issues and controversies involved in a study of women in

the armed forces, it is important to have a solid basis of information from which to draw. It is imperative, therefore, that prior to conducting research and formulating conclusions about the media's image of women in the military, there must be an understanding not only of the history of the force, but its composition and problems as well.

Three sources trace the history of women's service that is essential to this thesis as background. Mattie Treadwell's 1954 history of the Women's Army Corps is the definitive sourcebook for study of women in the military and is cited in nearly every other research work in this field.<sup>1</sup> It traces women's integration into the military and probes their utilization, problems, training, and service through World War II. It is an invaluable tool for this research offering particularly candid insights.

Likewise, Jeanne Holm's 1982 review of women in the military is important not only because she was the highest ranking woman in Air Force history prior to her retirement, but also as an update on women's integration into the military since World War II.<sup>2</sup> By placing military changes within the context of society, the book also sparks debate on current issues affecting military women.

And, finally, Linda Hewitt's 1974 history of women's service in the Marine Corps provides information which adds to the historical foundation of this subject.<sup>3</sup>

Several sources discuss women's current status in the military and examine problems faced in the integrated services. The first of these is Helen Rogan's examination of current military life, which is a realistic appraisal with insights gained as a result of the author's study of enlisted women in basic training and the women cadets at West Point.<sup>4</sup> Because it is a gritty, realistic portrait from the viewpoint of the soldier in the trenches rather than from an authoritarian figure, it is especially useful.

Similarly, Michael Rustand's book studying current conditions at an American Army base in West Germany attempts to describe both problems experienced by the American forces as well as the additional problem for women in an all-male society, paralleling the focus of this thesis.<sup>5</sup> The author's anti-military bias is somewhat disconcerting; however, it does not negate the value of his research.

Martin Binkin and Shirley Bach's 1977 book, published by The Brookings Institute, provides an excellent discussion of women's place within a military organization and examines institutional attitudes, economic opportunities, effectiveness and assessment for increased utilization.<sup>6</sup> As with the Rogan and Rustand books, it is particularly important to this study as it examines the same process (integration) and the same time frame.

With a similar theme, the Department of the Army's Women in the Army Policy Review analyzes policies as they relate to the Army mission, capability and utilization of females.<sup>7</sup> This has significance as it formed the basis of drastic policy changes affecting the military organization which are still in the process of implementation. It is useful for background as it explains the military viewpoint on women in the service.

Two other studies focus on utilization and performance of women in the military. Mady Wechsler Segal's 1978 article on the policies instituted as a result of women's expansion into non-traditional roles is particularly useful for its examination of the types of women drawn to military service.<sup>8</sup>

Likewise, Jack M. Hicks' 1978 article on the utilization of women in the Army, is useful for its information about the motivations of women who join the Army.<sup>9</sup>

For a current official update on women's role within the military, a Department of Defense study is especially useful.<sup>10</sup> Its primary strength is as a statistical background on which to evaluate other data and information about women's status.

John Woelfel's 1981 article focuses on two studies used extensively to determine United States Army policy on women and their integration into previously all-male environments and non-traditional roles.<sup>11</sup> Along with Janice



Yoder's 1983 counter-opinion, it offers an excellent discussion of stereotypical attitudes.<sup>12</sup> These are two good sources.

Several other studies also discuss women in the military in conjunction with changing roles in society and are directly related to this research.

Quite a few recent studies are devoted to an examination of the integration of women into the military through a focus on the military service academies which began admitting women in 1976. Harold Cheatham's article finds a positive change in male attitudes and perceptions to women through 1983 at the Coast Guard Academy.<sup>13</sup> Jerome Adams' study of West Point produces similar results, but also examines the personality characteristics of all applicants to determine correlations of certain leadership and aggression traits between men and women applicants.<sup>14</sup> As both studies specifically address stereotypical language and sex-roles, they are useful not only for their findings, but their methodologies as well.

Three other studies of the military academies provide a more in-depth look at the first women who were admitted. Robert F. Priest, in a study of West Point, described the changes made to implement the policy admitting women. His study is of primary value for its discussion of the socio-economic backgrounds of the women who entered the academy in 1976.<sup>15</sup> Kathleen P. Durning's study of the Naval

Academy<sup>16</sup> and Myrna Rottman's examination of the Coast Guard Academy<sup>17</sup> also contribute to the knowledge about the types of women entering those academies. As much of the data used in this thesis focuses on the admission of women to the military academies, these articles serve as background upon which to judge the coverage.

Nancy Goldman links the changing role of military women to changing definitions of military roles and women's societal roles.<sup>18</sup> Although it is limited in that it is based primarily on interviews and research of only 64 women officers, its discussion of the military's relationship with its surrounding population is of importance because it presents societal attitudes reflected in this study.

Cynthia Enloe's 1983 article presents the results of the Amsterdam conference on the conditions and status of women in other NATO countries.<sup>19</sup> It is useful as a comparative tool in the study of United States military women as it delineates different roles and perceptions held by different societies.

Another article on that same conference by Jennifer Tiffany seemingly distorts the purpose of the conference by turning it into a platform for peace.<sup>20</sup> The article is subject to unsubstantiated conjecture and uses reverse sex discrimination. Its value to this study lies in its oppo-

site viewpoint--its contrast to other sources used in this study.

The women veterans' neglect by both the government and the public is reviewed in June Willenz's 1983 book.<sup>21</sup> It is valuable not only as a background on the more than one million women vets in this country, but as this issue has evolved into a problem of enormous magnitude for women in the military, it was expected that the subject would be addressed in the data used for this research.

A comparative tool to be used with Willenz's book is Mark Russell's 1983 demographic analysis of the woman veteran.<sup>22</sup> It is useful as a statistical background for the evaluation of other data.

Finally, Robert Rafferty's 1980 book on military careers is decidedly pro-military, but it does discuss stereotypes and prejudices women entering the service may face.<sup>23</sup> It is therefore specifically relevant to this study.

#### Media Coverage of the Military

Americans rely on the press to explain and interpret their vast and technical defense organization. Their perceptions and images of the military are formed on the basis of press coverage. Thus, it is essential to have a solid understanding of the relationship between the two organizations and to be familiar with any inherent problems that may interfere with the communication process.

Clearly, research questions of this thesis could not be formulated nor hypotheses tested without such knowledge.

First, David R. Segal's exploration of the flow of military information to the public stresses the importance of the media's role and thus reinforces the need for this study which examines media images.<sup>24</sup>

A history of the press' coverage of the military is necessary as a foundation on which to evaluate current reporting. Several sources combine to provide such a history.

Because it examines war correspondents from Crimea to Vietnam and thus examines the coverage of war, Phillip Knightley's 1975 book is an excellent resource.<sup>25</sup> Further, the British author's objective review of American coverage makes this the best source for an overview of the military-media relationship.

The American Council on Public Affairs' 1943 book, Journalism in Wartime, is dated, but it does present a look at censorship and coverage of World War II's Pacific and European campaigns and provides an analysis of perceptions of both public and press responsibilities in war coverage during that period.<sup>26</sup> It is important as it allows for comparison of the press' feelings about responsibility with later periods of conflict.

Another look at World War II era coverage is offered in Mervin Zook's 1971 study of United States magazine cov-

erage of World War II objectors.<sup>27</sup> It documents that although the press generally supported the war effort, reporters did not treat the objector unfairly; again it is useful as a comparative analysis for later war coverage.

James Aronson's 1970 book presents an in-depth examination of press coverage of the Korean War.<sup>28</sup> Because it presents a critical analysis of the shift in press support from wholly supportive to antagonistic, it sets the stage for examination of the Vietnam War coverage.

Leonard Zeidenberg's 1977 article presents an overview of the problems associated with Vietnam coverage.<sup>29</sup> Combined with Edwin Emery's 1971 analysis, it is excellent for its broad perspective.<sup>30</sup> Both articles discuss the press' relationship with the military during that period.

Three critical evaluations of media coverage of the Vietnam War are offered by Charles Mohr,<sup>31</sup> DeWayne Johnson<sup>32</sup> and Oscar Patterson III.<sup>33</sup> As press coverage of the Vietnam conflict has been the subject of much controversy and has influenced reporting to the present, these articles are useful not only for their historical perspective, but as an aid in understanding and interpreting coverage.

Similarly, two other studies profile coverage of two conflicting viewpoints. Stuart Showalter's 1976 article examines coverage of the Vietnam conscientious objector<sup>34</sup> and Oscar Patterson's 1982 article looks at coverage of

the Vietnam era veteran.<sup>35</sup> Combined, these articles provide a comment on fairness of press reporting in light of supposed anti-military, anti-Vietnam reputation.

Finally, two articles on the Grenada invasion complete the review of press coverage of military during periods of crisis and serve as an up-to-date commentary on current relations between the military and the press. Richard Halloran's article gives a very broad overview of the incident and of the problems occurring as a result.<sup>36</sup> And, C.S. Stepp's article discusses the public outcry against the press after the invasion and the seemingly anti-press atmosphere in America.<sup>37</sup> This information is useful since current media attitudes regarding the military were predicated upon actions there.

Several sources were of use for their exploration of the Pentagon's efforts to deal with the press and problems associated with military reporting in general.

J.W. Fulbright's 1970 book provides an in-depth examination of the Defense Department's public relations activities which shows how it interacts with various agencies and the press to influence public opinion.<sup>38</sup> This is an excellent background source for study of the military's utilization of the media and thus is important to this study.

Similarly, James Clotfelter's 1973 book discusses the correlation between media coverage of the military and

public opinion.<sup>39</sup> This is particularly valuable as it shows the media impact upon society's perceptions of the military--a basic tenet of this research.

Written in the aftermath of the Falkland Islands War, Alan Hooper's 1982 book discusses the military-media relationship from a broad perspective rather than focusing on crisis reporting which is particularly applicable to this study.<sup>40</sup> It presents a look at both viewpoints that is useful for an insight into problems of military coverage.

Steven Chaffee and Michael Petrick's book, likewise, explains the problems of coverage.<sup>41</sup> It presents an excellent discussion of the reasons behind the two organizations' mistrust for one another which affects press coverage of military topics. For that reason, it is a valuable resource.

A study of the history and the problems of military coverage allows a better understanding of current perceptions held by both the press corps and the military--perceptions which can impact upon coverage. Several studies have attempted to document attitudes of those involved.

An outstanding starting point for the study of current attitudes is Donald Atwell Zoll's 1984 Parameters article.<sup>42</sup> It succinctly summarizes both military and media perceptions of the relationship they share and does a good job of analyzing the distrust present on both

sides. As military perceptions of the media are uncommon, this source is noteworthy.

Another current examination of military-media relations is based on a recent task force study of the problems. Peter Braestrup's 1985 Quill article does an excellent job outlining fundamental differences in the journalistic and military professions.<sup>43</sup> It was particularly helpful in understanding press interests expected to be reflected in the data used in this study.

Two articles discuss how members of the military feel about the press although on a much more limited basis. James Clotfelter and B.G. Peter's 1974 article surveyed 153 United States Army officers for their opinions of media fairness in the reporting of military news,<sup>44</sup> while Jack Orwant and John Ullman researched Pentagon officers' attitudes on media credibility.<sup>45</sup> Both articles serve to point out military perceptions of the press.

Two articles examine the military public affairs officer--the link between the military and the press. The first is James Fletcher and Philip Soucy's 1983 article which looks at the perceptions of public affairs officers by the press and the military.<sup>46</sup> Because the public affairs officers play an important role in the relationship of the press to the military, perceptions are important. Since much of the press' military information (to include data utilized in this study) is funneled through



public affairs officers, their perceived reliability and credibility may impact upon press treatment of military stories.

Finally, Fred Reed's article details the problems faced by the public affairs officers and further demonstrates distrust of each organization to one another.<sup>47</sup> With the other articles on perceptions, it provides insight into current attitudes of the two groups toward each other. Its primary use in this study, however, was to explain limitations of current journalists who cover the military, information which was useful in the background chapter of this study.

#### Media Coverage of Women

The media are the arena of social change. As the transmitters of not only news and information, but culture and social heritage, the media have a tremendous impact upon our national life. Images of society presented within the media are important for they become our cultural standards. So it is with the media's portrayal of women. In order to fully understand the media's coverage of women in the military, it is essential that there first be an understanding of the media's coverage of women in general and a sense of how that presentation has changed over time, if at all.

Three good sources which summarize research on the image of women in all mass media are also a good chronicle

of trends of coverage. Linda Busby's 1975 review is quite comprehensive.<sup>48</sup> Karen and Sonja Foss' 1983 article presents information published in speech communication journals only; however, it does list more current research.<sup>49</sup> Matilda Butler and William Paisley's 1980 book discusses research findings in media advertising, programming and print.<sup>50</sup> It has helpful chapters on sexism in image and language and includes an extensive bibliography. All three sources review women's portrayal in women's magazines which is especially relevant to this study.

Unquestionably the single best source in a rather mediocre field of study of the media's treatment of women is Hearth and Home.<sup>51</sup> It is an excellent resource book offering a number of fascinating and penetrating looks at women's portrayal in the mass media. Published in 1978, it is already outdated; however, it is still an important resource and probably the place to begin research within this field.

Gaye Tuchman's introduction to Hearth and Home provides an excellent overview of women's representation in the media and does a fine job of denoting how mass media act as an agent of socialization through a discussion of both the reflective theory and the principle of symbolic annihilation.<sup>52</sup> These concepts are important as they explain the impact of media images, which are particularly

important to this study since the average American has little contact with military women.

UNESCO's purpose is to assess which aspects of women's media roles have been a frequent or neglected focus of research.<sup>53</sup> It provides a good overview of radio, television, film and the press that through its socio-economic analysis, pinpoints the need for studies of this type.

Caryl Rivers' 1985 article, which explains how myths and suppositions about women are interpreted as fact solely on the basis of the media's word, is particularly useful as background information in this study.<sup>54</sup> Because so few people have direct contact with military women, images the media present will be accepted as fact.

An excellent source, although somewhat difficult to follow, is Gertrude Robinson's 1983 article which covers the entire spectrum of the issue of media's influence upon society through research of women's work patterns and portrayals of that work by the media.<sup>55</sup> Robinson's contention that the media have not kept pace with society in the presentation of women's work is particularly relevant to this study, which examines women's work in the non-traditional fields in magazines.

Similarly, Josephine Ruggiero and Louise Weston's 1985 article examines the work options for women as presented in "established" vs. "new" magazines.<sup>56</sup> It is

important for its look at media presentations of women who work and for its discussion of the range of women's magazines.

S. Scott Whitlow's attempt to identify patterns of sex-role images and stereotypes held by newspaper staff personnel which might account for stereotyped coverage of women's roles is also especially relevant.<sup>57</sup> One aspect of this study will be to look at the authors of the data; therefore it is important to understand that their stereotyped beliefs could be reflected in the presentation of the material.

Television is the dominant medium in America, thus the manner in which it portrays women is especially important. Magazine and television audiences overlap somewhat and both reflect and reinforce our culture. Television's "live action" aspect, however, combined with its ability to present images to a widely diverse population, increases its impact. For the purposes of this study, it is important to understand what its women's image is and to discern if it is consistent with other influential media in America, particularly the magazine. Several studies have examined this presentation.

An article by Jean McNeil discusses the overall principles involved in the analysis of complex latent messages in television drama.<sup>58</sup> It was particularly useful as it led to increased awareness of subtle language used within

the media and thus contributed to the broad design concept of this study.

Judith Lemon's study of dominance patterns on prime-time television is valuable for its comment on societal stereotypes particularly as applied to work.<sup>59</sup> Her study presented values assigned to different kinds of women's work which is especially relevant to this study of women in non-traditional roles.

Helen Baehr's 1980 study of television's presentation of the liberated woman in drama discusses the non-traditional woman's portrayal versus that of the traditional homemaker.<sup>60</sup> This is one of the few articles that specifically examine the role of the non-traditional woman.

Several studies have presented an analysis of "minority" images on television which compare the coverage, sexual and racial: Judith Lemon's 1977 article;<sup>61</sup> John Seggar's 1977 article covering four years of programming;<sup>62</sup> Seggar's 1975 article discussing ethnicity in the female role;<sup>63</sup> and Seggar and P. Wheeler's study of ethnic and sex representation relative to television presentation of work roles.<sup>64</sup> These articles are useful in analyzing the minority women's image in this study which is particularly important since minority women constitute such a large segment of the military's population.

Jean McNeil's 1975 article was designed to determine what prime-time series programs presented as the prevalent roles and status of women in society.<sup>65</sup> It is excellent for its discussion of stereotypes and sex-roles, and provides a good model of a content analysis relevant to this research.

Deborah Haskell also investigated the image of the contemporary American woman on television.<sup>66</sup> Her findings, which indicate that women increasingly are being depicted in less stereotyped ways, are useful as they show that a shift is taking place. As this thesis examines data over time, a study of changing images is of value.

Marilyn J. Matelski's 1985 examination of women's public television images found stereotypes present throughout the programming and provided a current analysis of that medium with which to evaluate the data.<sup>67</sup>

Alice Courtney and Thomas Whipple's comparison of four studies of women in television commercials was particularly useful in formation of the broad design of the methodology since it contained an informative discussion of content analysis research relative to sex roles.<sup>68</sup>

Because this thesis also looks at photographs and illustrations used to accompany the research material, two studies which focused on this topic are important. Susan Miller's article on the content of news photos is useful

for its discussion of the news worth of women in a print medium and the play of photos.<sup>69</sup>

Marjorie Ferguson's study of women's magazine cover photos finds that photos convey several layers of meaning to the observer, thus reinforcing the understanding of what being "female" is.<sup>70</sup> It is important also for its explanation of the relative worth of cover play.

The only article to specifically address women's image in news magazines is Mary L. Matthews and Carol Reuss' 1985 study of photographs within Time and Newsweek. This is an excellent source particularly as this thesis also studies these two magazines.<sup>71</sup>

When combined, six articles present a comprehensive examination of the portrayal of working women by magazines. Considered in totality, these articles represent the working women's images within this medium and, although they do not specifically examine the non-traditional role, they provide a strong background on which to formulate research questions. The articles are: Peter Clarke and Virginia Esposito's study of occupational advice;<sup>72</sup> Helen Franzwa's 1974 study of women's magazine fiction;<sup>73</sup> Carol Ruth Newkirk's 1977 study of women's magazine non-fiction roles;<sup>74</sup> L.A. Geise's 1979 content analysis of non-fiction from 1955 to 1976;<sup>75</sup> Nona Glazer's 1980 examination of the "superwoman" figure;<sup>76</sup> and Susan Henry's 1984 research on the interaction between

employment and family lives in women's magazines from 1975 to 1982.<sup>77</sup>

Finally, Sheila Hogan Mulcahy's 1980 thesis which examines female images in women's and general interest magazine advertising from 1905-1970 is helpful not only because it focuses on magazines similar to those used in this study, but also because it looks at sex-roles and stereotypical images within a content analysis framework.<sup>78</sup>

#### Magazines

Whether seen as a reflection of societal norms and values, as a confirmation of cultural norms, or as a shaper of public opinion, there is no contesting that magazines have an important impact upon this nation. Before any research questions can be formed about the content of magazines, it is necessary to have a thorough understanding of the magazine industry in general as well as a basic familiarity with specific magazines under study.

A.J. vanZuilen's 1977 book provides a good overview of the history of general interest magazines in the United States and offers insight into the problems they encountered upon the advent of television.<sup>79</sup> It also offers an in-depth analysis of the economic and business aspects of magazine publishing that is helpful in understanding the



industry. A 15-page bibliography covering the entire spectrum of the mass communication industry is excellent.

An excellent textbook on the magazine industry is Roland Wolseley's 1969 book, Understanding Magazines, which presents a detailed examination of all aspects of the medium from writing to editing.<sup>80</sup> It is an authoritative sourcebook good for background and provides an excellent introduction to the field. It includes a comprehensive 17-page magazine glossary.

Theodore Peterson's book relates the history of popular magazines since the late-nineteenth century which is helpful in understanding the various periods within its growth and its effect upon society.<sup>81</sup> It focuses on current trends although it is somewhat dated.

In one of three articles which examine the trend toward specialization within the magazine industry, B.M. Compaigne profiles the changes in society that have produced this trend.<sup>82</sup> As the industry has been inundated with special-interest magazines, several of which are used in this study, all information about this phenomenon is useful.

James Ford's 1969 book is devoted to the study of the specialized magazine both in general and by "type."<sup>83</sup> As with Compaigne's article, its use in the understanding of the various specialized magazines used for this research is invaluable.

Dennis Holder's article is most useful as an update of Ford's book; however, its examination of magazines in relation to the emergence of cable television is useful as background information on the magazine industry itself.<sup>84</sup>

A good source for the examination of magazine social effects is Roland Wolseley's 1972 article.<sup>85</sup> It is important to understand their impact so as to better evaluate research findings in terms of the magazine's message to their audiences. Wolseley's 1977 article examines social effects of the specialized magazines which is of particular relevance to this study.<sup>86</sup> As it was expected that different magazines and "types" of magazines would have different effects on their audiences, this review provides relevant information to this research.

Bill and Linda Katz's Magazines for Libraries is an invaluable asset to this study.<sup>87</sup> Not only does it provide an objective overview of each category of magazine, it gives a concise history of each magazine to include its philosophical slant. It also provides current circulation figures. It is an excellent way to become familiar with individual periodicals.

There are numerous sources which provide a close-up look at individual magazines. Karen Heller's excellent article gives a succinct review of magazine audiences through the 1970s and 1970s and details changes in edi-

torial content of specific magazines.<sup>88</sup> It is a current review of trends within the industry.

An examination of the editorial content of Ebony magazine in 1967 and 1974 is the subject of J.W. Clark's 1975 study.<sup>89</sup> Although this was a period of social upheaval, the fact that Ebony did not change its editorial content is important to the understanding of the magazine.

An article in the magazine Madison Avenue does a good job profiling both Ebony and its readers.<sup>90</sup> It is an in-depth profile which charts the magazine's direction of growth.

Earl G. Graves discusses his magazine, Black Enterprise, upon its 14th anniversary in a 1984 article.<sup>91</sup> Its focus on goals and audience is enlightening.

Several articles provide information about the general interest magazines used in this study. Chris Welles profiles Life and Look and examines their search for an audience in light of television's emergence.<sup>92</sup> Two articles about Life describe the magazine's redesigned format as well as its philosophy since it resumed publication. Ira Ellenthal's 1982 article enunciates the magazine's goals<sup>93</sup> and Eliot DeY. Schein's<sup>94</sup> examines its format.

James Horwitz's 1980 article is excellent as it offers a comprehensive study of People.<sup>95</sup> It not only

looks at the magazine's readership, format and philosophies, but examines the daily operation as well.

A more recent article about People by Martha Nolan discusses the importance of their covers and notes the trend toward more news-oriented images.<sup>96</sup>

A 1982 article by Charlene Canape does a good job describing the increasing importance of national and world affairs in Esquire and the New York Times Magazine.<sup>97</sup> As the data used in this study falls into that category, this article is especially noteworthy.

Two other articles are also helpful as background information about Esquire, one of the magazines used in this study. The first, Bill Thomas' 1984 article, provides an overview of the changing content of men's magazines by focusing on Esquire's recent revisions.<sup>98</sup> Susan Harrigan's article profiles the two men responsible for the magazine, and in so doing, examines the philosophies which guide it.<sup>99</sup>

David Shaw's two part article on Time and Newsweek is the best of several sources on those magazines. It is exhaustingly thorough and does an excellent job of detailing the differences between the two.<sup>100</sup>

The 1984 article about the Progressive was written by its editor.<sup>101</sup> Although it is not an objective appraisal, it does present the political ideologies and direction of the magazine.

The best and most recent examination of U.S. News & World Report comes from Tom McNichol and Margaret Carlson.<sup>102</sup> The authors provide an in-depth look at the magazine and the changes in both design and editorial content under new ownership.

A good article that discusses Essence's beginnings and its changes as it developed its editorial policy is provided by Audrey Edwards.<sup>103</sup> It also analyzes its readership and pinpoints its direction.

Marilyn Abbey's 1981 article contrasts Glamour, Mademoiselle and Vogue by examining their editorial content and audience.<sup>104</sup> It also provides a good overview of the entire fashion magazine genre.

A closer look at Glamour is offered in Ira Ellenthal's 1982 article.<sup>105</sup> Although it is primarily a profile of Ruth Whitney, Glamour's editor-in-chief, it does offer insight into magazine content.

Another successful magazine, McCall's, is examined in Cecelia Reed's 1984 article.<sup>106</sup> It is particularly useful as it focuses on the changing editorial content of the magazine as it tries to reach new readers.

Gloria Steinem's appraisal of Ms. magazine on its tenth anniversary is the subject of Reven Uihlein's article.<sup>107</sup> It provides a good examination of the magazine's history, its objectives, its readership and changes in direction of the editorial content.

Another excellent article is Madison Avenue's 1983 profile of Redbook magazine.<sup>108</sup> It does a good job distinguishing Redbook from its nearest competitors by closely examining its readership demographics. There is also a good discussion of changes planned for the magazine.

Madison Avenue does a similarly outstanding job of describing Woman's Day.<sup>109</sup> Like the previous article, this one profiles readership and discusses recent changes within the magazine.

Mary McCabe English's article on Seventeen offers a good analysis of that magazine by spotlighting changes and trends that have kept it current.<sup>110</sup>

Stuart Emmrich offers the best of several analyses of Working Woman.<sup>111</sup> In this article, he focuses on the magazine's history, changes that resulted from its financial problems, and its audience.

And, finally, two sources offer insights into women's magazines in general. Joanne Cleaver's 1982 article does a good job chronicling the recent changes in content and style of the "seven sisters."<sup>112</sup> Marjorie Ferguson's 1983 book is an excellent resource as it provides an in-depth analysis of women's magazines in general as well as discussing their social importance.<sup>113</sup> As women's magazines comprise almost half of the magazines to be examined in this thesis, it is essential that the

differences in individual magazines and trends within the group be fully understood.

In addition, two other sources were used to gain a familiarity with specialized magazines used in this study. Advertising Age looks at the growing interest in science which has spawned several science magazines. Of particular interest to this study is the article's focus on Omni, differentiating it from its competitors.<sup>114</sup>

Last in this review of magazines is David W. Freeman's 1984 profile of Psychology Today which is strongest in its discussion of the recent changes in both editorial and design.<sup>115</sup>

#### Content Analysis

Obviously, it is imperative that before any research is undertaken, there be a complete understanding of the methodology to be utilized. Sources located tended to concentrate on quantitative rather than qualitative methods. However, since the methods have similar characteristics, sources on both are useful.

Bernard Berelson, the undisputed authority on content analysis, provides an in-depth examination of the subject in his 1971 book.<sup>116</sup> The book explains the procedures and problems associated with this research method and contains one chapter devoted to qualitative analysis. Berelson's is a sound, fundamental approach to this method which is easily understood, in contrast with many other sources.

It contains an excellent bibliography of material published prior to 1970.

An excellent description of qualitative content analysis which discusses appropriate occasions for its use is provided by Siegfried Kracauer.<sup>117</sup> This is unquestionably the authoritative reference for this research method.

Klaus Krippendorff's 1980 book offers a comprehensive discussion of the key elements of content analysis.<sup>118</sup> It provides a good introduction to the subject with a fairly current bibliography that is useful.

An excellent resource for the beginning researcher is Richard Budd, Robert Thorp and Lewis Donohew's 1967 book which discusses the step-by-step process involved in conducting research.<sup>119</sup> One limitation to this study is that it does not directly discuss qualitative methods, although a comparison of the two methods is found in Budd and Thorp's 1963 handbook.<sup>120</sup> The handbook is helpful in providing an overview that is useful as a general introduction to study. The former has an extensive annotated bibliography which focuses on media studies.

Another source providing a good general overview of content analysis is John Bower's 1970 book.<sup>121</sup> It is written in simple language to be used as a guide to the research method. The many samples of content analyses included aid understanding.



Susan Greendale and Eric Fredin's 1977 study discusses public interest concerns and newspaper issues with descriptions of content analysis for use in mass communication research.<sup>122</sup> It is particularly helpful for its practical approach rather than just a mere discussion of theoretical approaches.

A strong "how to" source on content analysis is Thomas Carney's 1972 book.<sup>123</sup> It does a good job of addressing the limitations and advantages of content analysis.

Two other sources, which primarily discuss quantitative content analysis, do give a summary of the differences between the two methods. They are Alexander L. George's 1959 article<sup>124</sup> and Ole Holsti's 1969 book.<sup>125</sup> With the other sources mentioned, they provide justification for the use of qualitative analysis.

### Conclusions

The literature searched for this study had weaknesses in several areas. Overall, relatively little research had been completed in this field. This is, of course, partly the reason that this study was undertaken.

Several books and scholarly articles published within the last few years greatly enhanced the scope of literature regarding women in the military. Sex Roles and Armed Forces and Society are excellent journals which provided

current information vital to this research. No recent research had been conducted on the military woman's portrayal by the media. Because this is a topic of relatively recent interest, diversified scholarly information was not currently available in sufficient quantities.

Similarly, although women's media image has been the subject of scholarly study since the 30s, the bulk of research is fairly recent. Many studies coincided with the start of the feminist movement in the mid-60s and considerable research was continued through the mid-70s. Research has focused on the entire media spectrum to include magazines, television, cartoons and advertisements with a large portion of the literature devoted to the study of women's social status relative to men and minority groups and women and work options.

Generally the work is quite comprehensive and of a high quality, however considerably less research has been conducted on women's media image within the last five years. Because of this, there are wide gaps in the knowledge. Studies of television images are particularly lacking since the 70s. Apparent progress has been made within this field since the bulk of the research was conducted; however, little empirical material is available.

Magazines, especially women's magazines, continue to be the subject of study especially as is applicable to

women's work options. Those that have appeared within recent years are quite good.

In light of changes which have taken place within society in the last decade, updated research needs to be conducted within most areas to see if the media have expanded their presentations of women.

Literature dealing with the broad subject of the media's coverage of the military was sparse at best. The great majority of the literature concentrated on crisis or scandal. With few exceptions, literature utilized concentrated on a specific era or event, such as the Vietnam War or the Grenada invasion, and much of that projects an obvious journalistic viewpoint. This was useful as it provided perspectives on trends, but an objective examination of the military-press relationship, which could document fluctuations in both cooperation and coverage, would add immeasurably to the field. There is virtually no examination of military women's media image within these studies.

Surprisingly, there were serious weaknesses within the field of magazine research as well. Books were of the most help for the general overview, but many were quite old with outdated information and none had kept pace with the changing magazine industry.

Several recent articles were available which examined the trend toward magazine specialization, but they are not

as comprehensive as wished. Those articles, like the ones available on specific magazines, were normally found in business or journalism periodicals. Their quality ranged from excellent, in-depth profiles to superficial, public relations "puff" pieces. Madison Avenue and Advertising Age provided the best and most current information.

The bulk of the information utilized for the area of content analysis was from books. The biggest limitation to this field, and to this study in particular, is the lack of material directly related to the qualitative method. Clearly, the best source for information about qualitative content analysis is another study which utilizes it. Several models were examined which provided general concepts, but none was specifically applicable to this study.

It is apparent that all areas could benefit from increased research. This is especially true in the field of media coverage of the military. This thesis contributes vital information not just from the media or journalistic standpoint, but also for its women's studies and military usage. It presents an in-depth examination of the image of women in a non-traditional and pervasively masculine role. It comments on trends of coverage both of magazines and stereotyping and looks at a significant number of women who had not been the source of previous study. And, I hope, it will prompt further study of women

in specifically non-traditional environments for until images are identified and examined, social change will not occur.

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### CHAPTER III

#### METHODOLOGY

This study analyzed the portrayal of women in the military within American general-interest, women's, black, news and specialized magazines during the period June 1975 through June 1985. Research was conducted through qualitative content analysis, which is discussed at length in the following pages.

#### Sources and Selection of Data

Prior to gathering the data, a thorough study of background readings was completed on women in the military, the magazine industry in general and on the specific magazines utilized in this study. Magazines for Libraries was used to provide an overview of histories and editorial content of specific magazines.

Magazines for Libraries, when coupled with the reading outlined in the previous chapter, provided, for the most part, a basic foundation of information needed about individual magazines used in this study. However, in those instances when insufficient outside material was available to gain familiarity with a particular magazine,



the January and June issue of each magazine was reviewed from 1975 to 1985. This ensured researcher familiarity with both editorial content and style.

Magazine articles analyzed in this study were gathered through a search of Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature and the Magazine Index under the respective subject headings of servicewomen and women in the military. These subject headings were derived through a preliminary examination of each index. The selection of data did not rest solely upon the titles, as they can often be misleading or misrepresentative, but rather through a quick pre-analysis reading of each item. Articles not specifically related to this study or not meeting all other criteria for inclusion were eliminated. Every attempt was made to locate magazines in their original form; however when that was not possible, microfilm reproductions were utilized.

The data for this study consisted of 98 articles (and accompanying photographs and artwork) which deal with the issue of women in the military. For purposes of this research, "women in the military" articles were those which discussed the topic in either feature form (special articles that stand alone--not part of a regular section) or as part of a specifically designated section or column within a magazine. Articles could present an individual

profile or group examination, but were required to be a minimum of two paragraphs in length.

Although magazines utilized differed in circulation size and readership characteristics, by their varied scope and audience they provided a representative cross-section of the American popular magazine industry that was useful in the examination of media and societal attitudes toward women in the military.

#### Thesis Design

Once identified and selected for inclusion, all articles were photocopied to permit the close and repeated examination of the material. Prior to photocopying the data, however, detailed notes were taken about the use of color within the article, its cover placement (if any) and its overall visual impact through other related "contextual" elements. Magazines were then grouped into categories by "type" as a means of differentiating dissimilar material. Grouping the magazines in this manner also allowed for a comparison of these specialized media within a medium; for example, coverage of the issue within women's magazines as compared to men's magazines.

After individual articles were located within the indexes, five distinct categories or types of magazines emerged. Magazines designed to be read primarily by women were grouped together. Other groupings were: black magazines--defined as those magazines designed for a primarily

black audience; news magazines--those devoted to the discussion of national and international current events with an emphasis on straight news coverage; and general interest magazines, which contain those publications designed to appeal to the broadest possible audience--a mass magazine with emphasis on personality coverage and soft news.

Magazines which do not accurately fit into one of the previous five categories are grouped together as specialized magazines. In instances where a magazine could properly be listed under more than one category (as is the case with Essence), it was grouped under its broadest category.

Categories utilized during the initial examination of the data are:

Black - Black Enterprise, Ebony, Jet.

General interest - Life, The New York Times Magazine and People.

News - Newsweek, Time and U.S. News & World Report.

Specialized - Esquire, Omni, Popular Science, Progressive, Psychology Today, Science News and Senior Scholastic.

Women's - Essence, Glamour, Ladies' Home Journal, McCall's, Mademoiselle, Ms, Redbook, Seventeen, Teen, Vogue, Woman's Day and Working Women.

To provide an added element of objectivity, a determination was made to examine data alphabetically, first by

category, then by magazine. Thus, the first category examined was the black magazines; the first magazine, Black Enterprise.

Prior to the actual reading of the data, a checklist was developed to identify key areas for exploration. This checklist included:

- 1) the name and date of the publication in which the article was located;
- 2) the title of the article;
- 3) the approximate length of the article and page numbers;
- 4) the article type: hard news, feature, profile, analysis, or other;
- 5) the featured individual or unit of study of the article. If it was a profile, information about the individual: rank, position, race, age, etc. If the article was of a hard news or feature type, the service or unit, the job or position of the women discussed was noted.
- 6) if part of a column, the article's position within the column (i.e., first, fourth, last);
- 7) description of accompanying artwork, if any;
- 8) the major or central theme of the article;
- 9) pull quotes or quotations lifted out of the text of the article graphically featured;
- 10) author's name and any biographical information.

Once the checklist was completed, the first reading of the articles began according to the order outlined above. Articles were read initially to obtain information about direction, defined as the attitude toward women in the military, and intensity, the strength or degree of conviction of that attitude.<sup>1</sup> This reading also concentrated on coverage trends, emphasis, repetition of key terms, editorial stances and use of sex-role or sex-trait descriptors.

According to Williams and Best, sex-role stereotypes are those which consist of beliefs concerning the general appropriateness of various roles and activities for men and for women. Sex-trait stereotypes are defined as those psychological characteristics or behavioral traits that are believed to characterize one sex with much greater (or lesser) frequency than they characterize the other.<sup>2</sup>

Upon completion of the first examination of the source material, the articles were regrouped utilizing date categories rather than magazine type. The following groupings were derived based upon the three states of women's integration within the services: 1975-78--coverage pre-dating the dissolution of the Women's Army Corps; 1979-82--the integration process itself; and 1983-85--current status. Conveniently, these groupings spanned approximately the same amount of time, allowing for a cov-

erage comparison based upon "event." Focus of this reading was similar to that of the first examination.

The third and final examination of the source material attempted to focus on the more complex aspects of the coverage. In this final reading, articles were grouped according to general topic, such as dissolution of all-women units; integration into service academies; increased number of women in the military; the combat role; success profiles; news or information briefs; and the draft. During this reading, the authors' intentions and familiarity with subject matter were examined in an effort to determine balance of coverage. Particular attention was also paid to the language used in each article during this final reading. Adjectives used to describe servicewomen, servicemen and the military lifestyle--such as adventurous, aggressive, charming, emotional, courageous, rational, sentimental, ambitious, attractive and talkative--were especially noted. Outside sources were utilized in this reading, where necessary, to assist the understanding of the complex information.

All of the information gathered about each article was compared and contrasted to discern trends and patterns. Results were then charted graphically for each magazine, each type of magazine and total magazine population to find directions, patterns and trends. After a

complete examination and analysis of the data, conclusions were formulated.

### Bias

Bias can seriously affect the research design and cast doubt upon the validity of research conclusions. Certain aspects of bias exist in all elements of daily life which cannot be overcome. The fact that this researcher is a woman is one such aspect. Certain elements of bias, however, can be controlled.

As the author is presently serving on active duty in the United States Army, it is expected that some elements of bias may be present, particularly on issues which specifically affect servicewomen. The first step in controlling bias, however, is to be aware of its existence. Several measures were taken to preclude biasing the results.

In order to avoid elements of bias, all articles from all magazines located through the index searches were utilized for this study. Articles were read in a systematic, alphabetical order. As much as possible, researcher influence upon article selection was eliminated.

The checklist also provided another element by which to check bias. It ensured that all articles were examined in the same manner and that similar aspects were reviewed in each. And, finally, the repeated readings of each article, each time within a different framework, allowed

for the discovery of information missed previously and for the discovery of researcher bias.

A comprehensive study of secondary publications was undertaken to ensure a thorough understanding of the issues and to provide a balance from which to analyze the material.

#### Justification of Method and Design

Content analysis, "the systematic technique for analyzing message content and message handling,"<sup>3</sup> was clearly the best method of research for this study of media coverage. Arguments about communication research methods normally center upon the issue of quantitative versus qualitative analysis. Each method entails certain aspects of the other and their approaches overlap and complement each other somewhat.<sup>4</sup>

An examination of the media's coverage of women in the military is necessarily complex as it not only involves the exploration of societal attitudes, images and perceptions, but must also involve a familiarity with controversial issues of conscription and integration. Since the goal of this study was to analyze complex issues, the purely statistical approach manifested within a quantitative study was not appropriate. When a close examination of the intent and purpose of this study is conducted, the use of qualitative content analysis as a method of research seemed clearly justified.



One of the prime advantages of qualitative analysis lies in its comprehensiveness. It is generally accepted to be the preferred method for research of this type as it permits conclusions based upon the totality of communication by allowing the exploration of a given message in its entirety without isolating specific elements for exclusive examination.<sup>5</sup>

The diversity of coverage of women in the military also determined the use of the qualitative method. Applicable material was found in a variety of formats such as news briefs, columns and feature articles. The subject of each article also varied considerably. And, as articles ranged in length from two paragraphs to a hundred paragraphs, the rigid content categories required of a quantitative study did not lend themselves to this research.<sup>6</sup>

Qualitative content analysis is also best for charting changes over an extended period of time,<sup>7</sup> one of the prime objectives of this thesis. In addition, generally acknowledged as a better method for the in-depth analysis of a relatively small amount of data, this method was ideal for the examination of the less than 100 articles relevant to this research.<sup>8</sup>

Furthermore, it allowed the examination of both explicit and implicit messages through a determination of what is said as well as what is not said. Because this

study focused on stereotypical images, the quantitative method, with its precise categories, would not produce the same information. Oftentimes the combination of different elements, such as style and form, produce impressions and assumptions which cannot be detected by the quantitative method.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, the format of the qualitative content analysis allows the introduction of a wide variety of supplementary material which can aid the understanding of complex issues and unfamiliar subjects not possible within the framework of the quantitative statistical format.<sup>10</sup> As this study of women in the military examined complex social issues and patterns of stereotyping, it was best suited to the qualitative methods.

This research design was constructed as the most systematic method of ensuring an objective, thorough study. An attempt was made to design the methodology around the content being studied. To facilitate the location of applicable articles and as a cross check of one another, two indexes were used to locate data. All articles located were used. Each article was examined a minimum of three times, each time within a different context.

The checklist was designed to be equally adept for the analysis of individual magazines and types of magazines and was designed specifically to discover stereotypical language and image patterns.

### Researcher

As a female member of the United States Army since 1975, presently holding the rank of Captain, the researcher is keenly aware of issues affecting military women and is familiar with the complexities of the military organization itself. Throughout this period, the researcher has paid particular attention to the media's coverage of military women.

### Research Weaknesses

This study was limited primarily within two areas-- one involving the research method and the other having to do with data collection. One of the inherent flaws of qualitative content analysis is its reliance upon subjective examination which makes it difficult to replicate. This flaw does not, however, negatively affect the research as it has as its primary purpose an examination of attitudes and trends which are not dependent upon this criterion.

Additionally, because indexes were utilized to locate source material, it is possible that some pertinent articles could have been overlooked. However, since two indexes were utilized to locate data, the possibility of missing an important source was minimal. And since this research was an attempt to determine general attitude and coverage qualities, the absence of a small amount of source material would not seem to create a serious flaw.

This was especially true as the material was spread over a relatively broad period of time and through 28 magazines.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Richard W. Budd, Robert K. Thorp and Lewis Donohew, Content Analysis of Communications (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), pp. 50, 58.

<sup>2</sup>John E. Williams and Deborah L. Best, Measuring Sex Stereotypes (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1982), p. 16.

<sup>3</sup>Budd, Thorp and Donohew, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup>Siegfried Kracauer, "The Challenge of Qualitative Content Analysis," Public Opinion Quarterly 16 (Winter 1952-53): 637.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 631-42.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Alexander L. George, "Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches to Content Analysis," in Trends in Content Analysis, ed. Ithiel de Sola Pool (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1959), p. 7.

<sup>9</sup>Ole R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1969), p. 11.

<sup>10</sup>Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (New York: Hafner Publishing, 1971), p. 125.

## CHAPTER IV

### BACKGROUND: WOMEN IN THE MILITARY

Women are not new to the military, although the sight of a woman in a military uniform is still likely to raise an eyebrow. Women have always served in the American armed forces, sometimes secretly, often with little fanfare and normally under adverse circumstances.<sup>1</sup> The condition of that service, however, has changed as America and its social attitudes have changed. In order to fully understand the status of military women during the period of this study (1975-1985), it is first necessary to attain a sense of their history and the struggle involved in attaining equality.

History is replete with colorful stories of American women's military service. In one of the earliest recorded accounts, Molly Pitcher took over her husband's artillery position in the Continental Army after he was wounded and remained there in the midst of battle until relieved.<sup>2</sup> She has become symbolic of all the women who helped win this country's independence and representative of American women's patriotism.

She was not alone, however. Deborah Samson, serving as Robert Shirliffe for three years as a common soldier within the 4th Massachusetts regiment during the Revolutionary War, was wounded (superficially) three times. Several years later when she finally revealed her sex, she was granted an honorable discharge and achieved celebrity status.<sup>3</sup>

In the Civil War it has been estimated that nearly 400 women joined the armies on both sides. Although the majority performed in more traditional roles, one of the best known was Loreta Valaques, who fought in a number of battles including Bull Run and led patrols into enemy territory under the name of Lt. Harry T. Buford.<sup>4</sup>

Throughout the Civil and Spanish-American Wars, women nurses provided dedicated care in the harshest of circumstances and without any official military status.<sup>5</sup> In 1901, women's service was finally accorded official status when Congress established the Army Nurse Corps as a quasi-military unit.<sup>6</sup> Even then, however, the nurses had no military rank or benefits normal to military service.

Women have, in fact, served in every war this country has fought.<sup>7</sup> World War II, however, was the turning point in the history of women's participation in the military. The attack on Pearl Harbor effected the Congressional passage of Public Law 554 establishing the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (later to become the Women's Army Corps).<sup>8</sup>

The other services quickly followed suit and women (in other than medical fields) became a routine sight within the military.

Approximately 350,000 women served in the four services in World War II.<sup>9</sup> Although the majority were in health care, administration and communications, women also were employed as airplane mechanics, parachute riggers, gunnery instructors, air traffic controllers, naval air navigators and Air Force test pilots.<sup>10</sup>

They were employed overseas in record numbers. One women's group arrived in North Africa just two months after the United States invasion.<sup>11</sup> The first Women's Army Corps (WAC) unit landed in Normandy just 38 days after D-Day.<sup>12</sup> At peak strength, some 17,000 WACs were overseas serving in every combat theater.<sup>13</sup> And, contrary to much public opinion, women were not pampered. Although all the services experienced casualties, the Army Nurse Corps sustained the heaviest losses--over 200 women.<sup>14</sup> A total of 47 nurses were interned in Santo Thomas prison in the Philippines for 37 months under the most severe circumstances.<sup>15</sup>

Despite their outstanding achievements, at the war's end the prevailing attitude was that the women's units activated during the war should be disbanded.<sup>16</sup> However, after much debate, on June 2, 1948, by a vote of 206 to 133, Congress passed the Women's Armed Services Integra-



tion Act of 1948; 10 days later President Truman signed the measure that finally established a permanent place for women in the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps.<sup>17</sup> Besides giving women permanent status in the armed services, the Integration Act established standards and ceilings of recruitment and directed the utilization of women until 1967 when changes were made which expanded women's roles somewhat.<sup>18</sup>

After World War II, as the United States entered the decade of the 50s, however, the women's programs languished as philosophical concepts of women's roles advocated that their ideal positions were as traditional homemakers while men returned to the private workforce.<sup>19</sup> Instead of serving as a springboard to further integration and equality for women, the Integration Act became the foundation for a system of institutional segregation and unequal treatment.<sup>20</sup> Service policies into the 60s mirrored the stereotypical thinking of the previous decade concerning women's proper roles within society and the workforce.<sup>21</sup>

Several events in the last half of the 60s and the early 70s combined to end the long period of stagnation and regression for military women's service. Most significant of these was the military's manpower problems generated by the Vietnam War. These combined with other forces arising from women's expanding role in the labor

force and the new tide of feminism to challenge the services' traditional attitudes.<sup>22</sup> (Although women did serve in virtually all areas of Vietnam, it was only as a result of strenuous battling with the Pentagon, which did not believe that women could endure the harsh conditions. The service and lessons of WWII were literally ignored.<sup>23</sup>) In 1972, the decision was made to increase the proportion of women in the military when a Department of Defense task force criticized the policies and attitudes of the services concerning the status of women.<sup>24</sup> Out of that decision flowed the expansion of the last 15 years.

By 1975, the beginning point of this study, the armed forces women's programs had undergone dramatic change: women were enrolled in previously all-male Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) and Officer Candidate programs which produce 90 percent of military officers; weapons training, once forbidden for women, became matter of fact; separate female promotion lists were abolished; the last women's directorates were eliminated; and the Women's Army Corps (the only totally separate women's corps) was disbanded, providing the symbolic end of segregated service.<sup>25</sup> Within the past decade, women have entered the military service academies and have been a part of five graduating classes, while Naval and Air Force aviation programs opened their doors to women and Navy women were for the first time permanently assigned to ships.<sup>26</sup>

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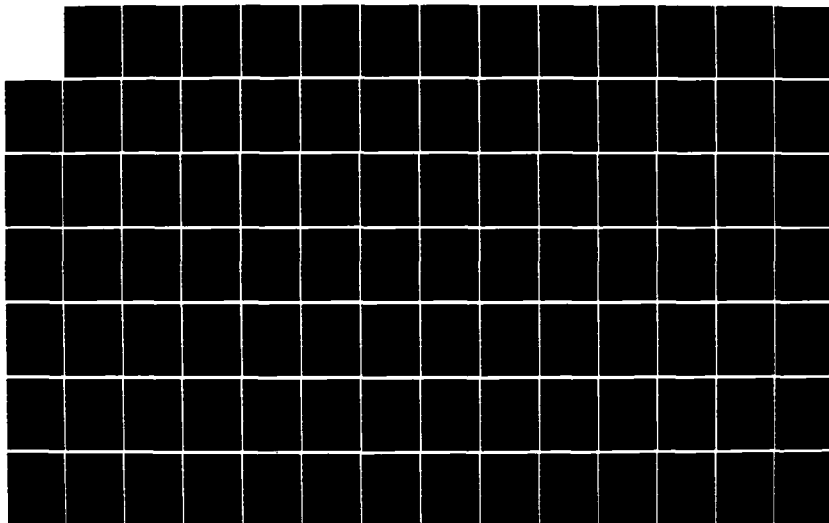
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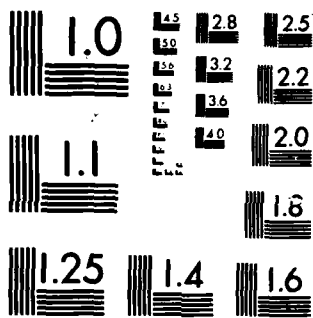
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On Friday, February 8, 1980, President Jimmy Carter announced his decision to ask Congress to register women as well as men for the draft.<sup>27</sup> Although ultimately rejected, his request brought the subject of women in the armed forces full circle and would have ended one of the last remaining inequities of military duty. (Women are prohibited by Congress from serving in direct combat positions.<sup>28</sup>)

In a recent policy statement to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger stated that "military women can and should be utilized in all roles except those explicitly prohibited by combat exclusion statutes."<sup>29</sup> This attitude is reflected in the changes that have taken place since the recruitment ceiling was lifted in 1972.

In 1972, there were 45,000 women serving on active duty in the United States military, constituting approximately one and a half percent of the total force.<sup>30</sup> By 1984, there were over 190,000 women (an increase of over 350 percent) comprising about nine percent of the military population.<sup>31</sup>

The increased numbers weren't the only significant change. Prior to 1972, only 35 percent of all military enlisted occupations were open to women and 91 percent of the enlisted women were confined largely to health care and clerical duties.<sup>32</sup> By 1983, 88 percent of the occu-

pational specialities were open.<sup>33</sup> Although the majority of women remain in administration and health care, today approximately 40 percent of the enlisted women are assigned to scientific, technical or blue collar positions such as electronic equipment repair, communications, intelligence, law enforcement, or service and supply fields.<sup>34</sup>

Research indicates that there are many similarities in the reasons given by men and women for joining the military; however, women apparently enlist for a greater variety of reasons than men and with greater self-advancement motivation.<sup>35</sup> The primary inducements to military service are the desire to "make something" out of one's life, getting college benefits, obtaining training useful in civilian life, and the desire for adventure, excitement and travel.<sup>36</sup> Women generally perceive that the military is one organization where they can receive equal pay for equal work.<sup>37</sup>

Although no recent studies of enlisted women are available, studies of the military academies' classes of 1980 (the first class to accept women) indicate that the women cadets came from mainly middle-class families with traditional divisions of labor within the families based on gender.<sup>38</sup> These female cadets were twice as likely to come from military families as their male counterparts.<sup>39</sup> And, as might be expected, in attitudes toward sex roles,

marriage and childrearing, the women cadets were more non-traditional.<sup>40</sup>

The average age of an enlisted female recruit is 20 years--slightly higher than the men.<sup>41</sup> The education figures are higher also, with 80 percent of the military's approximately 169,000 enlisted women having a high school diploma and 19.5 percent having received at least some advanced education.<sup>42</sup> This compares to the men's figures of 79 and 13 percent respectively.<sup>43</sup> Of the approximately 27,000 women officers currently on active duty, 73 percent have bachelor's degrees and another 21 percent have post-graduate degrees (these figures are 59 and 33 percent respectively for the men).<sup>44</sup>

As is true of the male military population, there are far more minority women among the enlisted than the officer ranks. Twenty-nine percent of the enlisted ranks are black, three percent Hispanic and three percent other minority, compared to figures of 12 percent, one percent and five percent respectively for the women officers.<sup>45</sup>

The pioneering women of the past decade have experienced much the same hostilities and biases as their pioneering predecessors. Official inroads the women made when social barriers were broken were oftentimes met by unofficial bigotry and prejudice.<sup>46</sup> As women entered the military academies, boarded ships or took up non-traditional jobs, they encountered both opposition and

pressure from superiors, subordinates, peers and a society caught up in the debate over traditional roles and equal rights.<sup>47</sup>

Military women still face problems of sexual harassment and feelings of being "second-class citizens", but recent studies have shown that acceptance is being attained as women become more familiar sights within the military complex and as society adjusts to the expanded role of women as a whole.<sup>48</sup> As the available manpower pool continues to shrink and the military complex continues to grow, it is inevitable that women will remain an integral part of the U.S. armed forces for the foreseeable future.<sup>49</sup>



NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Martin Binkin and Shirley J. Bach, Women and the Military (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1977), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Helen Rogan, Mixed Company (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1981), p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 123.

<sup>4</sup> Jeanne Holm, Women in the Military (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1982), p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 7-8.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Binkin and Bach, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Holm, pp. 21-27.

<sup>9</sup> Binkin and Bach, p. 6.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 7-8.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Holm, p. 94.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pp. 91-94.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., pp. 97-109.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 212.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., pp. 175-86.

- <sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 178.
- <sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp. 179-84.
- <sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 186.
- <sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp. 205-43.
- <sup>24</sup>Ibid., pp. 260-63.
- <sup>25</sup>Ibid., pp. 260-312.
- <sup>26</sup>Ibid., pp. 313-45.
- <sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 347.
- <sup>28</sup>Mady Wechsler Segal, "Women in the Military: Research and Policy Issues," Youth & Society 10 (December 1978): 101-26.
- <sup>29</sup>Department of Defense, Military Women in the Department of Defense (Manpower, Installations and Logistics) (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1984), p. iv.
- <sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 1.
- <sup>31</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>32</sup>Binkin and Bach, p. 2.
- <sup>33</sup>Department of Defense, p. v.
- <sup>34</sup>Binkin and Bach, p. 2.
- <sup>35</sup>Jack M. Hicks, "Women in the U.S. Army," Armed Forces and Society 4 (Summer 1978): 647-58.
- <sup>36</sup>Hicks, pp. 649-50 and Segal, pp. 107-08.
- <sup>37</sup>Segal, pp. 107-08.
- <sup>38</sup>Kathleen P. Durning, "Women at the Naval Academy: An Attitude Survey," Armed Forces and Society 4 (Summer 1978): 574-78; Robert F. Priest, Alan G. Vitters and Howard T. Prince, "Coeducation at West Point," Armed Forces and Society 4 (Summer 1978): 592; Myrna Rottman, "Women Graduates of the U.S. Coast Guard Academy: Views From the Bridge," Armed Forces and Society 11 (Winter 1985): 253-54.
- <sup>39</sup>Durning, pp. 574-78.

<sup>40</sup>Priest, Vitters and Prince, p. 592.

<sup>41</sup>Binkin and Bach, p. 18.

<sup>42</sup>Department of Defense, p. 48.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 68.

<sup>46</sup>Rogan, pp. 15-29.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid. and Holm, pp. 246-343.

<sup>48</sup>Harold E. Cheatham, "Integration of Women into the U.S. Military," Sex Roles 11 (February 1984): 141-53; Jerome Adams, "Women at West Point: A Three-year Perspective," Sex Roles 11 (June 1984): 525-41; Rottman, pp. 249-70.

<sup>49</sup>Binkin and Bach, p. 25.

## CHAPTER V

### BACKGROUND: MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE MILITARY

Each year billions of dollars of the United States budget are allocated for military defense spending.<sup>1</sup> With such an enormous outlay of their tax dollars going to the military, it might be expected that the American people would demand to know exactly what the military was all about--to fully understand what the military establishment does.

For the majority of the population, however, the military is just too vast or technical an operation to fully comprehend. Americans, therefore, rely heavily upon the national and local news media to interpret and explain their defense system.<sup>2</sup>

Donald A. Zoll reports that the military's frustration with the media is based upon a belief that the press engages in unfair reporting practices which include: too often putting the selling of a story ahead of the country's best interest; media often blaming the military for mistakes of civilian leaders; and many military reporters not having sufficient knowledge of military affairs.<sup>3</sup>

The media, on the other hand, criticize the military for (among other things) an unwillingness to talk for publication, a systematic deception of Congress, the treatment of civilians as outsiders or interlopers and the continual refusal to discuss less than the positive.<sup>4</sup>

Both viewpoints have merit. Despite the media's responsibility to communicate military information to the American people, there are few full-time military reporters. Because only the largest metropolitan newspapers, magazines or wire services can afford to hire a full-time journalist to specialize in covering military affairs, there are only two to three full-time reporters exclusively covering the approximately 25,000 personnel on duty at the Pentagon's 2500 separate offices.<sup>5</sup> And, to most editors, covering the military means covering the Pentagon--neglecting the millions of service men and women in hundreds of U.S. and foreign locations.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, according to military reporter Fred Reed, it is easier to sell an article critical of the military than one which contains favorable information.<sup>7</sup>

Col. Miguel Monteverde, currently chief of the Army Public Affairs Policy and Plans Division, thinks that the problem is basic: bad news sells. "An Army that's doing its job is just not news." The Army is only newsworthy when something bad happens--a general is involved in something scandalous or a helicopter crashes. "Men and

women who serve on a day to day basis, especially in peacetime, go unsung."<sup>8</sup>

The military, for its part, can hide behind a set of internal and external restrictions which limit what military people can say publicly. Even when required to provide data on military hardware or personnel, the military establishment often slows its arrival and then often it is incomplete.<sup>9</sup> The Defense establishment tends to operate under a siege mentality in which all journalists are either sworn foes of the military or just waiting to expose the next scandal.<sup>10</sup>

Despite the individual hostility against the news media advanced by many military officers, journalistic access to defense matters is important as it performs a unique role. Military forces have no direct link to the public on whose support they ultimately depend. The news media provide that link between the soldier and the citizenry. They provide one of the checks and balances which sustain the American people's confidence in their political system and their armed forces by acting as an independent counter to manipulation tactics at home.<sup>11</sup>

Military public affairs officers (PAO), whose job it is to mediate media encounters, often straddle the line between the military's closed society and the press. The result is that the PAO is often distrusted by the military

establishment for being pro-press and by the media for being just a pawn of the defense department.<sup>12</sup>

The open hostility between the two organizations has roots within the recent past. World War II has been generally acknowledged as the United States' last "popular" war and the last in which the military and the media enjoyed a fairly cooperative alliance.<sup>13</sup> Although there was initial support from the press for the Korean War, as the war effort lagged and the fighting dragged on, public support withered and press coverage began to change--a transition which culminated with disastrous results 33 years later in Grenada.<sup>14</sup>

Without question, however, Vietnam solidified the problems. A similar pattern developed during the Vietnam conflict as had grown in Korea. In both cases initial support was high, but declined as casualties mounted.<sup>15</sup> Volumes have been written on press influence and impact upon the Vietnam War, America's first "television" war. Because television is a visual medium, broadcasters could not be content to sit in Saigon awaiting briefings--they needed pictures; they needed to move out into the fields and villages. Suffice it to say that as the media began graphically detailing the horrors of war into American living rooms, public opinion changed.<sup>16</sup>

Press coverage of Vietnam infuriated a government that refused to have the American people believe that the

war could not be won. Amid charges of liberalism, bias and outright false reporting, the President and the military joined forces in condemnation of the press, which created a chasm of open hostility that was to shroud media-military relations through the present.<sup>17</sup>

In October 1983, when United States troops invaded the tiny island of Grenada, for the first time since before the Civil War, journalists were excluded from the operation.<sup>18</sup> The news media were kept off the island (sometimes at gunpoint) for several days following the invasion, ostensibly for operational security and journalistic safety.<sup>19</sup> The result was, however, a deepening of the existing rifts between the two institutions.

In the wake of Grenada, a Pentagon commission comprised of journalists and military personnel was appointed to examine media-military relations. It found that one Vietnam legacy was the "basic level of mistrust" which had developed between the two organizations.<sup>20</sup> As a result, a pool of reporters composed of broadcast, wire service and print journalists was formed to participate in future military actions.<sup>21</sup>

In another study, an independent research foundation blamed the current rocky state of relations between the military and the media on a culture gap between journalists and military officers. It concluded that in the all-volunteer military era, fewer journalists than in earlier



periods have had military experience, while junior officers, without combat experience, hear complaints from their superiors about the role the media allegedly played in turning the American public against the Vietnam War.<sup>22</sup>

In addition, the ten-month study recommended strengthening the role, quality and status of public affairs officers, cross training and educational interaction of journalists and military leaders and a "news media peer review" to assess the work of other news' organizations.<sup>23</sup>

Despite the recent efforts aimed at understanding the conflicts and increasing the level of cooperation between the military and the media, there is no indication that the problems will soon be corrected. And, as long as the media remain the people's watchdog and the military remains the large, complex, secretive government organization that it is, there is no reason to expect a change.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>James Clotfelter, The Military in American Politics (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1973), p. 119.

<sup>2</sup>Steven H. Chaffee and Michael J. Petrick, Using the Mass Media (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1975), p. 89.

<sup>3</sup>Donald Atwell Zoll, "The Press and the Military: Some Thoughts After Grenada," Parameters 14 (Spring 1984): 26-34.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Chaffee and Petrick, p. 94.

<sup>6</sup>Fred Reed, "Can Our Public Affairs Officers Help?" The Washington Monthly, October 1984, pp. 20-26.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Telephone interview with Col. Miguel Monteverde, chief of the Army Public Affairs Policy and Plans Division, U.S. Army, Washington, D.C., 20 September 1985.

<sup>9</sup>Reed, pp. 20-26.

<sup>10</sup>Zoll, pp. 30-31.

<sup>11</sup>Twentieth Century Fund, "Task Force on the Military and the Media (Draft)," New York, 11 March 1985, pp. 1-16.

<sup>12</sup>James E. Fletcher and Philip E. Soucy, "Army Public Affairs Officer as Perceived by Press and by Military Colleagues," Journalism Quarterly 60 (Spring 1983): 93-97, 204.

<sup>13</sup>James Aronson, The Press and the Cold War (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1970), p. 101.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 106.

<sup>15</sup>Clotfelter, p. 121.

<sup>16</sup>Phillip Knightley, The First Casualty (London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975), pp. 383-405.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 423-40.

<sup>18</sup>Richard Halloran, "How the Pentagon and the Press Can Call a Truce," Washington Journalism Review, January/February 1984, pp. 22-26.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Carl Sessions Stepp, "In the Wake of Grenada," Quill, March 1984, pp. 12-15.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Twentieth Century Fund, pp. 9-10.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp. 6-7, 10-15.

CHAPTER VI  
BACKGROUND: MAGAZINES

For over 200 years, general-interest, mass-audience magazines such as Saturday Evening Post, McClure's, Collier's and Life dominated the magazine industry and probed America's social consciousness. Over the years, they were credited with helping to bring about Congressional investigations; laws related to child labor, pure food, wages and working hours; old age pension plans; social security; women's suffrage and liberation, and many other reforms.<sup>1</sup> In fact, since their inception in the 18th century, American magazines have not only been a powerful force in the dissemination of news, but have provided many hours of entertainment and recreation.

Like many other institutions, magazines have changed dramatically over the last several decades. During the 50s and 60s, television entered the scene and became increasingly more appealing to advertisers who found that they could reach millions of viewers at a substantially lower cost. When Life ceased publication in 1972 with its readership at an all-time high, it was following on the

heels of other mass audience magazines that had started to lose touch with the changing mores in the United States.<sup>2</sup>

Several other changes occurred during that same period which affected the American population as a whole and contributed to the changes in the industry. Such developments as shortened work weeks which increased the amount of leisure time available, increased levels of education which led to a growing quest for knowledge, the continuing population growth and the increased number of women in the workforce, all contributed to the fragmentation of the American population into groups with sharply differentiated lifestyles and interests.<sup>3</sup> The mass audience magazines failed to capitalize on this phenomenon and could not compete.<sup>4</sup>

The list of magazine casualties in the 60s and early 70s includes hundreds of titles, while the mass audience magazines, so popular throughout American history, have all but disappeared. During that same period, however, more new magazines were issued and survived than failed, including several that are now consistently ranked among the most popular in the nation, such as People and Playboy.<sup>5</sup> Life and Saturday Evening Post have even resurfaced in a somewhat altered form.

Several technological forces of the 70s fostered this growth in the industry. These included advances in offset printing technology, which lowered the fixed costs of

printing and made it easier for small circulation publications to survive, as well as the availability of computerized mailing lists that spurred the growth of the direct mail industry and helped make it easier and less expensive for publishers to identify potential subscribers for their special interest.<sup>6</sup>

Today, the magazine publishing industry in the United States is a relatively healthy business, but it has undergone a radical change toward more special-interest magazines--those magazines which deal with a particular subject matter of interest to a limited number of readers--with circulations of 250,000 to 500,000.<sup>7</sup>

The industry's growth has been assisted by the advertising industry's growing disenchantment with network television's ability to reach specific targeted audiences.<sup>8</sup> Advertising revenue is the magazines' key to life and death. Because special-interest magazines sell to a homogeneous readership (at least as related to a specific product or activity), they reach people that other media can't.<sup>9</sup> In addition, advertisers get multiple exposure for their products simply because the typical magazine sits on the family coffee table for a week or more and is looked at several times.<sup>10</sup> Advertisers are also aware that the regular purchaser of today's magazines tends to read more of it, more thoroughly, and with greater interest and retention than is usually ascribed to

other media.<sup>11</sup> For these reasons, magazines are flourishing.

It also is for some of these same reasons that magazines have such a pronounced influence on their readers. Because they do not have the spot news function of other media and are read with deliberation, they have the ability to help form public opinion.<sup>12</sup> When asked which medium contributed most to personal knowledge or furnished the most usable ideas about automobiles, consumer education, mental and physical health, finances, fashion or families, respondents consistently single out magazines.<sup>13</sup>

By 1984 there were approximately 10,000 magazines of all kinds in print in the United States.<sup>14</sup> Most of the past decade's financially successful magazines have been designed to appeal to highly particularized intellectual, vocational and avocational interests.<sup>15</sup> And, their scope is virtually unlimited, as evidenced by the proliferation of highly specialized periodicals such as Backpacker, Working Mother, Working Woman, Teen, Psychology Today, Hot Rod, Skin Diver and Model Railroader.

Special-interest magazines play an important part in the acquisition of information and in the influence on their readers. News and opinion magazines expand world knowledge and explain complex international and national problems. Black magazines not only highlight accomplishments of the black population with a regularity not found

elsewhere, but promote black-owned businesses and black consumerism. Women's magazines provide service information on the home and family, counseling, political information and fashion.<sup>16</sup>

Despite the proliferation of mass media during the last 30 years, people still buy magazines in record numbers. This is attributed, in part, to the fact that society has become increasingly complex and fragmented, while mass media (particularly television) have increased the public's awareness of distant places and cultures, science, sports and other diverse subjects.<sup>17</sup> The broadcast media are not able to satisfy the need for explanation or deeper knowledge that they generate, so people turn to magazines for detailed information that they can't get elsewhere.<sup>18</sup> Magazines supply information about virtually every aspect of American lives.<sup>19</sup>

The over-all outlook for the magazine industry in the decade of the 1980s is promising, for the demographics of the "baby-boomer" generation and increased educational levels suggest increases in the population groups that traditionally have been the heaviest magazine consumers.<sup>20</sup> The industry needs only to remain fluid and adaptable to changing interests to maintain its place of influence and growth.<sup>21</sup>

A total of 28 magazines were used in this study. For purposes outlined in Chapter Three, these magazines were



divided into five separate groups by type. A brief, concise description of those magazines is provided here to facilitate comparative study.

Black Magazines:

Black Enterprise, founded in 1970, is the nation's only black business magazine. Its primary circulation is among the most successful, affluent, influential black men and women in the United States. It offers positive images of successful black business men and women through in-depth interviews and articles. Published monthly, its 1984 circulation was 209,346.<sup>22</sup>

Ebony, which was founded in 1945, gives positive examples of black achievement for the middle-class black reader. It covers a wide range of subjects from news to sports to fashion and considers itself to be the voice of black America. It is normally the first to publicize black breakthroughs and achievements. Within the last five years, the magazine has reduced its size, added more color to its pages and is emphasizing more female-oriented content and more in-depth analysis. Printed monthly, its 1984 circulation was 1,300,000.<sup>23</sup>

Jet, founded in 1952, is an enormously popular publication designed to give blacks a summary of the weekly news of interest to them. It covers black history, business, education, music, personalities, sports, law and communication. Its circulation in 1984 was 770,000.<sup>24</sup>

General Interest Magazines:

Life began publication in 1936, but was forced to cease publication in 1972. Revised in 1978, the emphasis is still the photograph; however, more color is utilized and it features more articles than its predecessor. The magazine is aimed at the up-scale market between the ages of 25 and 49. Its 1984 circulation was 1,319,000. It is published monthly.<sup>25</sup>

People, founded in 1974, presents lively, informative, heavily illustrated stories that concentrate on up-beat and positive aspects of its subjects' lifestyles. Written in a short, breezy style, it presents human interest articles and photographs about well-known personalities as well as the unsung and the unknown who are succeeding by overcoming barriers. Most of its readers are between 18 and 49 years of age and college-educated; their average income is \$28,000. Its 1984 circulation was 2,800,000. It is published weekly.<sup>26</sup>

New York Times Magazine is run as part of the Sunday New York Times. It features in-depth articles and analysis of national and international interest. In the last several years, the magazine has increased its national and foreign affairs political coverage. Its 1984 circulation was 1,430,358.<sup>27</sup>

### News Magazines:

Newsweek was founded in 1933 and immediately became the chief competition for Time in the newsweekly market. It is a popular, general mass circulation news magazine which summarizes the weekly news events around the world and presents analysis to explain them. It also offers articles on social trends, religion, art, entertainment, sports, science, media, justice and the entire spectrum of American life. Generally thought to be more liberal than Time, the magazine has realigned itself with the center since the 60s. It is considered to be superior in domestic reportage, columns, sports coverage, book reviews and most entertainment cover stories, and normally reacts more quickly than Time to most major news events and social trends. Its 1984 circulation was 2,950,000.<sup>28</sup>

Time, founded in 1923, is America's leading news-magazine. It is similar in format to Newsweek; however the writing and editing are generally considered better. Time is thought to do a better job covering foreign news, science, religion and music and to make better use of its color photography. Time is also considered pro-business. Published weekly, its 1984 circulation was 4,275,000.<sup>29</sup>

U.S. News & World Report was founded in 1933. It is a moderate to conservative newsmagazine with a concentration on national and international affairs and an emphasis on their relation to business. It has tradi-

tionally de-emphasized the play-by-play retelling of the week's events in favor of an analysis of their impact on readers. Recently redesigned to make it more attractive to the "baby-boomer" generation and to keep pace with both Time and Newsweek, it has begun including more lively, entertainment type features. It is published weekly with a circulation of 2,100,000 reported in 1984<sup>30</sup>

Women's Magazines:

Essence, founded in 1970, is aimed at the middle-class black career woman, mother and housewife with informative articles on health, finance, careers, fashion, lifestyles and the arts. It capitalizes on the popularity of the women's movement as well as the traditional women's magazines by forming a bridge between the two in its editorial content. The typical reader is a black woman who is employed and somewhat independent. The magazine is published monthly and in 1984 had a circulation of 650,000.<sup>31</sup>

Glamour, which was founded in 1939, has traditionally concentrated heavily on fashion and beauty. However, that concept has changed dramatically in recent years and by 1982 only 38 percent of its contents were devoted to those categories. The scope of the magazine has broadened to include articles on money, electronics, Washington news and cars. Each issue contains a survey on one controversial topic, from nuclear freeze to child custody in

divorce. The magazine is geared primarily for the college student and young career woman, 18-34 years old. It is published monthly and had a 1984 circulation of 1,935,636.<sup>32</sup>

Ladies' Home Journal, founded in 1883, focuses on family relationships, love, and marriage and is considered one of the least progressive of the general women's magazines. Its intended audience is married women between the ages of 20 and 40 who have children and may work outside the home. It features articles on food, home and beauty and offers fiction excerpts in each issue. It is published monthly and had a 1984 circulation of 5,500,000.<sup>33</sup>

McCall's was founded in 1870. It is designed to appeal to women between 25 and 40 with articles on fashion, food, and current women's issues. The magazine is attempting to reach more of the "baby-boomers" through a shift toward heavier, issue-oriented material. It is published monthly and had a 1984 circulation of 5,500,000.<sup>34</sup>

Mademoiselle was founded in 1935. Its traditional emphasis on fashion and beauty has been expanded to include information about adult relationships, lifestyles and social situations. The major distinction between Mademoiselle and its closest competitor, Glamour, is that it is geared toward the single young career woman. Published monthly, it had a 1984 circulation of 1,096,558.<sup>35</sup>

Ms., which was founded in 1971, began as a specifically feminist publication and presented a diversity of viewpoints. Over the last several years, it has evolved into a magazine which covers the full spectrum of life experience and considers itself closest in spirit to Esquire, but from a woman's view. The magazine offers poetry, fiction, political theory and sociological analyses as well as articles on topics ranging from health to sports. Most of its readers are highly educated women in their late 20s and early 30s. In November 1979, ownership of the magazine was transferred to the Ms. Foundation, qualifying it for tax-exempt, educational status which lowered its operating costs and made it eligible for grants. Published monthly, it had a 1984 circulation of 500,000.<sup>36</sup>

Redbook, founded in 1903, has broadened its editorial concept within the past several years from one which focused on the traditional women's problems related to homemaking and child-rearing to more diverse aspects of women's political and social issues. It has eliminated the large novel that formerly ran in each issue to include more coverage of beauty and fashion. Aimed at the young, single or married employed woman, its 1984 circulation was 4,300,000. It is published monthly.<sup>37</sup>

Seventeen, founded in 1944, has consistently been the most popular teen magazine. It retains its heavy emphasis

on fashion and beauty, but has recently increased its coverage dealing with fitness, nutrition, careers and a wide spectrum of social issues. The magazine had a 1984 circulation of 1,552,880. It is published monthly.<sup>38</sup>

Teen was founded in 1957. It is a glossy magazine for teenagers with more celebrity and less fashion emphasis than Seventeen. It normally features four general nonfiction articles dealing with health, physical development, or advice and a short story. Its circulation in 1984 was 1,058,000. It is published monthly.<sup>39</sup>

Vogue, which was founded in 1892, was the premier fashion publication of the 70s. It has recently changed its editorial content to appeal to modern, young women and now features health and life-style articles with its fashion. Now published monthly rather than biweekly, its 1984 circulation was 1,101,451.<sup>40</sup>

Woman's Day, founded in 1937, is an inexpensive magazine sold primarily in supermarkets that offers advice, recipes, coupons and features for homemakers. In an effort to attract the younger 18 to 35-year-old woman, the magazine has been redesigned graphically and has increased the use of color photography. Published 15 times per year, its 1984 circulation was 7,748,069.<sup>41</sup>

Working Woman was founded in 1976. It is designed to appeal to the full-time career woman on the lower or middle rungs of management, so emphasizes career-related

topics. Fiction and advice for homemakers were eliminated approximately three years ago to narrow the audience and solidify its identity. Published monthly, its 1984 circulation was 44,000.<sup>42</sup>

Specialized Magazines:

Esquire, founded in 1933, has changed dramatically since its inception. Formerly a highly respected literary magazine, Esquire now aims for the well-rounded male reader with a variety of interests. In 1985, it began to expand its readership to women through articles designed to appeal to both sexes. The magazine features articles on fashion, entertainment, sports, travel, and personalities. Published monthly, its 1984 circulation was 739,105.<sup>43</sup>

Omni, founded in 1978, is a magazine of science fact and fiction. It features articles on science, the arts, travel, astronomy, psychology and technology. It has emphasized the development of a distinctive look with futuristic covers. The median age of its readers is 27. It is published monthly and had a 1984 circulation of 1,000,000.<sup>44</sup>

Popular Science was founded in 1872. Its focus is on new consumer products resulting from technology with photos and diagrams which show how the new products work. Articles are written in simple language for the general



reader. Published monthly, it had a 1984 circulation of 1,933,000.<sup>45</sup>

The Progressive, founded in 1909, is a decidedly liberal magazine which stands to the left of The Nation. It features news and opinion articles on international, national and Washington affairs by nationally known authors. Both the writing and the layout of The Progressive are more stimulating and lively than most other opinion magazines. Published monthly, its 1984 circulation was 36,000.<sup>46</sup>

Psychology Today, which was founded in 1967, features clearly written articles on current trends, historical developments and research findings within the behavioral sciences. It is geared to the general public rather than the professional. Its typical readers are highly educated men and women between the ages of 30 and 40. Published monthly, its 1984 circulation was 850,000.<sup>47</sup>

Science News, which was founded in 1921, concentrates on short announcements and interpretations of scientific developments from research journals, symposia and interviews. Published weekly, it covers all fields of science. Its 1984 circulation was 175,000.<sup>48</sup>

Senior Scholastic was founded in 1936. It is a popular newsmagazine distributed in high schools for use in government, history and current affairs classes. Pub-

lished weekly (except June-August), its 1984 circulation was 472,000.<sup>49</sup>

The 28 magazines utilized in this study serve to illustrate the diverse range of interests, topics and readerships covered by the magazine industry today and provide a good overview by which to analyze the scope of coverage on women and the military.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>A.J. vanZuilen, The Life Cycle of Magazines (Uithoorn, The Netherlands: Graduate Press, 1977), pp. 9-11.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 323-27.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 323-27.

<sup>5</sup>Roland E. Wolseley, Understanding Magazines (Ames: The Iowa State University Press, 1969), p. 46.

<sup>6</sup>Dennis Holder, "The Decade of Specialization," Washington Journalism Review, November 1981, pp. 28-32.

<sup>7</sup>vanZuilen, p. 37.

<sup>8</sup>Jack Hafferkamp, "Magazines: Prognosis bodes well for a steady recovery," Advertising Age, October 17, 1983, pp. M-9-10.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Holder, p. 32.

<sup>11</sup>vanZuilen, p. 41.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>14</sup>Karen Heller, "Hot on the Press: Magazines that are Making a Mint," Washington Journalism Review, April 1984, pp. 26-31.

<sup>15</sup>Chris Welles, "Can Mass Magazines Survive?" Columbia Journalism Review, July/August 1971, pp. 7-14.

<sup>16</sup>vanZuilen, pp. 72-77.

<sup>17</sup>Hafferkamp, pp. M-68-69.

- <sup>18</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>19</sup> Hafferkamp, pp. M-68-69.
- <sup>20</sup> Heller, pp. 29-31.
- <sup>21</sup> Holder, pp. 28-32.
- <sup>22</sup> Bill Katz and Linda Sternberg Katz, Magazines For Libraries (New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1984), p. 50; Earl G. Graves, "14 Years and Still Growing," Black Enterprise, August 1984, p. 11.
- <sup>23</sup> Katz and Katz, p. 51; "Ebony Responds to a Changing Market," Madison Avenue, May 1983, pp. 122-30.
- <sup>24</sup> Katz and Katz, p. 52.
- <sup>25</sup> Katz and Katz, p. 456; Ira Ellenthal, "Charles Whittingham: Publisher of Life," Folio, February 1982, pp. 58-59, 106.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 460; James Horwitz, "A Week in the Life of People Magazine," Cosmopolitan, January 1980, pp. 182, 204-09.
- <sup>27</sup> Katz and Katz, p. 452; Charlene Canape, "Playing Politics in a Big Way," Advertising Age, July 26, 1982, pp. M-2-6.
- <sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 696; David Shaw, "Fierce Rival: Newsweek versus Time," Los Angeles Times, 1 May 1980, Part 1, pp. 1, 10-13; David Shaw, "Men at Top are Key to Time/Newsweek Battle," Los Angeles Times, 3 May 1980, Part 1, pp. 1, 24-26.
- <sup>29</sup> Katz and Katz, p. 698; Shaw, pp. 1, 10-13; Shaw, pp. 1, 24-26.
- <sup>30</sup> Katz and Katz, p. 699; Tom McNichol and Margaret Carlson, "A Developer Remodels U.S. News," Columbia Journalism Review, July/August 1985, pp. 31-36.
- <sup>31</sup> Katz and Katz, p. 51; Audrey Edwards, "The Essence of Sweet Success," Black Enterprise, June 1980, pp. 134-38.
- <sup>32</sup> Katz and Katz, p. 902; Marilyn Abbey, "Haute Couture Big But Social Chic Sells Better," Advertising Age, October 19, 1981, pp. S-66-68; Ira Ellenthal, "Ruth Whitney: Editor-in-Chief of Glamour," Folio, December 1982, pp. 52-53.

- <sup>33</sup> Katz and Katz, p. 903; Joanne Cleaver, "The Sisters Get Older, Wiser and Tougher," Advertising Age, September 13, 1982, pp. M-34-38.
- <sup>34</sup> Katz and Katz, p. 903; Cecelia Reed, "McCall's Works to Keep Dialog Going," Advertising Age, October 25, 1982, pp. M-29-31.
- <sup>35</sup> Katz and Katz, p. 903; Abbey, pp. S-66-68.
- <sup>36</sup> Katz and Katz, p. 910; Reven Uihlein, "A Celebration of a Ms.-sion accomplished," Advertising Age, October 25, 1982, pp. M-29-31.
- <sup>37</sup> Katz and Katz, p. 904; "Redbook Zeroes in on Women of the 80s," Madison Avenue, September 1983, pp. 108-14.
- <sup>38</sup> Katz and Katz, p. 856; Mary McCabe English, "How to Stay Seventeen--and Keep Growing," Advertising Age, August 2, 1982, pp. M-27-28.
- <sup>39</sup> Katz and Katz, p. 857.
- <sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 905; Abbey, pp. S-66-68.
- <sup>41</sup> Katz and Katz, p. 906; "Woman's Day: Refurbishing the Dynasty," Madison Avenue, November 1983, pp. 114-20.
- <sup>42</sup> Katz and Katz, p. 715; Stuart Emmrich, "Working Woman Enters 7 Sisters' Turf," Advertising Age, April 19, 1982, p. 24.
- <sup>43</sup> Katz and Katz, p. 453; Bill Thomas, "What Does a Man Want?" Washington Journalism Review, December 1984, pp. 21-23; Susan Harrigan, "A Publishing Saga: Can Southern Lads Keep Esquire Afloat?" Wall Street Journal, 3 March 1980, sec. 1, p. 1.
- <sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 460; "Media Growth Mirrors Science Interest," Advertising Age, October 19, 1981, p. 64.
- <sup>45</sup> Katz and Katz, p. 802.
- <sup>46</sup> Katz and Katz, p. 696; Erwin Knoll, "Just to the Left," The Progressive, July 1984, p. 4.
- <sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 798; David W. Freeman, "Psychology Today On Road to Recovery," Advertising Age, October 18, 1984, p. 22.
- <sup>48</sup> Katz and Katz, p. 150.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, p. 825.

## CHAPTER VII

### BACKGROUND: MEDIA COVERAGE OF WOMEN

It is generally accepted that the mass media both reflect the dominant values and attitudes of a society and at the same time act as agents of socialization--teaching "acceptable" behavior.<sup>1</sup> They have such a pervasive influence in this country that they have become the dominant method by which we transmit our social culture.<sup>2</sup>

By 1970, 96 percent of all American homes were equipped with television sets, while one 1973 study found that by the time an American child is 15 years old, he or she has spent more time in front of a television than in a classroom.<sup>3</sup>

Magazines, too, are a dominant source of influence in our society. As indicated in Chapter VI, they are cited as the medium which contributes most to a person's personal knowledge or which furnishes the most usable ideas about automobiles, consumer education, mental and physical health, finances, fashion or families.<sup>4</sup>

Additionally, the media have the power to present facts or promote myths through their presentation of "scientific facts" regarding women's strengths, weaknesses

or abilities. Speculation can become fact, myth can become truth, and theory can become documented evidence almost solely on the word of the media.<sup>5</sup>

From radio, television, magazines, newspapers, films, books and now music videos, we form our images of social reality.<sup>6</sup> In particular, sex roles--which serve as guideposts for sex-appropriate behavior, skill, appearance and self-image--are transmitted by our media.<sup>7</sup> It is no wonder then that the mass media have undergone much critical examination with respect to their portrayal of women during the past 35 years.

Betty Friedan is often credited with launching the latest American women's movement in 1963 with the publication of her book, The Feminine Mystique. Although studies of the media's image of women had been conducted prior to that time, her examination of sex-role stereotyping in women's magazines provided a catalyst for other research.<sup>8</sup>

Since that time, much research has been conducted with respect to women's image within every medium. Although the media have differed, the results generally have been the same: men dominate the media in number as well as symbolic presence and women are routinely pictured in traditional roles of homemaker and mother dependent upon a male figure.<sup>9</sup> This is despite the fact that during this same period the social roles of women have changed in



a variety of ways--most predominantly that the number of women working for pay has doubled since 1957.<sup>10</sup>

In 1980, Matilda Butler and William Paisley compiled statistical information from various media studies conducted from 1935 to 1978. They analyzed studies on adult and children's television programming, magazine content, commercials, books and films, and concluded that, overall, women were vastly under-represented. This was particularly true within television.<sup>11</sup>

In their comparison of 11 studies of television commercials conducted between 1972 and 1978, they found that 90 percent of the offscreen narrations (voice overs) were provided by men.<sup>12</sup> Additionally, from 1972 to 1976, 60 percent of the women in commercials were shown in family roles compared to 18 percent of the men. And, as might be expected, 38 percent of the women were involved in cleaning, washing or cooking while only 11 percent of the men were shown performing these duties.<sup>13</sup>

Television programming has also been the subject of intense study in an effort to determine sex-role representation and dominance patterns of men and women. In both comedy and drama programs, it was found that there were fewer female characters and they were less important to the storyline.<sup>14</sup> In particular, one study found that only 38 percent of the major roles belonged to women and that they were portrayed in stereotypical roles of housewives,

nurses and secretaries.<sup>15</sup> Although women's roles have been expanding within the last several years and now include depictions of women as police officers, lawyers and physicians,<sup>16</sup> Butler and Paisley cite several studies in which these "nontraditional" women could not effectively function without a man's assistance.<sup>17</sup> Further, a 1985 study of public television found similar results with men outnumbering women two to one in dramatic and news roles, women serving as narrators primarily during non-prime time children's viewing hours and serving in more passive roles.<sup>18</sup>

Even children's literature does not escape the pattern of stereotypical representation of women. Butler and Paisley report that in 19 studies of children's literature from 1971 through 1976, there were more male characters featured in the text, photos and titles, male characters were shown in more occupations than females and stereotypical "male" and "female" personality traits were generally adhered to despite the fact that more than half of the authors of children's books are women.<sup>19</sup>

Sex-role research of magazine content has focused primarily on the plethora of women's magazines that inundate American women from their early teens, and it has generally been distinguished between fictional and non-fictional content. Unlike television, magazines can target specific audiences. Women's magazines, which are

directed to and read almost exclusively by women, therefore, can respond to societal changes more quickly than television.<sup>20</sup>

Butler and Paisley cite numerous studies of magazine articles and short stories that have examined women's occupational roles. In research examining women's coverage from 1940 to 1970, nine studies concluded that, in general, few women were shown pursuing careers, the employment of women was normally presented in an "unfavorable" light usually emphasizing some form of conflict, and jobs were viewed as a step toward getting a husband.<sup>21</sup>

In particular, one frequently cited study of fiction in Good Housekeeping, Ladies' Home Journal and McCall's between 1940 and 1970 found that women's roles were defined by the presence or absence of a man and that women were consistently portrayed as spinster, single but looking for a husband, housewife-mother or widowed or divorced. Although the study found that the vast majority of the married women were not employed, among those who did work for pay, 51 percent were in "low status" jobs (e.g., secretaries, clerks and servants), 38 percent were in "middle-status" positions such as teachers, nurses and stewardesses, and the remaining 11 percent were in "high-status" occupations of college professor, interior decorator or geologist.<sup>22</sup>

And, these images were not confined to the women's magazines alone. Busby cites a three-part study of both traditional women's and general audience magazines from 1957 to 1972 which examined the images of women at work in an effort to detect changes in their occupational roles. It discovered that the proportion of women portrayed as housewives in magazine fiction had risen only slightly while the proportion of working married women had remained consistently low.<sup>23</sup>

Studies of non-fiction in women's magazines have found somewhat different images. In even the most traditional publications, alternatives to domestic images of women are gradually finding their way into the content.<sup>24</sup> A comparison of women's non-fiction roles appearing in Mademoiselle, Redbook and Ms. between 1966 and 1974, likewise found that all three magazines had given attention to women in non-domestic roles; however Ms. did so with far greater regularity.<sup>25</sup>

Similarly, Geise's 1979 study in Redbook and Ladies' Home Journal over a 20-year period found that the articles examined did reflect changes paralleling those occurring in society. She discovered significant differences in female roles with traditional marriage, sex roles and divisions of labor receiving less support over time in both publications. She also found declining support for the concept that motherhood is essential for a woman's

fulfillment. Despite this, however, role models in both magazines gave family matters priority over their careers, with single career women anticipating making real sacrifices in their work upon marriage and motherhood.<sup>26</sup>

In a 1985 study of women's magazines, work options presented in "established" vs. "new" magazines were examined and it was discovered that even in the established magazines, a considerable majority of women profiled did work full-time. This constitutes a definite change from earlier studies when women were consistently shown in family settings and indicates that the image of women, at least as presented in women's magazines, has indeed changed. To further emphasize this point, 40 percent of the women in the study were portrayed in nontraditional occupations.<sup>27</sup>

In contrast, in a comparison of the photo content in randomly selected issues of Time and Newsweek for the years 1940, 1960 and 1980, women were seldom pictured in roles other than artist/entertainer or spouse or featured in sections other than "Entertainment" or "People," indicating that women's activities were interesting, but relatively unimportant. The few women who were depicted as professionals often held stereotypical occupations of fashion designer, teacher, secretary and nun.<sup>28</sup>

Women's family roles have similarly coincided with traditional occupational images. In Glazer's study of

Working Women, when women chose (or were forced) to work, they were still expected to do all of the traditional housework themselves.<sup>29</sup> Likewise, a 1984 study of seven women's magazines supported Glazer's findings by discovering that all seven featured articles in which women were shown easily and equally combining employment and full domestic responsibilities, thereby perpetuating the "superwoman" image.<sup>30</sup>

The bulk of research on the media's image of women was conducted during the 60s and 70s, with far less empirical research concerning the subject in the last few years. Generally, the media overall have been slow to react to new concepts of women's roles, but there is evidence that they have responded to public attitudes throughout the period and have broadened their coverage.<sup>31</sup>

Magazines, especially women's magazines, have reflected some of the social changes of the past two decades by focusing more on women working for pay, on the variety of options open to women, on some of the problems facing working mothers and on some of the changes and conflicts in women's role definitions. In addition, these magazines have covered such previously taboo topics as abortion and premarital and extramarital sex.<sup>32</sup>

Also, the new generation of women's magazines which have emerged geared to women in specific roles (e.g., Working Woman, Working Mother and Savvy) and focusing on

women's growth and expansion (Ms. and New Woman) has contributed to the changing image of women in the media.<sup>33</sup>

As the mass media are transmitting images to leaders of the next generation, their treatment of women has enormous social, political and economic importance.<sup>34</sup> In order to fully trace the media's performance into the decade of the 80s, further research needs to be conducted, particularly with respect to the rash of new magazines appearing daily, the medium of television and the onslaught of music videos.

It is apparent, however, that for changes to occur the general public, media owners, media professionals and society at large need to be sensitized to the issue of women's full integration into the workforce, and that efforts must be continued to establish the necessary equality between the sexes.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Gaye Tuchman, "Introduction: The Symbolic Annihilation of Women by the Mass Media," in Hearth and Home, ed. Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels and James Benet (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 3-14.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>4</sup>A.J. vanZuilen, The Life Cycle of Magazines (Uithoorn, The Netherlands: Graduate Press, 1977), p. 74.

<sup>5</sup>Caryl Rivers, "Mythogyny," Quill, May 1985, pp. 6-11.

<sup>6</sup>Matilda Butler and William Paisley, Women and the Mass Media (New York: Human Sciences Press, 1980), p. 19.

<sup>7</sup>Tuchman, p. 9.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 3-24.

<sup>10</sup>Gertrude Joch Robinson, "The Media and Social Change: Thirty Years of Magazine Coverage of Women and Work (1950-1977)," Atlantis 8 (Spring 1983): 9.

<sup>11</sup>Butler and Paisley, pp. 77-88.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 69-77.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>John F. Seggar, "Imagery of Women in Television Drama: 1974," Journal of Broadcasting 19 (Summer 1975): 273-82; Jean C. McNeil, "Feminism, Femininity and the Television Series: A Content Analysis," Journal of Broadcasting 19 (Summer 1975): 259-69.

<sup>15</sup>Seggar.



- <sup>16</sup>Deborah Haskell, "The Depiction of Women in Leading Roles in Prime Time Television," Journal of Broadcasting 23 (Spring 1979): 191-96.
- <sup>17</sup>Butler and Paisley, pp. 77-88.
- <sup>18</sup>Marilyn J. Matelski, "Image and Influence: Women in Public Television," Journalism Quarterly 62 (Spring 1985): 147-50.
- <sup>19</sup>Butler and Paisley, pp. 125-35.
- <sup>20</sup>Tuchman, pp. 17-24.
- <sup>21</sup>Butler and Paisley, pp. 103-04.
- <sup>22</sup>Helen Franzwa, "Working Women in Fact and Fiction," Journal of Communication 24 (Spring, 1974): 104-09.
- <sup>23</sup>Linda J. Busby, "Sex-role Research on the Mass Media," Journal of Communication 25 (Autumn, 1975): 107-31.
- <sup>24</sup>Carol Ruth Newkirk, "Female Roles in Non-fiction of Three Women's Magazines," Journalism Quarterly 54 (Winter, 1977): 779-82.
- <sup>25</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>26</sup>L. Ann Geise, "The Female Role in Middle Class Women's Magazines from 1955-76: A Content Analysis of Nonfiction Selection," Sex Roles 5 (February 1979): 51-62.
- <sup>27</sup>Josephine A. Ruggiero and Louise C. Weston, "Work Options For Women in Women's Magazines: The Medium and the Message," Sex Roles 12 (May/June, 1985): 535-47.
- <sup>28</sup>Mary L. Matthews and Carol Reuss, "The Minimal Image of Women in Time and Newsweek, 1940-1980," paper presented to the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Memphis, Tennessee, August 1985.
- <sup>29</sup>Nona Glazer, "Overworking the Working Woman: The Double Day in a Mass Magazine," in Women and Media, ed. Helen Baehr (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1980), pp. 79-84.
- <sup>30</sup>Susan Henry, "Juggling the Frying Pan and The Fire: The Portrayal of Employment and Family Life in Seven Women's Magazines, 1975-1982," The Social Science Journal 21 (October 1984): 87-107.

<sup>31</sup>Robinson, pp. 87-111.

<sup>32</sup>Ruggiero and Weston, p. 536.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., pp. 535-39.

<sup>34</sup>Tuchman, pp. 3-38.

## CHAPTER VIII

DATA: BLACK, GENERAL-INTEREST AND SPECIALIZED MAGAZINES

### Introduction

The first chapter of this content analysis covers three types of magazines encompassing 13 separate publications and 38 individual articles on the subject of women in the military. Articles in this chapter were published yearly from 1976 through 1985, with the topics and lengths as varied as the magazines themselves. The bulk of the data (20 articles), however, appeared during 1980 and 1981. Although 1980 saw the graduation of the first women from the military academies, there was, surprisingly, only one article on that subject in these magazines. The 20 articles published during that period focused on many different topics.

This chapter is divided into three main parts: black magazines; general-interest magazines; and specialized magazines. Each part is further sub-divided by publication title. A general discussion of the data found in each magazine is provided prior to the in-depth analysis of each individual article. A summary of the findings is included for each magazine type at the end of each

section. This summary also addresses the research questions that are listed in Chapter I. The last section is an overview of the entire chapter.

## BLACK MAGAZINES

### Black Enterprise

During the ten year period studied, Black Enterprise published only one article dealing with women in the armed forces. That article, titled "Women in the Military," was located on the last page of the seven-page feature titled "Blacks in the Military: Opportunity or Refuge?" which was published in the July 1980 edition of the magazine.<sup>1</sup>

No author was identified for the article which discussed, in broad terms, the topic of women in the military in general and the military as a career choice for young women. The article was not predicated upon any specific event.

The cover of the magazine featured a picture of the then Secretary of the Army, Clifford Alexander, superimposed over a montage of five servicemen performing various functions. No women were represented on the cover.

The Black Enterprise feature consisted of four separate articles: "Opportunity or Refuge"--a broad examination of blacks in the military; "Secretary of the Army: Man in the Hot Seat"--a profile of Clifford

Alexander Jr.; "A Very Patriotic Black Leatherneck"--a profile of one successful black Marine non-commissioned officer; and "Women in the Military."

The article, "Women in the Military," which was framed inside a "box," covered approximately two-thirds of page 30 and was 13 column inches in length. The title, written in bold, black block letters, sat atop a color photo of an enlisted woman performing clerical duties at her desk. The cut-line under the photo proclaimed, "Spec. 4 Marcia Peart hopes to model" leaving the reader the impression that this one military woman intended to get out of the service. The text of the article then followed.

The article focused on the positive aspects of a military career for women. This was accomplished through the use of testimonial quotations throughout the article by Spec. 4 Peart, identified as "21, an Army Specialist 4th Class from Brooklyn, New York" and the use of statistics detailing women's expanding roles within the service. Military service was favorably presented in such statements as: "While the great majority of female GIs are assigned to traditional service and support functions, such as clerk-typists and nursing, many have already begun to move into jobs long held exclusively by men." And "Women are flocking to the peace-time armed forces, eager to prove they can do any job a man can do."

Spec. 4 Peart discussed her living quarters, which were "similar to a coed college dormitory," her job, which was "no more demanding than that of her civilian girl friends," and basic training, which was "tough," but which provided the "discipline" she "needed." The article did not present any unfavorable factors connected with the military lifestyle, although it did state that "years ago women who went into the service were often considered a little odd."

Generally, the article's presentation of facts and statistics was accurate; however, it did present several conflicting images and left several questions unanswered. Although the article stated that "the military is now attracting many young women like Peart," there is no identification beyond her age, rank, and hometown. Additionally, Peart stated that she "wants to be a model and would stay in [the Army] if she could get to Italy where she could start modeling during off-duty time." There was no further explanation as to why this was not possible in her current assignment nor was the reader advised as to what her current assignment and job were.

Further, although a great deal of the article focused on women's expanding roles, Black Enterprise's presentation of Spec. 4 Peart sitting at a desk, in front of a typewriter and informing the reader of her intentions to

become a model, reflected a stereotypical, traditional image.

### Ebony

#### Frequency and Placement

The first article dealing with the subject of women in the military appeared in the November 1976 issue of Ebony. There were a total of nine articles published from 1976-1985, with multiple articles appearing in 1980, 1982 and 1983.<sup>2</sup> There were no articles published in 1977, 1979, 1981 or 1984. All nine articles were features with five (55 percent) concentrating their coverage on one woman.<sup>3</sup> On the average, the articles averaged 22 column inches in length. None of the articles received cover mention.

A total of seven (78 percent) articles resulted directly from a specific action or event:<sup>4</sup> two (29 percent) discussed women's entrance and graduation at military academies and five (71 percent) reported on "firsts" by black women.

The majority (five, or 56 percent) of the articles in Ebony focused on the topic of firsts and two (22 percent) focused on women's attendance at the military academies. Of the other two articles, one examined women's expansion from a broad view and one offered a profile of women.<sup>5</sup>

### Illustrations

There were a total of 91 photos utilized in the nine articles, with every article containing an average of 10 photos. The majority (37) were of women in a work environment (or classroom in the case of academy females). Of these, nine were in a classroom setting, nine depicted women supervising others (men and women), seven featured a woman navigator and six were pilots. Other pictures utilized in the work category consisted of two stevedores, two women at the helm of a ship, one airplane mechanic and one officer conducting a formal, in-ranks inspection. There were no photos depicting women in traditional "feminine" jobs.

Twenty-one of the photographs were of women in uniform, however, within a casual rather than work or regimented posture, while nine portrayed women in civilian clothing. The remaining photos consisted of: five undergoing physical training; five undergoing a formal inspection; five in a ceremonial setting; three portrait-type photos; three of women within a large group; two in a "field" environment; and three classified as other which included photographs of objects or people other than military women. With the exception of the one full-color portrait used in the February 1980 issue, all photographs used in Ebony were in black and white.



### Authors

Only one of the nine articles carried a by-line identifying an author.<sup>6</sup> That author, Marilyn Marshall, was responsible for the April 1983 article on Coast Guard Academy graduates. No biographical information was provided for Marshall.

### Individual Examinations

#### "Women in the Service Academies"

Published in November 1976, this 46-column-inch article focused on the entrance of women, specifically eight black women, into the military academies.<sup>7</sup>

The title, which rested in the upper left corner of page 31, and the coverline directly beneath it--"Black women are among first to crack sex barrier at Annapolis, West Point and U.S. Air Force Academy"--combined with the 21 photos accompanying the text to create an image of women as an integral part of academy life. Photos include shots of women in class, performing physical exercise, undergoing inspection and within large groups.

The article began with the image of "the wall of three bastions of male chauvinism" being "perforated by women in combat boots with M-1s slung over their shoulders and the gumption to forge a pioneer trail" and continued to describe the rigors of academy life, the "resentment" of the male cadets who referred to the women as "queen bees" and the motivations of the eight women. Day to day

life was examined as well as social interaction with the male cadets: "their schedules limit any social interaction" and "'A lot of the girls like upperclassmen.'"

The basic tone of the article was positive, emphasizing not only the women's attitudes and adjustments, but the benefits of academy attendance: "Cadets also receive special deals on cars when they become seniors. The student parking lot at Colorado Springs attests to this. It is filled with shiny Datsun 240Zs, Porsches, Corvettes and Triumphs."

In general, the article presented a positive portrait of academy attendance without focusing too heavily on negative aspects related to the women's presence. Photos showed women in a wide spectrum of activities usually integrated with men. The women were normally described only by age and home state, although those from military families were so identified. There was little concentration on traditional concepts of women's emotionalism, the only reference coming from one male officer: "'I've had to tell more male cadets to knock off the tears than the women.'"

"Woman Navigator Spans the Globe for U.S. Air Force"

This 27-column-inch article, published December 1978, focused on the first black woman navigator in the Air Force.<sup>8</sup> The 13 photos accompanying the article primarily depicted the female captain engrossed in her work in

briefing rooms and inside the plane itself, but as is routine Ebony style several photos of the woman navigator in civilian clothes, entertaining for family and friends, effected the "well-rounded" image.

The article described the duties of the "28 [year old] budding criminologist turned globe-hopping navigator" and stated that "whatever trepidation" may have "filled the hearts of the men" with whom she was assigned, her work has proved "'superior in every respect,'" according to her male superior. The job was described as a continual "foreign adventure" in which the crew of the aircraft has "time to dine in a fine Japanese restaurant in Tokyo. Time to shop for trinkets at a flea market in London, buy clothes from a Paris boutique, or relax on a sandy beach on a tiny island in the Indian Ocean." The navigator, who is "satisfied and comfortable" with her military life, was noted as having "developed an appreciation for home that most people take for granted" and for taking "particular joy in entertaining at home."

The article offered a positive, albeit unrealistic, romanticized view of military duties and took pains to ensure that the woman navigator was depicted both on the job and "getting acquainted again with her house in Vacaville, her German shepherd, Max and friends." Personal descriptives, however, were not used.

"The General is a Lady"

Published in February 1980, this 29-column-inch article focused on the first black woman general, Brigadier General Hazel Johnson.<sup>9</sup> It was the only Ebony article to utilize color photography.

The full-page, color official Army photograph of the general standing in front of the United States flag and her red general's flag with one white star, might well have riveted the reader's attention to page 44. The facing page shouted the achievement with the title printed across the top of the page in bold letters. Other photos on page 45 showed the general at the promotion ceremony with Secretary of the Army Clifford Alexander and in conference with two women colonels, stars on their shoulders prominently displayed. The caption under the color photograph read, in part, "Gen. Johnson, 52, is in charge of developing policy for more than 7,000 military nurses located throughout United States, Japan, Korea, Germany, Italy and Panama." The effect produced was a dramatic representation of both the general's unique position and her responsibilities.

The text of the article began by describing the unique position the general holds: "Women generals are about as rare as 80 cents-per gallon gasoline, impoverished oil sheiks, or Big Oil executives bemoaning dwindling profits." It continued with a description of her

command and the "arduous task" she was undertaking. Described as "pristine" and "one of seven children," the general's career progression and educational advancements were cited. Although "she was promoted on at least two occasions ahead of her time," the article stated "one thing the general did not pick up, was a man." Instead, the general had "'to decide what was more important, marriage or my career.'" In her spare time, the article noted, the general enjoyed "running, knitting and reading."

The article presented a positive image of one successful black woman. However, despite the unique position the general occupied and the many degrees, travel experience and "impressive positions" she held, the article inferred that her accomplishments were somehow lessened because she had not married. References to home-life in general and marital status, in particular, are examples of stereotypical reporting.

#### "'Show Me State' Girl Shows the Way"

This 18-column-inch article, published in April 1980, focused on the military's first black woman pilot.<sup>10</sup> The half-page photograph of a smiling black woman pilot standing in front of an Army helicopter served to reinforce the image created by the 1-1/2-inch banner headline and the coverline: "Missouri's Marcella A. Hayes becomes the military's first Black woman pilot." All of the other

photographs used in the article were either of the pilot at work or at her pilot training graduation ceremony.

The positive article described the pilot as "23," "the second youngest of four girls" and "adventurous" with hobbies that included "mountain climbing, fishing, racquetball, backgammon and sewing." It also described the "grueling nine months" of training completed by Hayes, however there was little discussion of her duties and no information provided about her current assignment.

The article concentrated on the background and personality of Hayes. It presented no information about her "off-duty" hours nor marital status other than a listing of hobbies which could not be described as traditionally feminine.

"Sisters-In-Arms: Marching Into Their Brothers' Territory"

Published in the August 1982 issue, this nine-column-inch article, which focused on women's expanding military role, could be described as a photo essay since it is accompanied by 13 pictures.<sup>11</sup> Situated directly beneath the title and the cover-line, "GI Jane is making the grade in areas formerly reserved 'for men only,'" is the photograph of a group of marching soldiers, led by a woman. That photograph and the others of women in non-traditional roles (including a stevedore and a paratrooper) that appear on the facing pages 90 and 91, immediately convey

an image of non-traditional women. Other women appearing in photographs included women pilots, mechanics and academy cadets. There were no pictures of women performing traditional duties.

The text of the article described the "increasing number of women" "no longer content to function exclusively as military men's fragile 'little helpmates.'" It presented statistics of military women's growth both in the services in general and at the academies.

The article presented its information in a generally objective manner accompanied by accurate statistical data. There were no examples of stereotypical reporting.

#### "Women in Command"

Published in the December 1982 Ebony, this 19-column-inch article focused on two women Marine captains who "call the shots" at Parris Island.<sup>12</sup> The title was printed across the bottom of a half-page photograph (located on page 92) of the stern-looking women, hats pulled so low across their faces that their eyes were barely visible. The effect created was that of the "hard-core" Marines. Other photos, located throughout the article, dispelled that image somewhat as the women were shown riding a bicycle, smiling over lunch with friends and conducting physical training.

The article concentrated on how the women entered the Marine Corps (one accompanied her husband to the testing

station and "on the spur-of-the-moment" decided to take the test) and examined their duties as "the two highest-ranking Black women at WRTC [Woman Recruit Training Command]." The women, "admitted tomboys," were "aware of the Marines' 'macho' image," however, they stated that it "doesn't mean that they can't be feminine."

The "two single women" were depicted as leading "rather quiet lives . . . partly because the social scene in the Parris Island area isn't the greatest" with "sprucing up the . . . house" listed as the free time enjoyment for one of the Marines.

The article offered a positive examination of two Marine women; however, its heavy concentration on their marital status and home life activities was an example of stereotypical reporting. As in most Ebony articles, there was an attempt to depict the "well-rounded" military woman.

#### "Air Force Graduates First Black Woman Pilot"

This nine-column-inch article, published in April 1983, focused on the first black woman pilot in the Air Force.<sup>13</sup> Readers who turned to page 46 were faced with the words "BLACK WOMAN PILOT" across the center of the page and corresponding photographs of a black woman climbing into and operating a jet plane above and beneath it.



The article described both the background ("23-year-old daughter of a retired Air Force technical sergeant") and attitudes of the lieutenant who was "excited about the assignment and not worried about how she will be received as a Black female."

The article presented a "snapshot" of the woman officer with little personal descriptives. All photographs were of her in uniform; however one caught her at home, standing by the stove, making a cup of tea with a caption which read, in part, "even busy pilots need a few moments to relax." In that same caption was a notation of the officer's "spare time" hobbies, again reflecting Ebony style of portraying the military women both at work and at home.

#### "Women Cadets Make Coast Guard History"

Published in April 1983, this 24-column-inch article, which focused on women Coast Guard Academy graduates, was the only Ebony article listing an author.<sup>14</sup> No biographical information, however, was provided for the author, Marilyn Marshall.

The article offered a positive examination of the first two black women graduates and related their experiences over their four years at the academy where "life . . . is much tougher than it is at most colleges." Other than one "unpleasant encounter . . . with a White male cadet who used a racial slur," the women had no problems

getting along" at the academy which they chose in order to obtain "a free education."

The cadets' extracurricular activities were described: "a member of two choral groups and the rowing team," "active in a Bible study group" and "both women belong to a minority organization." Their social activities also were mentioned: "the women don't have steady boyfriends" and "they would eventually like to get married and have children."

Once again, Ebony's focus on the military women's social activities and marital status reflected stereotypical coverage of women. Additionally, although the article contained a total of nine photographs, three depicted the women cadets socializing with several smiling men--one of the women in civilian clothes, dancing as they "party off campus."

#### "'Bird' Colonel at War College"

Published in the March 1985 issue, this 16-column-inch article focused on the "first Black woman line colonel" in the Air Force.<sup>15</sup> The photo, which sat along side the title and cover-line ("... sets precedent with Air Force line rank"), is of a smiling, friendly-looking woman in uniform. With the exception of two photos, all pictured presented the same smiling, friendly image.

The article, beginning on page 94, gave an encapsulated version of the colonel's career and personal

descriptions of her home life. The colonel, who was described as being "among the Air Force's top 10 percent," was also noted to be the wife of a "recently retired" air traffic controller and "an instant mother" to her husband's two sons by a previous marriage.

The four photos of the colonel at home had captions that note she is "an excellent cook, [who] finds time to prepare her favorite dishes," has a "spacious" house and is a singer in the base choir. She was shown cooking, playing the organ, jogging and sharing "pleasure-filled moments" with her husband.

The article concentrated on the assignments of the colonel's career and her home life without explaining what the "war college" was or defining "line rank." A great deal of the article centered on the colonel's personal life and home activities, emphasizing her traditional role of homemaker, mother and wife.

### Jet

#### Frequency and Placement

The first article related to the subject of women in the military appeared in the June 5, 1980, issue of Jet, the latest mention in any magazine publishing multiple articles on the subject. In all, nine articles about women in the military were located during the decade of coverage, the same number found in another black magazine,

Ebony; six (67 percent) in the semi-regular column, "Armed Forces," which reported news related to military service; one (11 percent) in the weekly column, "National Report," which presented any variety of news item of national interest; one (11 percent) in the semi-regular column, "The Sexes," which featured news items geared to the social interaction of males and females; and one (11 percent) which stood alone--not part of any column.<sup>16</sup>

On the average, the articles were three and a half column inches long with no distinction noted in the length of articles appearing within the various columns. In four (67 percent) of the six "Armed Forces" columns, articles were the lead items for the section and in only one (11 percent) instance did an article appear after the second listing, in which case it was the fifth of six items.<sup>17</sup>

Eight (89 percent) of the nine articles were written in a "hard news" manner, while one, which reported on the modeling career of a soldier, was written in feature style.<sup>18</sup> There were seven (78 percent) articles which resulted directly from a specific action or event: two (29 percent) reporting on charges filed against women; two (29 percent) reporting on regulation changes; two (29 percent) on actions of specific women; and one (13 percent) on the 1981 graduating class at the Naval Academy.<sup>19</sup>

The nine articles reported on six different topics: three on struggles for individual rights; two on pregnancy; and one on each of the four topics--firsts, stress/harassment, attendance at the military academies and a profile-type report.

The greatest coverage of women in the military came in 1981 when four articles were published. Multiple coverage was also noted in 1980 when three articles were published. The only other years which featured coverage were 1982 and 1984. None of the articles received cover mention.

#### Illustrations

Coverage in Jet was not characterized by a large number of illustrations, with only six photos appearing in all and in only four of the nine articles.<sup>20</sup> No other illustrations or graphic artwork were used with the articles. Most (three) of the photos were of women in civilian clothes with only two shown in work settings and one in a uniform within a casual setting. The photos of women working depicted an intelligence briefer and a paratrooper. All photos were in black and white.

#### Authors

None of the nine articles appearing in Jet featured an author's byline.

### Individual Examinations

#### "Intelligence Sgt. Doubles as Part-Time Fashion Model"

This seven-column-inch article, published in the June 5, 1980 issue of Jet, was run as the only article in the "Armed Forces" section and focused on the "double" life of an Air Force woman.<sup>21</sup>

Diagonally opposite of one another on page 28 were two photos of the Air Force sergeant--one conducting a briefing in her military uniform and one portrait of the woman as she "strikes a lovely pose." The placement of the two photographs on the small page served to reinforce the title.

The article described the part-time fashion modeling career of the sergeant and stated that she "has turned her fantasy into reality." It also claimed that although she had "'thoroughly enjoyed'" her military duties, the new job as a model had given her "'a warm sense of accomplishment.'" She was described only as a native of New Jersey with no age being given.

The article was not predicated on any event and was written solely to emphasize the modeling career of the woman--a traditional role. The article was devoid of personal adjectives and the woman was referred to throughout as "Sgt. McCauley."

"Navy Finds Young Sailor Guilty In Lesbian Probe"

This four-column-inch article was published in the September 4 issue and was run as the fifth of six items in the "National Report" section.<sup>22</sup> The article was a "straight" news report of a black woman sailor found guilty of "homosexual conduct" aboard a military ship. The woman, described as "18, the youngest of eight women accused," was pictured sitting inside of a vehicle in civilian clothes with a somber expression on her face.

The article presented the information objectively using no personal adjectives to describe the Navy woman.

"Navy Charges Two With Lesbianism; Both Black"

Published in the September 18, 1980 issue, this three-column-inch article ran as the second of two items in "The Sexes" section, in contrast to its companion article two weeks earlier which had run in the "National Report" section.<sup>23</sup> Located on page 44, the article stated that the Navy had "dismissed charges of lesbianism against all but two of eight sailors" and indicated that the two had been found guilty and "recommended for dismissal." Accompanying the article was a photo of the two women found guilty, both in civilian clothes.

The article presented the information objectively, using no personal adjectives to describe the Navy women. The headline which indicated that the "Navy charges two,"

however was in conflict with the facts presented--that the Navy had dismissed charges of eight and found two guilty.

"Army Sets Guidelines to Curb Sexual Harassment, Sets Limit On Women"

This four-column-inch article, run as the only item in the "Armed Forces" section, was published in the March 19, 1981 issue and focused on the development of Army guidelines to "help combat sexual harassment" as well as the decision to "hold the line" on the number of women recruited.<sup>24</sup>

The article stated that "although many men feel that whistling at or propositioning women is acceptable, most women are not flattered. And the U.S. Army has decided to do something about it." No illustrations accompanied the article located on page 45.

The article presented its information in an objective manner in the form of a straight news item.

"Black Women Make Strides At U.S. Naval Academy"

This three-column-inch article was located on page 39 of the June 25, 1981 issue, as the second of four items within the "Armed Forces" section.<sup>25</sup> It provided statistical data indicating that the number of black women at the Naval Academy was increasing. It also indicated that the number of black men at the academy had dropped. No illustrations accompanied the article.



The article was written in straight journalistic fashion and presented its information in an objective manner.

"Female Paratrooper Keeps Goals Airborne"

Published in the July 2, 1981 issue, this four-column-inch article, located on page 15, was run as the only item in the "Armed Forces" section.<sup>26</sup> It focused on "Michigan's first Black female paratrooper and the third highest non-commissioned female paratrooper in the Army," who had just reenlisted. Identified as "33-year[s]-old," the woman stated that "'When I got my wings I cried because it showed me there was nothing I couldn't do.'" A photograph of the woman in full paratrooper equipment accompanied the article.

The article was written in straight journalistic fashion, presenting its information in an objective manner; however, the "newsworthiness" of the item is questionable since black women reenlist daily and the concept of "firsts" was stretched to its limits.

"Illiteracy and Pregnancy Biggest Woes Facing Army"

This three-column-inch article was located on page 46 of the July 23, 1981 issue and was run as the second of three items within the "Armed Forces" section.<sup>27</sup> It focused on major Army commanders in Germany who "complained" about the number of pregnant women and illiterate

soldiers in their commands. It claimed that "many [commanders] blame the problem on the all-volunteer Army." No photographs or illustrations accompanied the article.

The article was written in straight journalistic fashion and presented its information in an objective manner.

"Navy Tightens Rules on Discharges For Pregnancy"

Published in the August 23, 1982 issue, this four-column-inch article, located on page 40, was run as the first of two items in the "Armed Forces" section.<sup>28</sup> The article focused on the Navy's change in policy on pregnancy discharges that will "bring the Navy in line" with the other services and on the "'overriding and compelling factors'" which would justify a discharge. No photographs or illustrations were utilized with this article.

The article was written in straight journalistic fashion and presented its information in an objective manner.

"Fear of Heights Gets Midshipman Out of Test Jump From 33-Foot Tower"

The last article published in Jet was the three-column-inch straight news item run in the April 30, 1984 issue.<sup>29</sup> The article, which focused on one woman Navy cadet's failure to meet all requirements for graduation from the Naval Academy, was not carried as part of any identified section, rather standing alone. The article,

located on page 18, explained that the female cadet would be allowed to graduate even though she had refused to make a "mandatory test jump" as required. Accompanying the article was a photograph of the cadet, in uniform, sitting while the "president of the local NAACP" stood protectively over her.

The article was written in straight journalistic fashion and presented its information in an objective manner. Although the NAACP was not mentioned in the body of the story, the photograph intimated that some political struggle was involved in the cadet's "case."

#### Summary

The coverage of women in the military varied greatly with each black magazine studied, not only in terms of topic, but in coverage quantity and consistency as well. Generally, the magazines were true to their style. Thus Jet published short, concise straight news articles covering both positive and negative topics of interest to black military women, while Ebony concentrated its coverage on the positive aspects of women's military service. In contrast to the Jet material, Ebony published only feature articles. Neither magazine presented in-depth analyses of issues or topics, with the longest single article of the 19 running only 46 column inches.

The same can certainly be said of Black Enterprise's lone feature.

Black Enterprise was the only magazine to examine the career aspects of black women's service, albeit merely as a cursory discussion. With the number of black women serving in the military presently comprising approximately 29 percent of the force (or 49,000) and generally on the rise,<sup>30</sup> it is doubtful that black women are receiving the kind of information they need from their magazines. (Essence did feature two career articles, although they were also incomplete. See Chapter IX.)

Jet was the only magazine which mentioned any negative aspects related to military service such as sexual harassment and regulations forbidding homosexual conduct (although it did not examine the issues, instead only reporting news items). This was in direct contrast to Ebony which did not touch on a single issue or negative aspect of military service. Ebony's penchant for publicizing the positive was evident by its publication of five articles having to do with "firsts" accomplished by black women. (It should be noted as well that no other magazine reported on these accomplishments.) It was, however, the only magazine to announce the entrance of women into the previously all-male military academies.

The majority of the articles were predicated on an event including Ebony's "firsts," the conviction of two

black homosexuals, and several regulation changes. Those articles not resulting from specific incidents examined career opportunities, women's expansion from the broad view and several short "profiles" of women.

Only Jet with its straight news style, was free from stereotypical portrayals of women. Although Black Enterprise presented a stereotyped portrait of a woman in a clerical position who wished to become a model, Ebony was, by far, the worst culprit. It continually focused on the marital status and social life of its subjects. Women normally were identified by age and depicted in their home environment in an effort to present a well-rounded picture of these women. In the most blatant of these depictions, it was intimated that one very successful black woman was unfulfilled since she had failed to "pick up" a husband during the course of her career. If mentioned at all, problems were glossed over in favor of the more positive elements of the story.

#### GENERAL-INTEREST MAGAZINES

##### Life

During the ten year period studied, Life published only one article dealing with the subject of women in the military.<sup>31</sup> That article, titled "Women at Arms," was

adapted from the Helen Rogan book Mixed Company and was published in the September 1981 issue of the magazine.

The dominant image on the cover of the September 1981 issue was of the newly invented artificial heart; however, in a box in the top right corner of the page, adjacent to the magazine masthead, was the teaser: "Can Women Cut It in the Military?" It was accompanied by a color, close-up photograph of a female soldier camouflaged into her surroundings through the use of both face paint and tree branches.

Turning to page 66, the reader was confronted with a two-line, three-inch headline with the word "ARMS" in bold type. Beneath the headline, sat the coverline: "Struggling to overcome barriers of prejudice and physical strength." Featured on the facing page was a full-size, color drawing of a black woman soldier being dragged along a road march by two male soldiers with the caption that read, "'I'm going to stick with those men more,' said Jones. 'They're real nice.'" The effect of the graphic design and the dramatic drawing was to produce an image of Army women not able to "hold their own," an image somewhat inconsistent with the contents of the book itself. Only two other illustrations were included with the article, both of similar drawing style. However, they did not effect a negative image of the women.

The article contained an introductory paragraph that explained how the data for the book was gathered and identified the author, Helen Rogan, as a "former magazine writer and editor." The book itself identifies Rogan as a former "associate editor of Harper's" who has written for Time, The New York Times Book Review, Newsday and Washington Monthly. She is additionally noted to be the 1980 winner of the DeWitt Wallace/Reader's Digest Fellowship.<sup>32</sup>

The 175-column-inch article, which focused on the lives of a Ft. McClellan, Alabama, basic training company as well as the female cadets at West Point, presented dramatic, graphic images of women facing problems of resentment, lack of physical strength and stereotypical thinking. This was primarily accomplished through the observations of the author, who followed the company through its entire training cycle and then conducted follow-up interviews with some of the women a year after they had reached their first assignment.

The article began with the trainees on a road march and bivouac where they "clumsily smeared themselves with camouflage," as they "giggled and groaned as they put the packs on--many of the women had trouble even getting them on their backs" and as they "tottered off, with helmets askew, their faces flushed." It followed them to the rifle range where one male NCO commented that "'The men

think they're Audie Murphy or John Wayne, so they won't listen. But some of the women are so nervous, they listen. And then they do it right.'" And, it followed them to the "night war game" where "most of the infiltrators were attractive women, and the men who captured them relished their triumph."

Males and females were vividly described, usually along stereotypical outlines: "Sergeant Johnson, [male] a devout Mormon"; Sergeant Carroll (male), "a genial black MP"; Sergeant Stokes (male), "another MP, a big, gruff drill sergeant"; Private Jones (female), "a small, round black woman from Chicago"; the company commander (female), "from Chicago, 27 years old and a former WAC (Womens Army Corps member). She is disarmingly pretty--five feet two, with large green eyes, a pointed face and a curving little body"; and one other female soldier who was "a beauty--tall and willowy, with high cheekbones and a boy's haircut."

The article also included portions on women's history within the Army and a focus on West Point's reactions to the cheating scandal and women's entrance which occurred the same year. The women that were later re-visited were depicted as frustrated and disillusioned with the Army life, reflected in one female soldier's comments: "'The Army is an ego trip for men. They think they're rough and tough and better than average and better than women. You



have to live with it, because if you buck their way of life, ruin their ego trip, they'll turn on you.'"

The article was an in-depth analysis of women's service in light of the many problems they face. It generally produced a negative view of Army life, contrasting with the positive image of women struggling to overcome the obstacles. The descriptive nature with which the women were described, including eye color, body shape and overall appearance, reflected stereotypical coverage of women in that males were not described in such a manner.

#### New York Times Magazine

##### Frequency and Placement

There were a total of three articles published in the New York Times Magazine between June 1975 and June 1985, with the first appearing in September 1965.<sup>33</sup> Although one focused on one woman captain, the main thrust of the article was on the duties and routine patrol of the ship; thus it was determined to be a feature article rather than a profile. All three articles were, therefore, features. One article was published in 1976, one in 1977 and the last in 1979. The average length of the articles was 126 column inches. Only one of the three articles received cover mention.<sup>34</sup>

All of the articles were predicated upon an event: two with women's admittance and performance at the service

academies and one with the first woman named to captain a ship.

### Illustrations

There were a total of 24 photographs on the three stories with the majority (11) depicting women in a field environment. Of those 11, only one featured a woman carrying a rifle. Of the remaining photos, three were of women within a large group, three were of women in uniform, but in a casual setting, two showed a woman working (both in the article about the woman captain), two depicted women in physical exercise, two were in civilian clothes and one was of women undergoing an inspection. All photos were in black and white.

### Authors

All three articles in the magazine were written by the same author, Grace Lichtenstein. Lichtenstein was alternately described as "a national correspondent for The New York Times, [who] covers the Rocky Mountain states," "a Times reporter, [who] is the author of Desperado, an account of her experiences in the West, to be published by Dial Press" and "currently working on a new book about women adventurers."

### Individual Examinations

"Kill, Hate--Mutilate!"

Published in the September 5, 1976, edition of the magazine, this 187-column-inch article, which focused on the first women to attend the Air Force Academy, was the only one of the three articles to receive cover mention.<sup>35</sup>

The cover, in fact, featured a full-page, color photo of a white T-shirted male growling in the face of a very young, scared-looking female in green fatigues. Across the bottom left corner was the teaser: "'You make me sick, Basics!' The first women cadets face the music."

Turning to pages 10 and 11, readers were faced with a double-spread featuring both photos and text. Page 10 presented a full page black and white photograph of men and women of the academy, in parade formation, with M-14 rifles against a background of Colorado mountains. Across the top of page 11 ran the headline with the coverline directly beneath it: "Women are being trained to be officers in the first coed class at the Air Force Academy. Will they tone down its masculine militarism, or will it be the women who adapt?" Five photos of women moving through a field obstacle course were below that. The effect of the photos and the headlines was to create an image of aggressive, physical women being militarized through the training they were receiving.

The article examined women's performance at the Air Force Academy, the service academy which "had been the most openly enthusiastic about coeducation," through a concentration on Basic Cadet Training, "a six-week prelude to the studies they were to pursue at the main Academy campus." The author accompanied the cadets through several phases of the training to include marching drills, obstacle courses, rifle practice, armed and unarmed combat courses and the assault course, described as a "strenuous and often humiliating one [experience] for both sexes," and was "appalled--almost nauseated" by the sight of women trying to "bash each other's brains out." The author's viewpoint was clearly evident as she injected: "Aggression and self-defense surely are as much a part of women's makeup as men's, but I'm convinced women don't enjoy a fight as some men do," and centered a great deal of attention on a combat course in which the cadets conducted a physical warm-up drill to chants of "'Kill Kill/ Hate Hate/ Murder Murder--Mutilate!'"

The women themselves were described in a similarly descriptive manner. One of four black women enrollees had spent a year working as a probation officer and had entered the academy after dropping out of Vassar because she "was ready for a little discipline." Another, "a slim young woman who is engaged to an Academy upperclassman," transferred to the Academy "so her career would be

compatible with her husband's." And, a third, "the daughter of a retired master sergeant," who had a 95 average in her high school class, had "almost enrolled in Vanderbilt University but as a childhood admirer of 'snazzy uniforms' she was intrigued with the Air Force Academy."

Describing adjustments both male and female cadets were making to their new environments, the article stated that "the task [of older cadets bossing the new ones] is made infinitely more troublesome when the younger cadet is a cute girl who can't really believe an older one's bark and is trying to suppress an unconsciously flirtatious smile." It also quoted one male upperclassman who complained that "'sometimes they wink at you!'" As the women completed their initial training they were applauded for their "determination" and "upbeat" attitude, although a "significant minority" were "having their doubts about the psychological price they might have to pay."

The author made no attempt to disguise or hide her anti-military feelings which certainly influenced the tone of the article and, no doubt, affected the women's portrayal. The women cadets she described were more interested in uniforms and boyfriends than the military school and were presented in a predominantly stereotypical manner although performing non-traditional activities.

"How Women are Faring at the Air Academy"

This 89-column-inch feature was published September 11, 1977, as a follow-up to the 1976 article and attempted to determine the status of the women cadets after one year's time.<sup>36</sup> On page 104, the cover photo from the earlier article which showed a male upperclassman screaming at a female cadet was opposite a photograph of that same woman now in civilian clothes with a caption that read: "Donna Smart, a cadet on this Magazine's cover last September is now an honor scholar at the University of Alabama." The reader's immediate perception was that the women weren't faring very well. Nine other photographs were also featured within the article, primarily showing the women in a field training posture.

This article was written in much the same manner as the earlier one, with the author accompanying cadets through some of their training and talking with those who had left. To illustrate how the women were "thriving," it opened with one cadet biting "into a cow's eyeball on the Survival, Evasion, Resistance and Escape course," one appearing on the "Today" show who had also been profiled in Ebony magazine, one, a star on the academy's first female varsity gymnastics team and one shooting a rabbit for dinner during a part of the training.

Informed that only 10 of the original 15 women remained at the academy, the reader was advised that

"gone, too, are some of the women's illusions that they will ever be accepted totally by the Air Force, considered to be the most progressive branch of the military."

Thereafter, the article contrasted the lives of those who had stayed (who were "among its biggest boosters") with those who left--"she had found the physical punishment in basic training less debilitating than the routine mental punishment she had to endure as a 'doolie' (freshman)." The success of those who remained was attributed, in part, to "the strong, disciplined personalities of the cadets."

The article also examined the resentment faced by the women, ("a guy would look at me and he'd see me as someone in a skirt, someone who obviously didn't have a mind or couldn't run a mile,") the fraternization policy, ("yet it is widely acknowledged by cadets throughout the school that many rendezvous take place") and many of the changes that had taken place over the year.

Although the author's anti-military feelings were still reflected in her broad, but sometimes unexplained, comments about the Air Force's policies toward women, there was far less concentration on stereotypical descriptions of women cadets. In this article, the women's career aspirations were given more attention which better explained the women's presence rather than a liking of "snazzy" uniforms.

"Oh, the Captain, She's a Lady"

The final New York Times Magazine article was a 102-column-inch article which was published on August 26, 1979, and focused on the first woman to command a Coast Guard ship.<sup>37</sup>

The reader, turning to page 24, was confronted with a double-spread photo layout with only one column of text. The photos on the two pages were of the captain working: one, on the bridge relaying a message to shore and one, on deck assisting rescued passengers on board. As both photos were full-page size, they commanded the reader's attention. Other photographs, sprinkled throughout the article, showed the captain performing various tasks and relaxing on board.

This article was written in much the same manner as the author's two previous articles. As she joined the crew of a Coast Guard cutter on a "routine" patrol, she focused as much on the mission of the ship as on the female captain who was described in the article as "businesslike, nearly brusque" with "her hair softly framing a girlish face free of makeup," who seemed "at the same time younger and older than her 25 years."

The author observed the crew of the ship perform a rescue mission, a swap of passengers with a Cuban gunboat and a drug-smuggling raid. She described the daily operation of the ship and its crew, the living quarters and the



ship itself. The all-male crew was termed "receptive" to the new captain. However, even though she "had earned their respect," "occasional X-rated sexist remarks" were still "made behind her back."

Although this article devoted much less space to a description of the female subject, it did make reference to her marital status, commenting that when she got home it would be the "first time since their honeymoon 10 weeks ago" that she had seen her husband.<sup>84</sup> No physical descriptions or marital status were given for the two males individually mentioned in the story. Generally, however, the article presented a balanced look at life aboard the ship.

## People

### Frequency and Placement

There were a total of six articles published in People during the period covered by this study with the first appearing in the September 4, 1978 issue.<sup>38</sup> All of the six were features and all were located within a regular or semi-regular section of the magazine with section titles normally encompassing widely diverse topics and broadly applied. Of the six, two (33 percent) were carried as part of "Up Front," the main feature items of the magazine, with one (17 percent) in each of the sections "To The Top," a broad title featuring unique,

success stories oftentimes of individuals who overcome difficulty, "Winners," normally a focus on one individual's accomplishments, "Lookout," a section on up-and-comers or people to "lookout" for, and "Discovery," broadly applied to stories of inventions, new ideas or social phenomena. The most extensive coverage was in 1980 with three (50 percent) articles published during that year.<sup>39</sup> There was also one (17 percent) article published in each of the three years 1978, 1979 and 1981. On the average, the features were 16 column inches in length.

Only three (50 percent) of the articles were the result of specific events: one upon the 1980 military academies graduation; one on a first; and one upon the release of a book.<sup>40</sup> The articles focused on separate topics with only the sexual harassment/psychological stress topic receiving focus in more than one article. None of the six articles received cover mention.

#### Illustrations

There were a total of 22 photographs and one drawing in the six articles used for this study, with all articles containing at least one photo. Most of the photographs (eight) showed military women in uniform in a casual setting and five were in civilian clothes. The remaining nine were in a variety of formats: three classified as "other" were of objects or people not women in the military; two working photos (both contained in one article);

one of women undergoing inspection; one in ceremony; one conducting field training; and one of physical training. All of the 22 photographs were in black and white. The drawing was used in the March 1980 article and depicted a barracks assault by one soldier while two others sat passively by.<sup>41</sup> The drawing as also in black and white.

#### Authors

Four (67 percent) of the six articles contained an author's byline with only the "Lookout" and one of the "Up Front" articles unsigned.<sup>42</sup> The articles were written by three women (Cheryl McCall, Joy Wansley and Sue Ellen Janes) and one man (Victor Junger), with only Wansley identified further, as a "People reporter."

#### Individual Examinations

"When Col. Michael Cicchini Reviews the Cadet Corps, It's All in the Family"

Published in the September 4, 1978 issue, this 12-column-inch article by Victor Junger was carried under the banner, "To the Top" and focused on a family with three daughters in different military academies.<sup>43</sup> The photograph accompanying the article, which began on page 75, was of the father mockingly inspecting his three daughters, all in their respective uniforms. Another photo with the article showed the eight-member family around the dinner table. The different uniforms displayed

in the first photo served to highlight the unique aspect of the family.

The article began with the comment that the mother "rarely has trouble keeping the laundry and cleaning straight" because of the different uniforms, and went on to discuss the background of the father and give brief mention to the daughters: "she just got her wings for five parachute jumps at airborne school, is qualified with a .45 automatic"; "currently undecided between destroyer duty and becoming a Navy doctor"; and "wants to become an aeronautical engineer." All three were said to "advocate combat duty for women," and although none had "immediate plans of marriage," one stated that "if I marry a captain, and I become a captain, we'd make \$40,000 a year."

The article was a positive, upbeat article without much depth. Although the daughters were shown to have nontraditional career aspirations and ideas (combat), they were still portrayed in a stereotypical manner through the notation's reference to their marriage plans. And, although probably used as a "cutesy" writer's technique to set the stage, the mother was mentioned only in terms of her doing the laundry.

"She's Beverly, Not Shipwreck, Kelley--and the First Woman Ever to Command a U.S. Man-of-War"

Published in the April 30, 1979 issue, this 17-column-inch article, which focused on the first captain of

a Coast Guard ship, was carried under the banner, "Winners."<sup>44</sup> Written by Cheryl McCall, it featured three photos of the commander--two shown working and one participating in the ceremony at her acceptance of command. A large photo of her talking to one of her sailors on the bridge of her ship, gave the reader the visual portrait of a woman in charge.

The article devoted most of its space to a discussion of the "curly-headed lieutenant's" Coast Guard background, but also offered her views of her new position: "'I am a woman, . . . I don't want them not to think that. But I will come across as the commanding officer of the vessel, not as a woman bossing them around.'" The lieutenant, who was quoted as "'never into liberation or equal rights because I always felt that nothing ever kept me from doing anything,'" also admitted to "breaking into tears once while being chewed out in formation." The article commented that she once broke off an engagement because her "fiance balked at her going to sea"; however, she now had a "Coast Guard boyfriend."

The article presented a picture of a woman in a position of great responsibility who had earned her rank, but who cried when under pressure--a picture of the stereotypical "emotionally unstable" woman. Again, there was a discussion of her marital status.

"Women in Uniform Confront a Sometime Enemy Among Them: Men in Uniform"

Published in the March 17, 1980 issue, the article was located within the "Up Front" section and dealt with the subject of sexual harassment in the Army.<sup>45</sup> The 26-column-inch article, which began on page 26, did not identify an author.

Turning to the article, this reader's attention was immediately riveted to the drawing depicting a barracks assault while onlookers watched passively. It was a dramatic illustration that, no doubt, caused the casual magazine holder to read the story. Other photographs accompanying the story were undramatic shots of various women; however the captions with them were far more spectacular: ". . . believes the low image of women in the military led to her assault . . . 'nobody did anything to help--it's just accepted that that's the way you treat women in the Army'"; "'It's different in the service from the civilian community because this is a captive audience. A woman can't tell the man to take the job and stick it'"; and "'When I wouldn't sleep with them, they made a game of offending and insulting me. When I complained, my superior called me a crybaby.'"

The article described how one woman had been assaulted while "her two friends--and everyone else in nearby rooms--ignored her screams" and noted that when she reported the incident, her commander stated that "she was

'probably asking for it.'" It also related comments by top Pentagon and Congressional leaders who were conducting an investigation into the matter with Rep. Patricia Schroeder quoted as telling women, "'Don't make a fuss, just bail out of the military.'" It also discussed the military's attempts to crack down on the problem.

The article presented a one-sided viewpoint of a historically valid problem of women in the military. No adjectival descriptions were made of the women themselves, the article concentrating instead on the issue. Because of its cursory examination, however, several charges made by the women (such as being forced to stand guard duty for eight hours in subfreezing cold) were insufficiently explained as were comments by Rep. Schroeder.

"First Women Graduates of West Point Say With Pride: It Was Tough But We Survived."

This 39-column-inch article, published in the April 21, 1980 issue, was written by Joy Wansley and focused on seven graduating female West Point cadets.<sup>46</sup> Run in the "Up Front" section, it was divided into seven separate sections with a photo of each cadet. The photos of the cadets (three in a uniformed, casual setting, one in the field, one in a bathing suit and one performing physical training) reflected the varied aspects of the cadets' lives.

The article, which began on page 28, reflected the feelings of the seven cadets toward their four years at West Point in which they were the first class of women. Opinions conflicted as cadets stated that they would "'do West Point again'" even though there "'were a lot of heartaches,'" that they wouldn't go to the school again if in the first class of women because "'it was too hard,'" that "'there's also a lot of peer pressure,'" and that "'West Point really zaps the role-playing between men and women.'" In five of the seven sections, the women were identified as either engaged, breaking up with boyfriends or avoiding "serious romantic involvement."

With approximately only six column inches of text devoted to each cadet, the article featured a heavy concentration on the women's personal relationships and minimal discussion of their "survival." Likewise, although the photograph of the cadet in the bathing suit was not offensive, it was curiously out of place for an article supposedly devoted to West Point and the women's performance since it was not linked in any way to the subject unless as an illustration of one cadet's comments that "'our femininity has been unfairly slighted many times along the way.'" In any case, the article presented a predominantly stereotypical coverage of the women. In two instances, future assignments of the cadets were not mentioned.



"Sue Hudson Abreu"

Published in the June 23, 1980 issue, this eight-column-inch article was featured in the "Lookout" section and did not carry an author's identification.<sup>47</sup> It featured a photo of the officer, in uniform, preparing to rappell off a building--a photo of a military woman in "action" that had no relation to the text. The officer was identified as the first woman at Purdue to receive a four-year ROTC scholarship, the first to attain the rank of cadet colonel and command a ROTC unit and the number one cadet in the nation who was currently a pre-med student. She was also described as recently married and anxious to finally live with her husband who was stationed 1,500 miles away.

The article concentrated on the officer's pre-active duty accomplishments. Although it stated that she intended to "specialize in orthopedics or emergency medicine," two and a half column inches were devoted to her marital relationship, an example of stereotypical coverage.

"For U.S. Military Women, Reports Judith Stiehm, The Only Battles Are With Their Reluctant Buddies"

Published in the July 20, 1981 issue, the 20-column-inch article, which was written by Sue Ellen Janes, focused on Stiehm's recent book as well as the author herself.<sup>48</sup>

Carried within the "Discovery" section, the half-page photo of page 55 which began the article, showed a smiling Stiehm standing in front of a National Guard transport plane, obviously designed to connect her with the military. Another photo showed her playing basketball with her children at home. Stiehm, who was identified as a "feminist and political scientist," was reportedly "perturbed" when the Supreme Court ruled that women could be excluded from the draft because if "'women can't assume all the risks in the military'" they are "'not taken seriously in a whole variety of ways.'" Stiehm's book, Bring Me Men and Women, on the Air Force Academy's acceptance of women, was described as were her feelings about military attitudes toward women.

The article was as much a concentration on Stiehm as on women in the military and reflected her feelings from a sociological point of view. It presented no stereotypical portrayals of military women.

#### Summary

Coverage of women in the military was not as widespread as that found in black magazines with a total of only ten articles published in the three magazines over a period of ten years. In fact, coverage of the topic occurred only from 1976 through 1981. Although the three

featured a similarity of topics, their styles and presentations varied.

Life and the New York Times Magazine generally printed long feature articles utilizing numerous descriptive passages and words to identify the surrounding area as well as the people. People, on the other hand, devoted far less space to the topics and used a much less flowery style. While both Life and the New York Times Magazine delved into some of the heavier issues of harassment and combat, thus presenting a balanced report, People normally focused on the positive, the upbeat or the unusual. Even on the occasions that it did confront issues, People generally presented only one side.

The coverage differences are obvious in the magazines' treatments of the first women Coast Guard commanders. While their articles focused on two different women, the New York Times Magazine's effort followed the officer on a routine assignment, watching her perform her job and interact with her crew. There is little discussion of her personal life. People, on the other hand, reported the woman's position, briefly described her career, then focused on her social life, marital and emotional status.

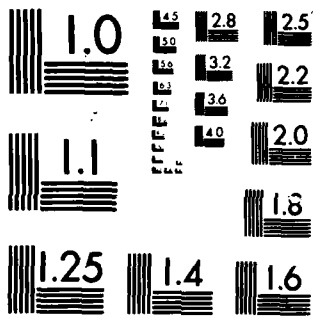
The New York Times Magazine was the only one of the three to report on the entrance of women to the military academies, but only People reported on their graduation.

Life and People featured articles on the problems of harassment, but both from different aspects and in different styles. None of the articles examined the career possibilities for women nor featured articles which presented the changing face of women's service.

Most of the coverage was as a result of some specific event, be it the publishing of a book or women's attendance and graduation from the academies. Those articles not resulting from any one incident were all from People and all focused on "soft" news.

Eight of the ten articles published carried an author's by-line. Of those, seven writers were women. The one male author, writing for People, presented a light, upbeat article with several stereotypical features including the incorporation of marital status references and "homemaker" images. However, those images were also present in the articles written by women. The most strongly stereotypical images were located in Life and the New York Times Magazine, which made heavy use of descriptive adjectives of the women as well as "contrasting" presentations for men--for example men being brusque or hard in comparison to the females. The addition of the reporter's comments about women's feelings toward aggression contributed to the generally stereotypical presentation of women in the New York Times Magazine.





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## SPECIALIZED MAGAZINES

Esquire

During the ten-year period studied, Esquire published only one article dealing with women in the armed forces.<sup>49</sup> That article, titled "The Captain is a Lady," was a 44-column-inch profile on one successful Army officer and was published in the January 1981 issue of the magazine.

The article, which received no cover mention, was located on page 70 and featured several graphic devices designed to capture the reader's attention. At the top of the page, above the title was the introductory coverline:

The captain stands six feet tall and is forthright, aggressive, and hard-nosed. The captain once commanded the one hundred twenty cadets of Company E-1 at West Point. The captain, says the Pentagon, may someday become a five-star general. That would be a first, because: . . .

In each instance "the captain" was printed in bold text to set it off. The first letter of the article, an "N" is two and a half inches in height and like "the captain" is printed in bold type and, the first line is printed in uppercase letters. The facing page features the only photograph of the article, a color, full-length shot of the captain standing in front of a West Point arch with a row of cadets shadowed behind her. Although she was smiling, the effect was to cast a serious, professional pose which coincided with the descriptive matter.

The author of the article was Frank Rose, identified as "a New York journalist who reported on the Pentagon in the November issue of Esquire."

After a lead sentence of: "Nancy Freebairn is nobody's pinup," the article continued, at length, with descriptive information:

She wears her golden-blond hair in a sensible Prince Valiant cut and keeps her smart green uniform neatly pressed and starched at all times. Her office smells of expensive perfume, but on her face there are only the basics of makeup--a little powder, lip gloss, some eye shadow.

Stating that she joined the Army nine years earlier, "fresh out of Arizona State," the article further explained that "today she successfully combines the roles of wife, Girl Scout leader, and staff officer at West Point."

In what is really the only truly in-depth profile in this study, the article described the officer's career progression ("the first woman to do almost everything else she's done in the Army"), her feelings about combat roles for women and herself, in particular, her management skills, male-bonding, femininity ("I've heard many people say they feel as though they lose their femininity in an all-male environment. But . . . [it] makes you feel more feminine"), and her marriage. Throughout it all, there was heavy emphasis on the descriptive.



She is forthright and aggressive, competitive and ambitious. She is neither coy nor flirtatious. She is an agreeably androgynous woman in an environment where masculine traits are prized. Fresh and all-American, she looks like a cheerleader who has unexpectedly crossed the line and joined the team.

In contrast to Freebairn's description as "hard-nosed, somewhat intimidating, difficult to reach, [and] humorless," her husband was described as "relaxed, jovial, something of a charmer."

The article offered a balanced appraisal of both the woman officer's personality and military performance. There was no undue attention upon her personal relationships, with the thrust of the article devoted to her professional abilities.

#### Omni

During the ten-year period studied, Omni published only one article dealing with women in the military.<sup>50</sup> That article, "Fighting Chance," appeared in the November 1984 issue of the magazine and focused on the improved physical capabilities of female West Point cadets over time.

Although there was no direct connection readily apparent, the teaser "Superwomen of the Future," which was printed in fuschia on the cover of the magazine, and in the table of contents, related to the article, which began on page 80. Illustrations accompanying the article were

all located on the facing pages, 80 and 81, and showed the women in the field (two), in a large group, doing physical training and in dress uniform creating an image of women performing in all aspects of military training. All photographs used were in color.

The article itself began with a graphic representation of one woman's physical training with words not normally associated with women:

Half an hour from now, at 6 A.M., the deserted fields of West Point will spring to attention. While the other cadets are sleeping in Sherman Barracks, cadet Alma Cobb, age twenty-three, has already sprinted uphill some five miles. She pumps her muscular thighs higher and higher in the 10° weather, "until I can feel my calves tightening like banjo strings. I could quit. But at West Point we go until we are sweating blood."

It continued with the "five-foot ten-inch" cadet "with dark eyes blazing" stating "'just because I'm a girl, doesn't mean I'm a wimp.'"

West Point studies, conducted over a period of eight years, which charted and measured female cadet physical capabilities were discussed at length as were the programs developed by the West Point educators to increase those capabilities. Although the women's efforts were described as "valiant," research found that the "physical differential between the sexes was not a matter of pure speculation but a fact based on biological sex-related factors." Researchers noted, however, that those differences could be remarkably reduced "if society continues to encourage

women to perform at top levels." The 83-column-inch article put the heaviest weight on scientific reports and measures with one professor stating that "'the female athlete of 2004 will be a tough nut, and that's not bad. It's only bad if winning becomes her single value--as it has been with men.'"

The article was written by Barbara Rowes, however, no further biographical information was presented to determine her qualifications.

The article presented its information in an objective manner with little use of personal descriptives. Its presentation of facts and statistics was correct.

#### Popular Science

During the ten-year period studied, Popular Science published only one article dealing with women in the armed forces.<sup>51</sup> That article, title "Vive la Difference!" was printed as the third article under the column "Science Newsfront" in the December 1981 issue, a column devoted to current information.

The four-column-inch article, located at the top of the third column on page 20, was written in straight news fashion by Arthur Fisher. No further information was provided for Fisher. No photos or illustrations accompanied the article nor did it receive cover mention.

The article noted that in recent tests conducted by the Army, "women make poorer combat soldiers than men because of different levels of physical performance." It further explained that "where high muscular force and rapid movements are involved, men perform far better [than women] when burdened with a heavy load.

The article was written in straight journalistic fashion and presented its information in an objective manner.

#### Progressive

During the ten year period studied, Progressive published only one article dealing with the subject of women in the military. That article, titled "The Real Military Intelligence," appeared in the November 1983 issue and focused on two military women who declared themselves conscientious objectors and protested against U.S. policy in Central America.<sup>52</sup>

The article, which received no cover mention, was written by Phil Reser, identified as a "free-lance writer based in San Francisco." It featured only one black and white photograph, that of two women wearing fatigue jackets over civilian clothes and speaking into a bull-horn. The caption stated that the two women were "protesting the U.S. policy on Central America." Without

reading the article there was no way to discern that the women were or had been in the Army.

The article reported that the women had joined the service for the money and educational benefits, entered an "elite" Army military intelligence program, but began to have "second thoughts" after the weapons training. It voiced the women's frustrations and described their involvement in anti-government protests and subsequent release from military service.

The 18-column-inch article presented the two women as noble freedom lovers who were unable to continue in the military because of their loathing of U.S. policies; it made no effort toward objectivity. The article contained several errors and half-truths. In one instance it indicated that the women received basic training in North Carolina; however no such training is offered there. Additionally, it indicated that they received training within an "elite" military intelligence program (without further identifying it) in San Francisco. It is more likely that the "elite" training took place in Massachusetts or North Carolina.

Stating that "for expressing their opposition to U.S. policy in Central America, the two risked imprisonment," the article quoted one of the women: "'It was amazing to me to learn that people in the military no longer had freedom of speech'" and "'that if I refused to put on my

uniform again and obey orders,' the woman could be imprisoned for up to six years." Although the military does prohibit individual political commentary by those identifying themselves as military members (i.e. wearing of a uniform), military members, as citizens, do not lose their freedom of speech and in only extreme instances would such behavior result in imprisonment (e.g. war-time environment).<sup>53</sup> It further stated that "each woman was surprised to receive a general discharge" rather than a jail term after declaring themselves "conscientious objectors," the implication being that they had caused some embarrassment which the military wished to cease as quietly as possible. In fact, their discharges would be standard practice.<sup>54</sup>

#### Psychology Today

Two articles appeared in Psychology Today during the period of this study dealing with the topic of women in the military; both were published in the October 1980 issue.<sup>55</sup> Both articles were features: the first, an in-depth analysis of women's integration within the armed forces; and the second, an examination of the semantics of the interaction between males and females at Annapolis. Neither article was the result of any specific event or action.

The cover of the October 1980 issue, which featured a photo of a handshake to illustrate its feature articles on trust, carried both the title and subhead to the main article on women in the military in white block letters (in contrast to the light blue lettering used to announce the other cover stories).

Each of the two articles, written by Psychology Today associate editor Virginia Adams, featured one illustration. Opposite the beginning page of the main article, on page 51, was a full-page drawing of the inside of a bus of soldiers. The front of the bus was filled with racially integrated men and the back of the bus with racially integrated women, indicating that women were the Army's new second-class citizens.

#### Individual Examinations

##### "Jane Crow in the Army"

Printed in bold, large type across the top of page 50 was the title and the subhead: "Obstacles to Sexual Integration."<sup>56</sup> Directly underneath ran the coverline:

A cold war is going on in the military between the sexes. Among the causes, studies report, are frequent pregnancies, discrepancies in strength, and identifiable male types known as Sgt. Daddy Warbucks and Sgt. Sexual Shakedown.

In the 153 column inches that followed, the author discussed the problems of women's integration into the military on the basis of four military studies and four

civilian studies, beginning with a brief discussion of the controversy surrounding the upcoming Supreme Court decision involving women and combat roles. It then provided the only full discussion of the well-known Israeli experiment (in which women fought alongside men in the Arab-Israeli wars) found in the course of this study, and pointed out that most people have only vague and "usually mistaken" ideas about the experience. It explained that the acronym for the Women's Corps of the Israel Defense Forces, CHEN, actually means charm.

The article described three military studies which cited positive findings about women's abilities and stated that "overall, the most troublesome difficulties are attitudinal, having little to do with what women can actually accomplish and much to do with what others think they can or should accomplish." It cited another study which found that some of the male soldiers were sex-biased and offered the example of "one male sergeant, ordered to help the women take down their tent, deliberately began pulling up tent pegs while they were still inside." The article focused on arguments for and against women in combat and on women's entrance into the military academies, but centered its attention on one study conducted by Michael Rustad who examined women in the signal corps in Germany. It reported that "sexual integration is always more difficult at the enlisted level" because enlisted ranks



contain "many ethnic and minority group members for whom machismo is especially important." The article also identified the "Sergeant Daddy Warbucks" type who "treated women like children" and the "Sergeant Sexual Shakedowns" who "treated women like sex objects."

The article provided a balanced, in-depth examination of military women based on sociological research. It did not profile individual women, but examined the problems of integration as a whole. Its representation of attitudes and conflicts was accurate overall.

#### "Psychic Combat at Annapolis"

This 28-column-inch feature was located inside a double-spread box on pages 56 and 57.<sup>57</sup> The article was printed against a blue background and covered approximately two-thirds of each page. It detailed a program for women cadets at the Naval Academy called "Survival Skills." The article related that the course was initiated upon the concept that in any interaction between male and female midshipmen, there was always a "'sexual subtext, usually nonverbal, that complicated what were supposed to be professional encounters between two people.'" And, it described skills taught the women to help them to recognize and respond to it.

The article was an objective examination of one type of social coping mechanism and as such presented no stereotypical or incorrect information.

Science News

During the ten year period of this study, Science News published only one article related to women in the military.<sup>58</sup> That article, "Female cadets: A rough start," was located within the regular section "Science News of the Week" in the September 15, 1979 issue. It was run as the next-to-last article in a two-page section that contained other titles such as "Brazilian tree pours pure diesel fuel" and "New head named for FDA." The 17-column-inch article on page 182, focusing on the topic of women at the military academies, was prompted by a press conference discussing the women's adjustment. There were no illustrations accompanying the article nor was an author listed.

The article reported that conclusions concerning adjustments were "mixed" and discussed the high attrition rates for both males and females of the 1980 classes, caused "undoubtedly" by the "problems of being 'pioneers' in a previously all-male world." The status of the "problem" was noted for each academy.

The article was written in straight journalistic style and presented its information in an objective manner.

### Senior Scholastic

During the period covered by this study, two articles were published in Senior Scholastic dealing with the subject of women in the military: one on April 19, 1979, and one on April 17, 1980.<sup>59</sup> Both were feature articles with one examining the career aspects of military service and one discussing the broad topic of women's expanding roles. One article was included as part of a broader examination of Army service. Neither article resulted from any specific event. One article received cover mention.

There were a total of seven photographs contained within the two articles. The majority of the photos (four) depicted women in a work environment: one of a female helicopter pilot checking her aircraft; one of an air traffic controller; one of an Air Force pilot instructor; and one with a rifle performing sentry duty. The remaining three photos each reflected a different setting: one in a large group; one in a field environment with a rifle; and one in uniform within a casual setting. Four of the photos were in color with the three black and white pictures accompanying the April 17, 1980 article.

Both articles were written by men (Peter M. Jones and Michael Cusack); however, no biographical information was

provided on either to determine any special qualifications they may have had.

#### Individual Examinations

##### "After Basic Comes A I T"

This article was published in the April 19, 1979 issue as part of an all-military issue that also contained features on the draft, basic training and the Swiss Army.<sup>60</sup> The cover, which featured a full-page photo of an Army drill sergeant, contained several teasers to related military stories inside, but no mention of the women's article. Additionally, the table of contents did not reflect that the article featured military women. The reader was alerted to the topic only by turning to page 16 and finding the "Editor's Note": "Although the Army offers hundreds of kinds of training, Senior Scholastic focused on aviation, a field that is attracting a growing number of young women." It was featured as the fifth of seven articles about the military in the magazine. The photographs accompanying the text showed the women at their jobs.

The article by Peter Jones examined the jobs of three women within the career field of aviation, offering simplistic descriptions of their duties (one's job is to see "that planes and people get where they're going without smashing into one another") and testimonials from the women about their service.

The article presented positive images of military service with cursory examinations of either the job, the women, or the problems ("you do get some ribbing from the guys, but it's mostly in fun"). There were no personal adjectival descriptors used to identify the women who were all in non-traditional jobs.

"Changing Roles: Women in the Armed Services"

Published in the April 17, 1980 issue, this 17-column-inch article by Michael Cusack offered a broad examination of military women's expanding options within the armed services as well as some history of women's service.<sup>61</sup> The cover of the issue featured a full-page photo of a female soldier, her face totally covered by camouflage paint, holding the receiver of a two-way radio. Her unpainted hands were adorned with two large rings (one a school-type and the other with a large blue stone) and coral nail polish.

Turning to page 10, the reader observed three small, black and white photos each with captions to their sides which provided as much description as the actual text of the article. One depicted a female soldier marching a large troop formation and featured the caption, "hearing that their drill instructor is a woman, Army recruits may feel they're going to have an easy time. They soon discover how wrong they are."

The article stated that military occupations "once thought to have been for 'men only' are now open to qualified servicewomen" and noted that, although women are not allowed in combat positions, they serve in many combat support roles "where they would have to defend themselves." To emphasize that point, the article related the feats of Cornelia Fort (a member of the Women's Air Force Service Pilots) who was caught in the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor while she was ferrying a plane and who was later killed in the war.

The article provided no in-depth analysis of issue, only a cursory examination of history and expanding roles. Women were portrayed in non-stereotypical manner and it was the only article studied in this thesis which mentioned that women had been killed. The cover, although real and not "staged," was not representative of women in a field environment where unpainted hands, fingernail polish and shiny jewelry would defeat the purpose of the rest of the camouflage items.

#### Summary

The coverage of women in the military received its most divergent coverage in the specialized magazines. Articles varied in form from Popular Science and Science News' short straight news articles to Omni and Psychology Today's in-depth features, to Senior Scholastic's cursory

reportings on women's expanded roles, to the study's one true profile in Esquire.

With the exception of 1982, one article was published every year from 1979 through 1984 and as with both black and general-interest magazines, the predominant coverage was received in 1980 and 1981.

There was virtually no overlap of topic coverage. Although Senior Scholastic published two articles broadly categorized under the heading of women's expanding military roles, they were very dissimilar and no other magazine devoted space to that issue. Likewise, there were individual examinations of such topics as women's increased physical capabilities at West Point, psychological stress and harassment, and attrition rates at the military academies. With the exception of the straight news items, each article presented a balanced view in its own fashion. Only Psychology Today, with its critical examination of military reports, conducted a probing analysis of the material.

Eight of the nine articles were signed, with the majority (or five) written by men. The three articles by women dealt with psychological or scientific information and presented no stereotypical images. All three depicted women as striving to overcome obstacles of sexual harassment or physical limitations. In contrast, the articles written by men (with the exception of the Esquire profile)

offered much shorter, cursory examinations of their subjects. The two Senior Scholastic articles concentrated on the successes the women were achieving. Esquire's profile examined both the positive and negative aspects of one officer's personality and career in an article devoid of stereotypical imagery.

Stereotypical reporting was less evident in specialized magazines than in either black or general-interest magazines. In contrast to these other magazines, very few of the articles in special-interest periodicals were predicated by an event. The majority focused on broad examinations of a topic rather than on its news value. Consequently, there was no coverage of women's entrance or graduation from the academies, or "firsts" as were so often found in other magazines. Specialized magazines, likewise, focused very little on the social implications of women's expanding military roles, including combat, readiness, pregnancies or homosexuality.

In an examination of the 38 articles presented in this chapter, it was found that the subject of women in the military has, for the most part, resulted directly from a specific event or action with 24 (63 percent) of the articles noted as such. These events included the first women at military academies, the first women commanders at sea, the first black pilots, general, or



navigator, the conviction of two black homosexual women, and the release of books and military studies.

The topic most frequently covered in these magazines, however, generally was not event-induced: harassment. Four different magazines focused on the topic of harassment in six different articles although all six examined the topic from a different viewpoint. This ranged from Jet's short news article announcing new guidelines to Psychology Today's in-depth feature. For the most part, the articles covered varied topics in a variety of styles, with Jet offering the widest presentation of topics.

Most of the articles examined in this chapter were written in a feature style; however, that term is loosely applied to any article not strictly straight news or profile and therefore encompasses many different feature presentations. Features in Life and the New York Times Magazine normally were lengthy and descriptive, while Ebony and People's were relatively short and straightforward. Only Jet, Popular Science and Science News articles were written in a straight news format.

No changes were observed in the coverage of women either within the individual magazines or in types of magazines throughout the period nor did any patterns emerge with reference to the coverage over time.

Patterns of stereotypical coverage were apparent, however. Life and the New York Times Magazine presented the most personal descriptions of the women, comment on their hair, eyes, youth, face and demeanor. Life was the predominant magazine for "contrasting"--strong, hard men versus weak, soft women. With Life and the New York Times Magazine, People and Ebony made continual reference to women's age and marital or social status. Ebony, as noted earlier, tended to present its women military subjects both on the job and at home, or in civilian clothes with friends in its efforts to present military women as well-rounded people who were not just concentrating on their careers.

With the exception of several instances within separate New York Times Magazine articles, the coverage of women in the military was free of editorial comments. In the case of the New York Times Magazine, the reporter displayed an anti-military slant and interjected comments about her opinions of women's aggressiveness. With the exception of the primary Psychology Today article, military sources and figures were routinely quoted without any sense of skepticism on the part of the author; for the most part these were not the types of hard issues that demanded critical analysis and none was given.

Of the 38 articles examined in this chapter, 17 carried an author's identification: 11 females and six

males. Of the six written by men, one was a straight news item and four either presented a report on women's expansion or discussed women's success. Only The Progressive dealt with a woman encountering some difficulty. With the exception of one People article, they were relatively free of stereotypical images.

This is in direct contrast to the articles written by women which not only presented stereotypical reporting, but generally were split between portraits of women facing and overcoming obstacles and women enjoying success in nontraditional positions.

It should be noted, too, that within this grouping of magazines, only The Progressive presented information on the military that was either incorrect or misleading. All other information and statistics presented were generally correct.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>"Women in the Military," Black Enterprise, July 1980, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup>In date order: "Women in the Service Academies," Ebony, November 1976, pp. 31-38; "Woman Navigator Spans the Globe For U.S. Air Force," Ebony, December 1978, pp. 85-92; "The General is a Lady," Ebony, February 1980, pp. 44-50; "'Show Me State' Girl Shows the Way: Missouri's Marcella A. Hayes Becomes Military's First Black Woman Pilot," Ebony, April 1980, pp. 101-04; "Sisters in Arms: Marching into Their Brothers' Territory," Ebony, August 1982, pp. 90-96; "Women in Command," Ebony, December 1982, pp. 92-96; "Air Force Graduates First Black Woman Pilot," Ebony, January 1983, pp. 46-48; Marilyn Marshall, "Women Cadets Make Coast Guard History," Ebony, April 1983, pp. 138-40, 142; "'Bird' Colonel at War College," Ebony, March 1985, pp. 94-96, 98.

<sup>3</sup>"Woman Navigator Spans the Globe For U.S. Air Force"; "The General is a Lady"; "'Show Me State' Girl Shows the Way: Missouri's Marcella A. Hayes Becomes Military's First Black Woman Pilot"; "Air Force Graduates First Black Woman Pilot."

<sup>4</sup>"Women in the Service Academies"; "Woman Navigator Spans the Globe for U.S. Air Force"; "The General is a Lady"; "'Show Me State' Girl Shows the Way: Missouri's Marcella A. Hayes Becomes Military's First Black Woman Pilot"; "Air Force Graduates First Black Pilot"; Marshall; and "'Bird' Colonel at war College."

<sup>5</sup>"Sisters in Arms: Marching into Their Brothers' Territory"; "Women in Command."

<sup>6</sup>Marshall.

<sup>7</sup>"Women in the Service Academies."

<sup>8</sup>"Woman Navigator Spans The Globe For U.S. Air Force."

<sup>9</sup>"The General Is a Lady."

10 "'Show Me State' Girl Shows the Way: Missouri's Marcella A. Hayes Becomes Military's First Black Woman Pilot."

11 "Sisters In Arms: Marching Into Their Brothers' Territory."

12 "Women in Command."

13 "Air Force Graduates First Black Woman Pilot."

14 Marshall.

15 "'Bird' Colonel at War College."

16 "Intelligence Sgt Doubles as Part-Time Fashion Model," Jet, June 5, 1980, p. 28; "Navy Finds Young Sailor Guilty in Lesbian Probe," Jet, September 4, 1980, p. 7; "Navy Charges Two With Lesbianism; Both Black," Jet, September 18, 1980, p. 44; "Army Sets Guidelines to Curb Sexual Harassment, Sets Limit On Women," Jet, March 19, 1981, p. 45; "Black Women Make Strides at U.S. Naval Academy," Jet, June 25, 1981, p. 39; "Female Paratrooper Keeps Goals Airborne," Jet, July 2, 1981, p. 15; "Illiteracy and Pregnancy Biggest Woes Facing Army," Jet, July 23, 1981, p. 46; "Navy Tightens Rules on Discharges For Pregnancy," Jet, August 23, 1982; "Fear of Heights Gets Midshipman Out of Test Jump From 33 Foot Tower," Jet, April 30, 1984, p. 18.

17 First: "Intelligence Sgt Doubles as Part-Time Fashion Model"; "Army Sets Guidelines to Curb Sexual Harassment, Sets Limit on Women"; "Female Paratrooper Keeps Goals Airborne"; "Navy Tightens Rules on Discharges for Pregnancy." Fifth: "Navy Finds Young Sailor Guilty in Lesbian Probe."

18 "Intelligence Sgt Doubles as Part-Time Fashion Model."

19 "Navy Finds Young Sailor Guilty in Lesbian Probe"; "Navy Charges Two With Lesbianism; Both Black"; "Army Sets Guidelines to Curb Sexual Harassment, Sets Limit on Women"; "Female Paratrooper Keeps Goals Airborne"; "Black Women Make Strides at U.S. Naval Academy"; "Navy Tightens Rules on Discharges For Pregnancy"; "Fear of Heights Gets Midshipman Out of Test Jump From 33 Foot Tower."

20 "Intelligence Sgt Doubles as Part-Time Fashion Model"; "Navy Finds Young Sailor Guilty in Lesbian Probe"; "Navy Charges Two With Lesbianism; Both Black"; "Female Paratrooper Keeps Goals Airborne."

21 "Intelligence Sgt Doubles as Part-Time Fashion Model."

22 "Navy Finds Young Sailor Guilty in Lesbian Probe."

23 "Navy Charges Two With Lesbianism; Both Black"; "Navy Finds Young Sailor Guilty in Lesbian Probe."

24 "Army Sets Guidelines to Curb Sexual Harassment, Sets Limit on Women."

25 "Black Women Make Strides at U.S. Naval Academy."

26 "Female Paratrooper Keeps Goals Airborne."

27 "Illiteracy and Pregnancy Biggest Woes Facing Army."

28 "Navy Tightens Rules on Discharges For Pregnancy."

29 "Fear of Heights Gets Midshipman Out of Test Jump From 33 Foot Tower."

30 Department of Defense, Military Women in the Department of Defense (Manpower, Installations and Logistics) (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1984), p. 68.

31 Helen Rogan, "Women At Arms," Life, September 1981, pp. 66-78.

32 Ibid. and Helen Rogan, Mixed Company (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1981).

33 Grace Lichtenstein, "Kill, Hate--Mutilate!" New York Times Magazine, September 5, 1976, pp. 10-11, 37-41; Grace Lichtenstein, "How Women are Faring at the Air Academy," New York Times Magazine, September 11, 1977, pp. 104-14; Grace Lichtenstein, "Oh, the Captain, She's a Lady," New York Times Magazine, August 26, 1979, pp. 24-26, 40-43.

34 Lichtenstein, "Kill, Hate--Mutilate!"

35 Ibid.

36 Lichtenstein, "How Women are Faring at the Air Academy."

<sup>37</sup>Lichtenstein, "Oh, The Captain, She's a Lady."

<sup>38</sup>Victor Junger, "When Col. Michael Cicchini Reviews The Cadet Corps, It's All in the Family," People, September 4, 1978, pp. 75-76; Cheryl McCall, "She's Beverly, Not Shipwreck, Kelley--and the First Woman Ever to Command A U.S. Man-of-War," People, April 30, 1979, pp. 101-03; "Women in Uniform Confront a Sometime Enemy Among Them: Men in Uniform," People, March 17, 1980, pp. 26-29; Joy Wansley, "First Women Graduates of West Point Say With Pride: It was Tough But We Survived," People, April 21, 1980, pp. 28-31; "Sue Hudson Abreu," People, June 23, 1980, p. 11; Sue Ellen Janes, "For U.S. Military Women, Reports Judith Stiehm, The Only Battles Are With Their Reluctant Buddies," People, July 20, 1981, pp. 55-56.

<sup>39</sup>"Women in Uniform Confront A Sometime Enemy Among Them: Men in Uniform"; Wansley; "Sue Hudson Abreu."

<sup>40</sup>McCall; Wansley; Janes.

<sup>41</sup>"Women in Uniform Confront A Sometime Enemy Among Them: Men in Uniform."

<sup>42</sup>Junger; McCall; Wansley; Janes.

<sup>43</sup>Junger.

<sup>44</sup>McCall.

<sup>45</sup>"Women in Uniform Confront A Sometime Enemy Among Them: Men in Uniform."

<sup>46</sup>Wansley.

<sup>47</sup>"Sue Hudson Abreu."

<sup>48</sup>Janes.

<sup>49</sup>Frank Rose, "The Captain is a Lady," Esquire, January 1981, pp. 70-72.

<sup>50</sup>Barbara Rowes, "Fighting Chance," Omni, November 1984, pp. 80-86.

<sup>51</sup>Arthur Fisher, "Vive La Difference!" Popular Science, December 1981, p. 20.

<sup>52</sup>Phil Reser, "The Real Military Intelligence," Progressive, November 1953, p. 14.

<sup>53</sup>Wear and Appearance of Army Uniforms and Insignia (AR670-1) (Washington, D.C.: Headquarters, Department of the Army, 1981), pp. 1-2.

<sup>54</sup>Legal Guide For Commanders (FM27-1) (Washington, D.C.: Headquarters, Department of the Army, 1981), pp. 6-10-11.

<sup>55</sup>Virginia Adams, "Jane Crow in the Army," Psychology Today, October 1980, pp. 50-65; Virginia Adams, "Psychic Combat at Annapolis," Psychology Today, October 1980, pp. 56-57.

<sup>56</sup>Adams, "Jane Crow in the Army," p. 50.

<sup>57</sup>Adams, "Psychic Combat at Annapolis."

<sup>58</sup>"Female Cadets: A Rough Start," Science News, September 15, 1979, p. 182.

<sup>59</sup>Peter M. Jones, "After Basic Training Comes AIT," Senior Scholastic, April 19, 1979, pp. 16-19; Michael Cusack, "Changing Roles: Women in the Armed Services," Senior Scholastic, April 17, 1980, pp. 10-11.

<sup>60</sup>Jones.

<sup>61</sup>Cusack.



## CHAPTER IX

### DATA: WOMEN'S MAGAZINES

#### Introduction

This second chapter of the content analysis covers the 12 separate publications grouped as women's magazines and examines the 21 articles located within them dealing with women in the military. Although the articles were fairly evenly spread out over the ten year period, 1979 received the greatest coverage. No articles appeared in 1975, 1978 and 1985. A wide range of subjects was covered, with only the topics of the military as a career option and women's entrance into the military academies receiving repeated coverage.

This chapter is divided into two main parts: examinations of individual women's magazine coverage and a final chapter summary. An in-depth analysis of each article discovered in this research is provided for each magazine.

## Essence

### Frequency and Placement

A total of three articles were published in Essence during the period of the study, with the first appearing in the April 1979 issue.<sup>1</sup> Of the three, two were features, while the third, a beauty article, was best classified as a photo essay. All of the articles were located under separate sections within the magazine: one was the "Working World" feature of the month--a semi-regular section that focused on an examination of one job field; one was featured as part of the "Careers" section--"Working World's" up-dated designation; and one was listed individually, but designated as part of that month's "Fashion and Beauty" offerings. Besides the 1979 article, one article was published in 1980 and one in 1984. The two feature articles ran an average of 25 column inches in length.

None of the articles was induced by any specific event. Two dealt with the topic of military careers while the third was a beauty make-over. None of the articles received cover mention.

### Illustrations

There were a total of seven photographs in the Essence articles; however, six were within the beauty

feature.<sup>2</sup> The other was of a Navy officer in uniform working, standing over a computer terminal.

#### Authors

Only two of the three articles contained an author's byline.<sup>3</sup> Iris L. Washington, the author of the first article, was identified only as "a free-lance writer living in Newark, N.J." The third Essence article was written by Dari S. Giles, identified only as an "assistant editor of Essence."

#### Individual Examinations

##### "Women in the Armed Forces"

Published in the April 1979 issue of Essence, this 31-column-inch article by Iris L. Washington offered a positive look at the military as a career option through its focus on four women.<sup>4</sup>

Readers turning to page 25 likely noticed first the section title, "Working World," then the coverline located directly beneath it: "'There's much better opportunity in the military for promotion because the government has to live up to its mandate to...  
equally.'" The only illustrations on the mostly dull-gray page were a stark drawing of a helmet next to an open

impression of military service for women based on the coverline and the box was favorable; the article only served to reinforce that impression.

The article itself began "for many of us, a career in the armed forces may be the chance of a lifetime" and then offered thumbnail sketches of the lives of four women. The first, an "Army buck sergeant, working as a recruiter," was described as "an independent woman" with a "'happy and stable'" marriage despite a "lengthy absence from her husband." Stating that "'I'm not ever going to leave [the army]!" her only complaints were that basic training was rough and that "'you have to deal with male chauvinists.'"

The second woman, "a single mother with two children," who left the Army in 1967, stated that she had joined the military for its opportunity "to get a free education." She now "longs for the military's unbiased promotion system" since she expected to be bypassed in her civilian job "because she's Black and a woman." No reason was given for her leaving the military. The third woman, a high-ranking Navy nurse with 20 years of service, was described as a "41-year-old, single commander" and was quoted as saying "'joining the Navy was one of the smartest moves I've ever made.'" Most of the comments in this section dealt with her expected "over \$13,000 a year" pension.

The final "military" woman presented quit the Air Force after one year because she did not like her assigned career field (air operations/systems management). The reader was advised that the "22-year-old New York cosmetologist" entered the military "hoping to be trained as an X-ray technician, dental assistant or tab technician." Although the woman cited other unpleasantries and described her time in service as "'not exactly rosy,'" she was considering reenlisting. The reader was also advised that "she was pregnant." The article culminated with the sentence: "If you're between the ages of 17 and 34, and are looking for an interesting career, military service may be for you."

The article not only presented an unrealistically positive image of military service, but did so on the basis of comments from two women no longer in the military. One woman singing the praises of military equality got out of the service 12 years prior to the article's publication. Military service, especially for women, has changed drastically since 1967 and her comments as related to present-day service, however valid, should be disregarded by the astute reader. Another woman who left the military after failing to complete her initial contract (normally two to three years) undoubtedly received a "less than honorable" or "general discharge"--not the most prestigious type. She was described as

considering reenlistment. In all probability, with her record and the additional fact that she was pregnant, she would not be eligible to reenlist.

The closing paragraph of the article stated that military life for women was "similar to civilian life" with working hours that were "the same." At best these statements are misleading, at worst, absolutely false. Additionally, because there are many aspects of military duty that most would consider unfavorable (e.g. rigid discipline, relocation every one to three years and separation from family) which were not listed among the "cons" on page 25, the article was considered biased and incomplete.

#### "Beauty on Duty"

The second of the three articles was published in March 1980 and featured the subhead "A Military Makeover."<sup>5</sup> The article, which featured 11 column inches of text devoted to describing how a 23-year-old enlisted woman with two years of military service could "update her makeup or hair and not conflict with strict Army regulations," featured six photos. In fact, when readers turned to page 78, it probably was not the two-inch "Beauty" headline nor the five small color close-up photographs that caught their eyes, but rather the full-color facing page that featured an attractive, smiling woman in uniform saluting in her white gloves.

The article correctly described Army regulations having to do with hair and make-up. The smiling, "glowing" photograph of the woman after the beauty treatment, which contrasted with "before" photos of a somewhat dull countenance, provided a positive image of military women.

#### "Careers in the Military"

Written by Dari S. Giles and published in the June 1984 issue, this 20-column-inch article focused on career opportunities in the military--"the biggest consumers of the high technology deemed necessary to America's safety."<sup>6</sup> The center of visual impact of the one page feature, located on page 26, was a black and white photograph of a woman Navy officer standing over a computer terminal. However, the box at the bottom of the page titled "Selected Positions in the Armed Forces," which listed four high-tech military jobs with salaries, must have drawn the reader's attention almost immediately. The effect of the two was to create an impression of the military as a high-tech mecca.

The article described the opportunities in the military and stated that "particularly the Air Force has been pressed to recruit and train more women." It also listed general requirements for enlistment. According to the 32-year-old former research biologist, now Navy lieutenant, who was quoted, persons joining the military should be

"'prepared for a lot of stress'" and, for those who want both marriage and a family, "'the military may not be the right place to have a career.'"

Although the article did offer limited comments on negative aspects of military life, the main thrust was to highlight burgeoning opportunities. Information provided was correct, although it focused on jobs such as audio-visual specialist (Air Force), aviation electronics technician (Navy), drafter, surveyor and mapmaker (Marines) and Radar Controller (Army) which require special qualifications and would not be open to the majority. Thus, it might have created unrealistic expectations. There were no examples of stereotypical reporting within the article.

#### Glamour

During the ten-year period studied, Glamour published only one article dealing with the subject of women in the armed forces.<sup>7</sup> That article, titled "Mothers-To-Be and the Military," was a straight news article run as the first item of a four-item section of "Washington Report" published in the June 1983 issue of the magazine.

"Washington Report" was a regular feature of the magazine devoted to news originating out of the nation's capital. Other items in the section concerned the prospect of a woman vice-president, White House expenses and the feud between N.O.W. and lesbian groups.



The 13-column-inch article, which focused on the topic of pregnancy among military women, was not predicated upon any specific event. It was written, as was the rest of the section, by Margaret Engel, "a reporter for The Washington Post and a past winner of a Nieman Journalism Fellowship to Harvard."

The focal point of page 165 (the beginning of the section) was a photo of a woman in fatigues working on an engine of some type. The photo, which was placed on an angle to the title, presented the reader with images not normally connected: mechanic, mother and military.

The article itself described the rising number of women in the armed services and the resulting increase in the number of pregnancies, also reviewing changes in regulations pertaining to them. Stating that "the most serious concern expressed by the military . . . 'is that pregnant soldiers may ultimately harm the combat potential of our troops,'" the article also quoted a study which found that "absenteeism was greater among male soldiers than female." One women's rights activist was fearful that the pregnancy issue "'erodes women's full acceptance into America's military.'"

Although its statistics and regulation information were correct, the article did offer misinformation concerning maternity uniforms with: "women are issued maternity dress-uniforms and, currently, camouflage fatigues";

and "maternity fatigues often are worn as everyday work uniforms." Camouflage fatigues are a part of every soldiers uniform issue. "Maternity fatigues" are not standard to every service and camouflage maternity fatigues became available, only in the Army, in November 1985.<sup>8</sup>

#### Ladies' Home Journal

During the ten year period studied, Ladies' Home Journal published only one article dealing with the subject of women in the armed forces.<sup>9</sup> That article, titled "Women at West Point!" was published in the May 1976 issue as the lead-off feature of a seven page section that concentrated on the West Point diet and exercise program for women.

The 15-column-inch article was predicated upon women's entrance into West Point and focused solely on that topic. The article was written by Helen Newton; however, no biographical information was provided about her qualifications.

Turning to page 59, the reader was confronted with large, bold lettering for the title and exclamation mark and an "Editor's Note" which read, in part, "This year, for the first time, women will be admitted to our nation's military academies . . . . Saluting them, we have devoted this section to a report on these pioneers." Two small,

rectangular photos were also included as part of the article: one of a female cadet-to-be visiting her West Point brother and one of models displaying one of the new West Point uniforms.

Beginning with a line from the old West Point song: "Here's to the girls [who] come up in June," referring to the vast numbers of women who have traditionally married under crossed military swords at the Army academy, the article went on to discuss the pending admission of women saying that "this year, almost 100 of 'the girls' will be cadets, not brides." Stating that the women "won't be coddled," it quoted "an officer" as saying that the only "extra" the women would receive would be a fold-out clothes rack "'for drying their pantyhose and things like that.'" It also briefly mentioned the topic of upperclass resentment against the women by stating that "many West Pointers are not overjoyed" at their admission, but that "the prospect of a lukewarm welcome" did not daunt one cadet-to-be who felt that the men would give the "girls" a fair chance. It then offered observances by several of the women scheduled to attend and ended the article with the claim that the women were not out "to prove a point," only accepting the "chance to fulfill a dream."

The article presented an up-beat, "glossy" portrait of the upcoming admission of women to the academies. Although the final paragraph of the article stated that

the women were going to the academy not to "prove a point," but to "fulfill a dream," that statement was not substantiated since the women's reasons for attending West Point were not discussed. One woman was described as planning to study engineering, however. Additionally, the future cadets were referred to as "girls" four times within the course of the article; however, the male cadets were described as "men" and "male cadets."

#### Mademoiselle

During the ten-year period studied, Mademoiselle also published only one article dealing with women in the armed forces.<sup>10</sup> That article, titled "If You Think Your Country Owes You a Living, Here's How to Get It," was published in the March 1976 issue as part of a section devoted to "Careers in the Armed Forces" which also examined the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) and the National Guard (subjects outside the realm of this study).

The 100-column-inch article, which focused on the career aspects of military duty, was not induced by any specific event. It was written by Catherine Calvert; however, no biographical data was provided with which to assess her qualifications.

The article, which received no cover mention, began on page 182 and featured a large, rectangular photo of a fatigued woman and man looking at a piece of machinery.

Across the bottom of the photo, which took up two-thirds of the page, was the title. Although it was a "staged" Army recruiting-type photo, it did present an immediate image of women working in non-traditional settings.

Across the bottom of both pages 182 and 183 were small recruiting-type photos showing women working as a flight trainee, a diver, publicist and an operating room nurse, as well as three ROTC pictures. All photographs were in black and white. Preceding the article, were four pull-quotes: "'There's fascination in putting your life in someone else's hands'"; "'You can look on the time commitment as four years of guaranteed employment'"; "'Life is more normal for a service woman than it has been in the past'"; "'I've grown to like all these funny jobs; I've liked having to adapt.'" All reflecting positive concepts.

The article provided a balanced appraisal by several military women of many aspects of military life including housing, discipline, independence, responsibility, and sexual harassment where "women in a man's world once more closed than a locker room still feel the rub of role." The women officers presented were "an operating room nurse," a Navy "officer candidate," "a military intelligence specialist who spent 15-hour days in Thailand briefing pilots before they flew off to bomb N. Vietnam," a Naval Academy navigation teacher, an Army lawyer, and a

Navy captain who "just graduated from dental school." The enlisted women were a "jet mechanic," a "generator repairman" and a public affairs specialist.

The information and statistics presented in the article were generally correct and women were presented in widely diverse nontraditional roles. Although the focus of the article was on women moving beyond the "stereotypes of women in the services," it also reinforced a stereotype through the quote of one Navy lieutenant. Referring to an incident in which a male officer stated that he liked to look at women officer's legs, the lieutenant was quoted as saying: "'The older officers just don't realize we're different from the women they're used to in the service.'" This raises images of immoral women formerly serving at the pleasure of the men.<sup>11</sup>

#### McCall's

During the period of this study, McCall's also published only one article dealing with the subject of women in the military. That article, titled "The Army Stops Fighting Women," was run as the first article on the second page of the "Right Now" section of the November 1979 issue.<sup>12</sup> "Right Now" was a monthly section (recently deleted) devoted to providing the latest information on a wide range of subjects. The 14-column-inch article, which focused on the topic of women's military entrance require-

ments, resulted from an Army change of policy occurring the previous month. It received no individual cover mention.

The article was written by Cindy Schweich; however, no biographical information was provided which listed her background or qualifications.

The only illustration accompanying the article, was a two-inch drawing of three helmeted, rifled women drawn in profile and standing one behind the other. The simple illustrations gave the gun-toting women a militaristic, storm-trooper appearance rather than presenting them as service members.

The article discussed the policy change that brought women's entrance standards in line with the men's: the dropping of the requirement that women have a high school diploma. The article stated that the Army "became an equal opportunity employer" as a result of pressure from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU).

The article was written in a straight news fashion and offered an objective report of a regulation change with no descriptive language utilized, or stereotypical coverage presented.

Ms.Frequency and Placement

There were a total of four articles published in Ms. magazine between June 1975 and June 1985, with the first appearing in August 1977.<sup>13</sup> All four were feature articles, but two appeared within the "Gazette" section of the magazine.<sup>14</sup> This monthly section normally is further divided into "News From All Over" and "Making Change," both devoted to current events. "Gazette" is printed on a coarser grade of paper. One article was published in 1977, one in 1981 and two in 1983. The two articles appearing within the "Gazette" section were published in 1983. On the average, the articles were approximately 93-column-inches in length.

Two of the articles were predicated upon an event: one dealt with women's admittance to the service academies and one with the conviction of an Air Force officer for possession of drugs and homosexual acts.<sup>15</sup>

Each of the published articles focused on a separate topic: one on the military academies; one on career aspects; one on women Marines; and one on the "rights" of the convicted officer.

Illustrations

The 15 photographs in the four articles were all contained in the two articles not carried under the



"Gazette" banner.<sup>16</sup> Nine of the photos were run in the first article published which followed one woman's path into West Point and six were located in the article about women Marines. Five photos depicted women in uniform within a "casual" setting and five showed them in civilian clothes. Of the remaining photos, four were taken in a field setting and one was of women undergoing a formal inspection. All the photos were in black and white.

#### Authors

All four articles were written by women with no one woman writing more than one article. The author of the first article, Marcia Stamell, was identified only as "a reporter for The Record, Bergen County, New Jersey." Kathryn Marshall, the author of the second article, was listed as a novelist and journalist and further identified by: "Her two novels, My Sister Gone (1975) and Desert Places (1977) were published by Harper & Row. She is currently working on a third. She teaches creative and expository writing at the University of Pennsylvania." No biographical information was provided for Anne Christine d'Adesky, the author of the third article, while the biographical information given for Linda Lee Small, author of the last article, indicates that she "writes frequently about employment and work options for women." Additionally, it indicated that in conducting her research for her article, she visited and talked with Army women at Ft.

Dix, New Jersey, Air Force women at McGuire Air Force Base, New Jersey, Navy women at the Pentagon and Marines at Quantico, Virginia.

Individual Examinations

"The Basic Training of Joan Smith"

Published in August 1977, this 142-column-inch article, which followed one woman cadet's progress through a year at West Point, was the only one of the four to receive cover play: a teaser, "What WEST POINT did to Joan Smith," at the top center of the page.<sup>17</sup>

On page 48, the title was centered at the top of the page with the words "The Basic Training Of" positioned in an arc above "JOAN SMITH" which featured stars and stripes within each letter. Written much like a diary, the article was separated into seven sections by date lines. The first letter in each month of the subheads was also decorated with the stars and stripes design, although the lettering was consistently black and no color was used. The effect produced an image of a patriotic, "all-American girl" serving her country. Photographs used on the first two pages of the story were presented in the form of a proof-sheet and depicted the woman in fatigues, in dress uniform and working as a child model. Other photos interspersed throughout the article depicted the woman in a

field environment and also included one shot of the woman in a long formal with combat boots.

The article concentrated on the cadet's background and her adjustment to the military academy and offered comments concerning the furor that surrounded the entrance to the academies, the women's performance and attrition rates. The cadet was described as a "'most aggressive opponent'" in sports who "obtained a boys-only paper route under her elder brother's name" at age 10 and "at 11, . . . entered the pressured world of child modeling." The reader was advised that her Catholic education had "taught her to speak her mind" and that at an all-women's college she had belonged to the National Organization for Women.

The personal expose continued as the cadet was pictured three months later as "pale, her body lean and hard" and feeling that life at the academy was "awful." However, the adjustment was shown to be complete as two months later she was depicted as a member of the ski team whose face was not as "soft" and with a "resolute set to her jaw and shoulders." By the end of the year she was "wearing makeup," had "around average" grades and had no romantic interest.

Although male resentment was mentioned ("a line of male seniors hazed a few female cadets so relentlessly that the women burst into tears"), the primary thrust of the article was on the personal experiences of one cadet.

The deputy commandant of West Point, who "admits that he thinks a woman's place is in the home," closed the article by commending the women while the superintendent stated that "'it will be very interesting to see the extent to which the women cadets will lead in a positive way.'"

The article presented a balanced view of one woman's experiences and of the academy. The cadet was presented as a strong, independent woman who had survived the rigors of a rough experience and was the better for it. The information and statistics presented were factual, but the references to the cadet's "romantic interests" and her limited social life were reflective of stereotypical women's coverage.

"Who Are the Women Who Join the Marines?"

Published in February 1981, this was the only article in this study which concentrated exclusively upon the Marine Corps (although one Ebony article did profile two women captains).<sup>18</sup> This 130-column-inch article featured the coverline: "In which author Kathryn Marshall goes to Parris Island, dons fatigues, and lives and trains as a Marine recruit."

The top half of page 52, where the article began, was devoted to a photo of a woman Marine, holding a clipboard, inspecting several other women Marines. All were dressed in camouflage fatigues. The title was centered below the photo with the words "The Marines" in bold, three-quarter

inch lettering. The title and picture reinforced the commonly-held, "hard-core" Marine image. The article began with several descriptive passages about the countryside leading to "notorious Parris Island" and then offered a general statement about the numbers and jobs of women Marines. It went on to comment about the reasons women join the Marine Corps (because they are the "best"), Marine jargon and the first few days of "basic training." Female officers and non-commissioned officers were described as having a "voice like a cement mixer going at full throttle," "big-boned and quick to smile" and as a "small, wiry woman with blue eyes that rarely blink."

The Marine Corps was contrasted to the Army both in terms of integration and image, with the Marines characterized as "ladies." One officer stated that the "'Corps doesn't really know what to do with women.'" Male Marines were said to refer to the women's basic training as "charm school." The author, who spent several days with the women participating in marches and classes, on two different occasions remarked about women "breaking into tears."

A photo on the top half of page 53 showed a cluster of 15 women all wearing horn-rimmed, military glasses with a caption that stated: "Recruits must trade in glasses or contact lenses for regulation 'specs.'" Three-fourths of page 54 was taken up by a photo of a woman plucking her

eyebrows and a caption that read: "Women Marines are 'ladies.' Recruit learns precision 'plucking.'" Another photo on that page showed a woman down on her hands and knees with a brush scrubbing the floor with one other photo of a woman ironing her uniform "just so."

The article did a good job of capturing the contradictions inherent in Marine Corps service with its "hard-core," macho image for men and concept of traditionally feminine roles for its women. There was limited use of personal descriptives of the women and no reference to any woman's marital status.

#### "When Uncle Sam Doesn't Want You"

This 13-column-inch article published in the August 1983 issue of the magazine was one of four articles which discussed the issue of homosexuality and was the only article of its type published in a women's magazine.<sup>19</sup> The title was centered under a graphic drawing of a woman in military uniform with a bull's-eye over her heart. Although symbolic, because of the geometrical nature of the drawing and the uniform itself, the bull's-eye was not readily apparent and even when noticed looked to be a natural part of the uniform. The drawing, therefore, was virtually ineffective in its symbolism. Located on page 17, the article, written by Anne-Christine d'Adesky, was the first in the "Gazette" section's "News From All Over."

The article described the "exceptional case of military injustice" of an Air Force officer "with an excellent service record" who had been sentenced to "seven years' hard labor for drug use and lesbianism." The article went on to detail the military's attitude about homosexuality, the officer's trial and subsequent reductions of sentence and an appeal by the officer's attorney for letters of support for her client. No information was provided about the specifics of the case, only that the officer was accused of "'kissing a female enlisted person and of three acts of sodomy'" and "'possession and wrongful use of a small amount of marijuana.'" There was likewise no mention of the fate of the other personnel involved.

The article presented a one-sided representation of the facts of the case and made no attempt to relate the prosecution's viewpoint. The first sentence which began the article declared the case an "exceptional case of military injustice," and subsequent publication of an address that sympathetic readers could send "letters in support of clemency" clearly indicate the article's bias. Additionally, the statement that the "marijuana butts found in her private, off-base apartment near Syracuse" was not a "serious breach of [New York] law" was irrelevant since military members are subject to a military code of justice. And, the statement that "even under the military code, the drugs would normally constitute a minor

infraction" was not true as all drug use is, at best, subject to nonjudicial punishment at the discretion of the commander; for officers, nonjudicial punishment would almost certainly put an end to any career aspirations.<sup>20</sup>

"Jobs in the Military--Do You Want Uncle Sam?"

Published in the November 1983 issue, this 87-column-inch article, written by Linda Lee Small, offered a balanced look at the prospect of the military as a career for women.<sup>21</sup>

Its title was centered around a drawing of an individual in camouflaged fatigues with the word "Ms." printed in nametag style across the chest. Drawings of an airplane, a ship and a jeep were also emblazoned across the chest. The illustration was such a jumbled confusion it was nearly impossible to discern what it was trying to represent, and thus was ineffective.

The article, which began on page 107, offered a brief history of women's military service and discussed President Reagan's decision to "pause" in the country's recruitment of women before providing a synopsis of opportunities for women in each of the service branches, a general description of the differences in each service--the Air Force was "the pioneer in opening up opportunities for females," and the Navy is "conservative and traditional"--an over-view of why women join and the pluses and minuses of military life. This was



accomplished through the use of facts, statistics and testimonials from six women.

The article presented a balanced view of the military through its relatively complete discussion of both the favorable and unfavorable aspects of its service. Generally, the information and statistics presented were accurate; however, in a discussion of the stereotypical labels of "whore" or "lesbian" assigned to military women, a statement that "labeling a woman as 'gay' could result in an automatic discharge" was a poor choice of verbs. As in civilian justice systems, "labeling" whether it be thief, murderer or "gay," is insufficient reason for punishment although labels can certainly cause difficulties.<sup>22</sup> In addition, although personal descriptives of the individual women mentioned were limited, for four of the six women identified and quoted, marital status was defined--a traditional media coverage technique.

#### Redbook

During the ten-year period studied, Redbook published only one article dealing with the subject of women in the military.<sup>23</sup> That article, titled "To: Lieutenants Beverly Kelley and Susan Ingalls For: Commanding Talents," was run as the second of two items in the "Red Ribbons" section of the October 1979 issue. Redbook's "Red Ribbons" offers accolades to women achievers.

The 15-column-inch article, which focused on the first two Coast Guard women selected to command ships, was written by Chirlane McCray. No information was provided on McCray with which to determine qualifications. Two small, black and white snapshots of the two smiling women officers accompanied the article. It did not receive cover mention.

The article announced the positions of the women and provided background information on them and the recent change in Coast Guard policy. One woman officer, who stated that the Coast Guard "is the only service that gives women the same opportunities as men," was described as 25, with a degree in marine science, who "expects to be married soon and considers herself fortunate that her fiance is in the Coast Guard too."

Although congratulatory in form, the article presented a straightforward account of the two women and Coast Guard history with reference to women serving on ships. The only strictly personal information presented dealt with the marriage plans of one of the women, a representation of stereotypical reporting.

### Seventeen

#### Frequency and Placement

There were two articles appearing in Seventeen during the period of this study, with the first published in

April 1977 and the second in July 1979.<sup>24</sup> Both articles were features, with the 1979 article appearing under the banner, "Careers." One of the articles dealt with the broad topic of women's expanding military roles and one with women's attendance at the military academies. Only one of the two received cover mention.<sup>25</sup>

#### Illustrations

There were a total of six photographs in the two articles. Photo presentations were generally varied with only the field environment represented more than once (it was shown twice). Other photos depicted military women in uniform within a casual setting, at work (paratrooper), performing physical exercise and in portrait style. There was also one photo of a military color guard performing at West Point; however, no women were depicted as part of the group. All photographs were in black and white.

#### Authors

Both articles were written by women; the first, by Karen Kinzler, "as told to Valerie Eads." Kinzler was noted to be a female cadet at West Point in the first class of women; however, no information was provided for Eads. The second article, written by Francine Sabin, similarly provided no information about the author.

Individual Examinations"West Point Woman"

Published in the April 1977 issue of Seventeen, this 37-column-inch article, by Karen Kinzler and Valerie Eads, which focused on the experiences of one woman cadet of the 1980 West Point class, featured the coverline, "The first thing the 119 eager female cadets learned about tradition was that they were breaking it."<sup>26</sup> There were four photographs on the first page of the article (page 74) located top and bottom, left and right; however, because they were so small and did not offer a clear image, only the photo of the smiling woman cadet, at the top of the page, likely made any impact upon the reader.

The article, written in the first-person, offered a very cursory examination of some aspects of West Point life and background information about the cadet. The cadet, who had attended the University of Hawaii and been a member of ROTC, "grew up with the idea some things are worth defending." She also stated that one advantage of the heavy West point work load was "'that there's no time to be depressed for very long'" although sometimes "'it's all I can do to keep from losing my temper.'" She related that even though the women cadets were "'allowed to date guys from their own class,'" their "'social life has been pretty limited.'" Apparently, the experience was worth-

while since although she had "'to absorb a lot of frustration,'" she stated that West Point was "'really great.'"

The article presented a positive, unobjective examination of West Point attendance without mentioning any of the "issues" related to being among the first class of women such as resentment, harassment or the lowering of physical standards. Probably because of its first-person style, no personal descriptives were used to describe the cadet, although the discussion of dating habits reflected a stereotypical presentation. It was written in a simplistic, "gee-whiz" style which emphasized the patriotic aspects of not only military service, but the American way of life: "In communist countries, they do what they have to do." The use of the photo of West Point men "on parade" seems inappropriate in the story of West Point women. And finally, captions in two field photos were apparently reversed with the one featuring women in full field gear complete with rifle stating "getting in shape," while the one of the cadets doing push-ups stated "in the field."

"Women in the Military: How are they really doing?"

Published in the June 1979 issue, this 67-column-inch article by Francine Sabin offered a balanced look at the expanding roles of women in the military and attempted to separate "myth from reality" in several issues concerning

women's service, such as the physical strength differences of men and women and the women's absentee rate.<sup>27</sup>

The cover of the magazine featured a column of five teasers with the fourth being "The Latest on Women in the Military." On page 76, the headlines at the top of the page and a mid-size photograph on the bottom of one female and three male paratroopers smiling as they awaited their opportunity to jump created an impression that women were doing very well in the military and were participating in exciting adventures.

The article continually related the problems of military service with those of civilian life. Of men's resentment, the article stated that "of course, there are men in the military who wish that servicewomen would just fade away. But sexual discrimination continues to exist throughout our society." It also noted that "women in the military do have special problems" and went on to mention diet, uniforms and physical training, but stated that "the hurdles women can't overcome so readily are those based on tradition," discussing the experience of the West Point women and resentment on the part of Navy wives. They were quoted as saying, "'What right does the Navy have to expect wives to sit at home lonely themselves, raising kids, while the Navy provides husbands with women?'" In typical fashion, however, it stated that "for most women, dating, marriage, and childbearing raise the same question

in service as in civilian life: How do you combine a personal life and a career?" It closed by stating that "for a growing number of women, the armed forces seem to be providing an exciting, challenging, and altogether satisfying way of life."

The article's statistical information was factual although its comments about the military "diet" based "around three thousand calories a day" were somewhat misleading, as regulated eating only takes place in basic training where trainees are expected to be utilizing more energy and have greater needs. Once the basic training is completed and individuals reach their first assignment, no "forced" eating plan is directed. Three individual women were quoted; however, the only descriptive matter presented about them was their military job.

### Teen

During the ten-year period of this study, Teen published one article dealing with the subject of women in the armed forces. That article, titled "The Navy: Not for Men Only," was a 30-column-inch feature article and was published in the June 1979 issue.<sup>28</sup>

Black and white Navy photographs of women working and living on the ship reinforced the image created by the title on page 48. Three other photos in the feature also contributed to the theme and emphasized the point of women

serving as integral members of the ship: one female and male seaman "readying the ship's anchor," one female dental technician cleaning another sailor's teeth aboard the ship's dentist office and the sleeping quarters for the enlisted women.

The article focused on the topic of the first women assigned to a Navy ship and was predicated upon that assignment. No author was listed for the article, which consistently referred to 'Teen in that capacity: "Teen spoke with some of the sailors" and "Teen recently paid a visit. . . ."

The article discussed life at sea and recorded the impressions of the first Navy women at sea and the men with whom they served. The women (a 20-year-old working in the Personnel Division and an 18-year-old seaman apprentice) noted feelings of pride and determination to prove themselves "'I just want to be like everybody else'" and know "'that I did my part of the work.'" The men were represented as believing "for the most part, the female sailors have proven to be good workers and have adjusted well to the ship's environment." One male officer stated, "'I think having women on board has made the men clean up their acts . . . all in all, they're good for the men.'"

The article presented a positive view of the women on the Vulcan without mentioning either resentment from the men or the uproar that their assignment caused among Navy



wives. The photos were taken by a Navy photographer and were of the smiling, recruiting type. Although the article made a point of presenting women as integral parts of the ship and stated that "the 64 seafaring females on the Vulcan represented a variety of backgrounds, abilities and personalities, and handle a wide spectrum of jobs," few jobs were specifically mentioned. Of those that were, two were non-traditional--boatswain's mate and seaman--and two were traditional ones of personnel specialist and dental technician.

#### Vogue

During the period covered by this study, Vogue published one article dealing with the subject of women in the military. That article, titled "Women at West Point: Five Years Later, We've Proved We Can Do It!," was written in straight news fashion and run as one of three items in the "Fitness Now" section of the December 1984 issue.<sup>29</sup> "Fitness Now" was a section devoted to the latest information on fitness, sport, recreation and physical well-being.

The 10-column-inch article, which reviewed women's physical performance at West Point over an eight year period, was not predicated upon any specific event. No author was given for the article or column which also included items on the possibility of aerobic dance at the

Olympics and cross-training, nor were any illustrations used.

There was no mention of the article on the cover of the magazine and readers turning to page 199 were most likely to see the subhead under the section title "What's news. . ." then skip to the title "Ideal Workout" to begin the article on cross-training. Although the West Point article occupied the right column of the page and was printed entirely in bold letters, it was possible to overlook it due to the jumbled graphic layout of the page.

The article, which reported on the increased physical capabilities of women cadets at West Point, quoted the director of the academy's physical education department as saying that "'the young women admitted to West Point have proven that, for the most part, women can participate--and excel--in the same physical activities as men.'" It further described the effects of "societal prejudices" that restrict women's physical performances--effects that won't change "'until society places as much emphasis on physical education for young girls as it does for boys.'"

The article presented its information in an objective manner and was written in straight journalistic fashion. It did not focus on individual military women and was devoid of stereotypical images of coverage.

Woman's Day

During the ten-year period studied, Woman's Day published an article dealing with the topic of women in the military. That article, titled "An Officer and a Lady," was a 36-column-inch feature published in the September 13, 1983 issue.<sup>30</sup> It focused on the women and activities of the West Point "dance team." It was not predicated upon any specific event and received no cover mention.

The author of the article was listed as Barbara Rows. No biographical information was provided for Rows, who was responsible for another article studied in this thesis. No information was provided about her in that article either.

Contrasting images were presented in the photographs beginning the article on pages 104 and 105. One page featured a large color photograph of two West Point cadets in full parade uniform which had a small photo of a female West Point cheerleader inset in it. Also emblazoned across the larger photo was the title with a coverline below it: "Members of the West Point Dance Team are just as tough as other cadets--but they try not to look it." The caption under the larger photo read, "With military bearing befitting future officers . . . prepare for a parade in the same uniforms worn by male cadets. But there's nothing masculine about their cheering outfits."

The facing page featured a half-page color photo across the top of one woman in camouflage fatigues and rifle with a mid-size picture of six women in "Army" cheerleading outfits across the bottom. No other illustrations were used in the article.

The thrust of the article was the contrast of the feminine members of the "dance team" with that of the "mostly macho environment" around them. It began at a West Point football game when "six stunning women in tight white turtlenecks and pleated mini-skirts" went into a "crowd-pleasing dance routine full of high kicks and breathtaking splits, and shimmy and shake their way through the sexiest plays of the afternoon." One "petite, bubbly" cadet didn't think that the dance team members were letting themselves be turned into sex objects and knew that they had earned the "'respect'" of the "guys in class"; making them "'proud'" at the games even if "'cheerleaders get so much attention some girls [other women cadets] are bound to be jealous.'"

It went on to state that the women "have no trouble reconciling their femininity with military careers" and concentrated heavily upon their efforts to retain it through the use of perfume, make-up and "at least twenty-three bottles of nail polish." The women cadets were depicted going through beauty routines that included "facial masks" even though they hoped the "'male cadets

didn't catch'" them at it. It described how the women "secretly" revolted against the discipline and authority through the use of "painted toenails" and "lacy lingerie." It also related how community stylists were brought in "to advise the girls on hair and makeup" by creating "flattering styles," while maintaining Army regulations, and how "'all the women cadets seem more conscious of their appearance since the team was organized.'" One cadet, who stated that if she had to "'march around in my little gray uniform day after day'" she wouldn't still be there, also stated that "'I don't like to look masculine and do masculine things twenty-four hours a day.'" The article ended when one male cadet stated, "'If they [women] can crawl through trenches with me, score high points in nuclear engineering class and still look gorgeous, then they certainly have what it takes to be an officer and a lady.'"

The article presented the most traditionally feminine portrayal of women and was the most sexist of all the articles studied. Through the use of descriptive terminology such as "stunning," "bubbly," "gorgeous," "sexiest" and "soft-spoken," and a heavy concentration upon the women cheerleading cadets' underwear, make-up, hair-styles and perfume, the article relegated the West Point women's role to that of "beauty queen" more interested in her appearance than her studies. It depicted the women in

perfunctory positions where their main goal is to both perform their routines well and look good for the male cadets. The reader was told that the women would be worthy as long as they can do everything the men do and "'still look gorgeous.'" The other women cadets, on the other hand, were depicted as "jealous" and "resentful" of the cheerleaders who had had such a favorable impact on the entire academy. Even the photograph which depicted a woman in camouflage fatigues holding a rifle promoted the "feminine" image, by showing her in make-up and lipstick--an unlikely event in a field environment simulating combat conditions.

The resulting image of this article is that even in non-traditional environments, "feminine concepts" are of most importance with beauty and a "gorgeous" appearance mandatory for acceptance.

### Working Woman

#### Frequency and Placement

There were a total of four articles published in Working Woman between June 1975 and June 1985, with the first two appearing in February 1980.<sup>31</sup> All four were feature articles, but one appeared in the "Memoranda" section--a section containing almost anything from recipes to book reviews--and one ran under the banner of "Families," a regular section which discussed the broad

range of family-related topics.<sup>32</sup> Two articles were published within the same issue in 1980 and two were published in 1982. On the average, the articles were 37 column inches in length. None of the articles received cover mention.

Two of the articles were predicated upon an event: one with the assignment of the first Navy woman to sea duty and one with the publication of Helen Rogan's book Mixed Company.<sup>33</sup> Each of the published articles focused on a separate topic, however: one on career opportunities; one on the "first" women at sea; one on parenting; and one on the publication of a controversial book about women and the military.

#### Illustrations

There were a total of three photographs and one drawing in the four articles, with all the photographs appearing in the 1980 articles. All were in black and white and depicted women in work settings: one in electronic communications; one as an air-traffic controller; and one as a truck driver. Each photo was from military recruiting or public relations files and was obviously staged or posed. The drawing depicted a profile of a soldier in full-field gear (including backpack, sleeping back and canteen) bottle-feeding a baby.

### Authors

All four articles were written by women, with no one woman writing more than one article. The author of the first article was Linda Stern who was not further identified; nor were the authors of the second and third articles, Marlene Cimons and Joyce Moskowitz. The author of the final article, Ann Banks, was identified as a "free-lance writer from Cambridge, Massachusetts, [who] is currently serving as co-program director of the American Writers Congress."

### Individual Examinations

#### "Launch a Career With Basic Training"

Published in February 1980, this 83-column-inch article written by Linda Stern offered a balanced look at military careers for women focusing on basic training, the jobs, life styles and corresponding civilian careers.<sup>34</sup>

The title of the article was boldly printed atop page 48 with the coverline directly beneath it sounding like a subdued warning:

As military enrollment quotas go unfulfilled, Congress could reinstate the draft--this time, women, too. Right now, armed services offer career head starts, as well as a choice of fields . . . and surprises. (Get them before they get you.)

The Army photograph of a fatigued, black woman sitting at a communications console completed the image of attractive women performing in non-traditional, technical roles.



The article itself presented women serving "60 feet underground" as a missile-systems analyst technician, as the assistant chief of psychiatry of a medical center, as a Navy lawyer and as a security police investigator. They provided comments and information about their jobs as well as offering a discussion of salary expectations. It consistently presented the negative to every positive:

"These jobs don't begin to represent a cross section of the many kinds of positions available . . . but diversity is not the same thing as freedom of choice," and "people with special skills and training can enter the military with 'guaranteed' contracts . . . but the military doesn't always keep its promises."

The article also discussed current issues of military service such as combat, men's resentment and pregnancy for which "surprisingly, the deepest source of resentment . . . are other women" who are told that there isn't enough money to pay for certain other benefits because of the money spent on pregnancy benefits. Stereotypes of "lesbian," "whore" and "frustrated tomboys" that women could expect to encounter were also discussed, while readers were informed that a choice to join the military should be made "with eyes open."

The article presented a generally fair appraisal of military life, both positive and negative. However, it did make broad, sweeping generalizations that are not

attributed: "the military doesn't always keep its promises" and "the deepest source of resentment . . . are other women." Personal descriptions of women were not utilized nor was there discussion of traditionally "feminine" interests such as uniforms, appearance or socialization. Further, it could be allowed that by advising women of the stereotypes they would encounter, the article promulgated them, particularly since there was no further explanation of those comments.

#### "Women at Sea"

Published in the February 1980 issue as a side-bar, this 18-column-inch article, written by Marlene Cimon, focused on the first woman to board Navy ships and on the Navy's plan for the sea-faring women: "the Navy's ultimate goal is to have woman make up 25 percent of the crews of 55 vessels."<sup>35</sup> It said that all but two jobs--"the highly qualified specialties of machinist's mate and boiler technician"--were open to women who were noted to be "'competent people who are contributing to the ship.'" It did note that the professional conduct of the crew had "quieted the criticism of some Navy wives who were nervous about the presence of women on ships."

The article presented an objective overview of the first Navy ship with female crew members and was written without the use of personal adjectives for the women and

with no discussion of their "off-duty" time, as was common throughout this study.

"They're in the Army Now"

Published in the January 1982 issue, this 14-column-inch article by Joyce Moskowitz reviewed salient points of the book Mixed Company by Helen Rogan.<sup>36</sup> Located in the center of the "Memoranda" section on page 45, it fought for the reader's attention with recipes and unrelated photographs on a graphically cluttered page. Only the bold print of the headline kept it from getting lost completely.

Calling the book a "provocative narrative," the article related the "boundless resentment" felt by women who "threatened the male collective identity and altered the concept of what a soldier is." It discussed the women's expanding roles, described Rogan's information gathering techniques and stated that the book should help to "bridge the self-defeating gender gap through its penetrating analysis of Army life."

The article presented a synopsis of the most controversial conclusions of the book. In so doing, it depicted Army life as fraught with sexism and harassment and full of down-trodden women severely bridled by male hostility. As it made limited use of direct quotes, the statements did not seem to reflect the opinion of Rogan, but Working Woman. It did, however, capture the flavor of the book.

### "Mother Wears Army Boots"

Published in February 1982, this 32-column-inch article written by Ann Banks presented a balanced report on how the military was affected by increased numbers of women and pregnancies, with a focus on child care problems.<sup>37</sup> Located on page 104 of the magazine, the article's title was overshadowed by the "FAMILIES" banner at the top of the page. The drawing located directly under it, in the center column, was likewise not clearly defined; the drawing of the soldier was distinguishable, but the baby in the soldier's arms was evident only through a closer examination. Thus, there was no dramatic graphic hook to draw the reader's attention.

The article examined the growth in the numbers of military women and the resulting policy changes the Army had instituted in an effort to cope with the new problems such as sole-parent provisions, child care centers and co-assignment of military families. It provided a look at one military family in which the wife was a commander of about 280 men and women and the husband an Army officer studying for a Harvard Business School degree who discussed his life while occasionally "interrupting himself to fill numerous requests for juice and generally cope with his son's post-nap crankiness." It cited statistics that "at least two-thirds of the single parents in the military are men" and more than half of the wives of

soldiers now work outside the home, although to date, "military leaders--and Congress--have been reluctant to make expanded child care a priority."

The article cited several statistics and made broad statements about military families without attributing them. One such case--"The traditional military family, consisting of a serviceman husband and a homemaker-wife who organizes family life for the benefit of the military, has become the exception rather than the rule"--was not only unattributed, but it is highly doubtful. Otherwise, the article presented its material in an objective, balanced manner without use of stereotypical portrayals. It was the only article studied which focused almost exclusively on the day-care issue.

#### Chapter Summary

In an examination of the 21 articles presented in this chapter, it was found that the subject of women in the military was predicated upon an event in only ten (48 percent) instances, normally involving the "firsts" of women at the military academies, at sea and as commanders of ships. Other events which elicited articles involved the changing of two military regulations, the conviction of an Air Force officer for homosexuality and a review of the book Mixed Company. The topic most frequently covered--career aspects of military service--however, was

not event induced. Four different magazines examined this issue in five different articles, but for the most part, the articles covered varied topics in a variety of styles with Working Woman's four articles on four separate topics covering the broadest range of any women's magazine.

Several of the articles were presented as short inclusions to monthly columns in Glamour, McCall's, Redbook, Vogue and Working Woman. The rest were longer feature articles which varied greatly from magazine to magazine in length and style, with Ms. and Mademoiselle providing the longer, more in-depth pieces. Only the McCall's article was written in straight news format.

No changes were detected in the magazines' coverage of women over time either within individual publications or as a group. Logically, the articles pertaining to women's entrance into the military academies were published in 1976 and 1977, soon after the event took place. But surprisingly, no articles were published which focused on the women's graduation from these institutions. The career articles were published throughout the period and although there was no pattern detected in the treatment of that topic, each magazine presented a different viewpoint.

The Essence articles, which examined military career opportunities, were positive overall. The military was presented as a willing employer that treated everyone fairly and provided an excellent opportunity for women.

Mademoiselle, on the other hand, focused its article on women in nontraditional jobs and presented a balanced appraisal of military life. Ms., likewise, presented a balanced look at the military; however, it used fewer testimonials from military women in its presentation. Working Woman carried the process a step further by countering each positive with a negative. It also made the greatest attempt to contrast corresponding military and civilian careers, giving the reader a more vivid illustration of each.

Much of the information in these articles was presented in an objective manner devoid of stereotypical women's presentations. In several instances, however, traditional presentations were noted such as when the articles referenced women's "romantic interests," marital status and intentions or social activities. Seventeen and Redbook were guilty of that practice, as was the magazine which prides itself on its feminist philosophies, Ms. The continual reference to "girls" when discussing women cadets as opposed to "men" for the male cadets reflected Ladies' Home Journal's traditional leanings.

The most flagrant representation of the traditional, however, occurred in Woman's Day, a magazine for the homemaker. Its one article was laden with stereotypical presentations of women concerned with their appearance and with men's opinion of them. It utilized numerous

descriptive adjectives for the women and offered insights into how they maintained their femininity in the midst of their "masculine" environment.

As all the authors within this chapter were women, it was, of course, impossible to contrast their coverage with that of the men. In two of the articles, women were shown struggling against the military's regulations and policies--one fighting laws against homosexuality and one championing the issue of day care and parenting. In other instances, articles focused on the successes the women were enjoying. Several of the articles, such as those concentrating on career aspects, were neutral in their presentation.

Ms. provided the only example of editorializing found within the articles in this section; it projected an anti-military bias in its discussion of homosexuality. Several other articles did, however, present erroneous or misleading information about the military.

The quantity of data available for this study from the women's magazines suggests their interest in the subject of women in the military. With the exception of four publications, the magazines each featured only one article on the subject in ten years. For the most part, they did not report on the historically significant achievements of service women or the socially significant changes that resulted from their expansion into nontraditional areas.



NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Iris L. Washington, "Women in the Armed Forces," Essence April 1979, pp. 25-26; "Beauty on Duty," Essence, March 1980, pp. 78-79; Dari S. Giles, "Careers in the Military," Essence, June 1984, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup>"Beauty on Duty."

<sup>3</sup>Washington; Giles.

<sup>4</sup>Washington.

<sup>5</sup>"Beauty on Duty."

<sup>6</sup>Giles.

<sup>7</sup>Margaret Engel, "Mothers-To-Be and the Military," Glamour, June 1983, pp. 165-6.

<sup>8</sup>"Maternity Uniform," Army Times, November 4, 1985, p. 4.

<sup>9</sup>Helen Newton, "Women at West Point!" Ladies' Home Journal, May 1976, p. 59.

<sup>10</sup>Catherine Calvert, "If You Think Your Country Owes You A Living, Here's How to Get It," Mademoiselle, March 1976, pp. 182-84.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 184 and Mattie Treadwell, U.S. Army in World War II, Special Studies: The Women's Army Corps (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1954).

<sup>12</sup>Cindy Schweich, "The Army Stops Fighting Women," McCalls, November 1979, p. 62.

<sup>13</sup>Marcia Stamell, "The Basic Training Of Joan Smith," Ms., August 1977, pp. 48-51; Kathryn Marshall, "Who Are The Women Who Join The Marines?" Ms., February 1981, pp. 52-55, 96-98, 101; Anne Christine d'Adesky, "When Uncle Sam Doesn't Want You," Ms., August 1983, p. 17; Linda Lee Small, "Jobs in the Military--Do You Want Uncle Sam," Ms., November 1983, pp. 107-10.

- <sup>14</sup>d'Adesky and Small.
- <sup>15</sup>Marshall and d'Adesky.
- <sup>16</sup>Stamell and Marshall.
- <sup>17</sup>Stamell.
- <sup>18</sup>Marshall and "Women in Command," Ebony, December 1982, pp. 92-96.
- <sup>19</sup>d'Adesky; "Navy Finds Young Sailor Guilty in Lesbian Probe," Jet, September 4, 1980, p. 7; "Navy Charges Two With Lesbianism; Both Black," Jet, September 18, 1980, p. 44; Eileen Keerdoja, "A Gay Soldiers Fight to Serve," Newsweek, January 23, 1984, p. 15.
- <sup>20</sup>U.S., Manual for Courts-Martial, p. 28-72.
- <sup>21</sup>Small.
- <sup>22</sup>U.S., Manual for Courts-Martial, pp. 28-75-76.
- <sup>23</sup>Chirlane McCray, "Redbook's Red Ribbons: Beverly Kelley and Susan Ingalls For Commanding Talents," Redbook, October 1979, p. 54.
- <sup>24</sup>Karen Kinzler as told to Valerie Eads, "West Point Woman," Seventeen, April 1977, pp. 74, 76; Francine Sabin, "Women in the Military: How Are They Really Doing?" Seventeen, July 1979, pp. 76, 78, 80.
- <sup>25</sup>Sabin.
- <sup>26</sup>Kinzler.
- <sup>27</sup>Sabin.
- <sup>28</sup>"Navy: Not For Men Only," Teen, June, 1979, pp. 48, 51-52.
- <sup>29</sup>"Women at West Point: Five Years Later, We've Proved We Can Do It!" Voque, December 1984, p. 199.
- <sup>30</sup>Barbara Rowes, "An Officer and a Lady," Woman's Day, September 13, 1983, pp. 104-05, 110-11.

<sup>31</sup>Linda Stern, "Launch a Career With Basic Training," Working Woman, February 1980, pp. 48-52; Marlene Cimons, "Women at Sea," Working Women, February 1980, p. 50; Joyce Moskowitz, "They're in the Army Now," Working Woman, January 1982, p. 45; Ann Banks, "Mother Wears Army Boots," Working Woman, February 1982, pp. 104-05.

<sup>32</sup>Moskowitz.

<sup>33</sup>Cimons and Moskowitz.

<sup>34</sup>Stern.

<sup>35</sup>Cimons.

<sup>36</sup>Moskowitz.

<sup>37</sup>Banks.

## CHAPTER X

### DATA: NEWS MAGAZINES

#### Introduction

The third chapter of this content analysis covers the three weekly news magazines through an examination of the 39 articles published on the subject of women in the military since 1975. In this category, articles were published every year from 1975 to 1985, with U.S. News & World Report leading the field with 15 articles. Topics covered the broad spectrum from uniforms to combat, with a heavy emphasis on examination of women's expansion from the broad view.

This chapter is divided into two main parts: examinations of the individual magazine coverage with an in-depth analysis of each article, and a final chapter summary.

#### Newsweek

##### Frequency and Placement

The first article dealing with the subject of women in the military appeared in the October 20, 1975 issue of

Newsweek. Thereafter, at least one article appeared in every year through 1980. No articles were published in 1981, 1982 or 1985. A total of 13 articles were published in 12 separate issues during the period of this study.<sup>1</sup> All of the articles were features; 12 of the 13 dealt exclusively with the subject under study while one was included as part of a broader subject (military leaders).<sup>2</sup> Ten (77 percent) of the 13 articles were found under regular Newsweek sections: five in "Update"--which features follow-up items of past news events; four in "National Affairs"--featuring items of broad national interest; and one in "Education"--covering subjects broadly related to the educational arena. On the average, the articles were 12 column inches in length excluding the one cover feature which was 93 column inches long.

Of the 13 articles, eight (63 percent) were event induced: four discussed women's entrance, performance or graduation from the previously all-male military academies; two covered the first women assigned to Navy ships; and one each reported on the integrated honor guard and a gay soldier's desire to serve.<sup>3</sup>

The topic of the military academies, likewise, received the most attention with four articles.<sup>4</sup> Other topics included: three on "firsts"; two concerned with the broad view of women's service; two offered short pro-

files of individual women; one dealing with homosexuality; and one focusing on uniforms.

The greatest coverage of women in the military occurred in 1980 when three articles were published. Multiple articles were also published in 1976, 1979 and 1984. As previously noted, no articles were published in 1981, 1982 and 1985.

### Illustrations

There were a total of 26 photos utilized in 12 of the 13 Newsweek articles.<sup>5</sup> The majority (nine) of the photographs were of women in uniform within a casual setting while six reflected women in a field training environment. There were also photographs of women working (mechanic and drill instructor), in a large group or of "other" shots which included photographs of objects or equipment other than military women. Additionally, there were photographs of women conducting physical training and in civilian clothes. Only one article utilized color photography; that article running eight color photographs.<sup>6</sup>

### Authors

Newsweek is more likely than the other major news-magazines to utilize bylines for its contributors. Thus, 12 (92 percent) articles identified authors with three of the six different authors contributing more than one article. Four (67 percent) of the six were men; however

the two women contributed over half of the articles. The men were: Dennis A. Williams, who was responsible for two articles; Merrill Sheils, who wrote one; Allan J. Mayer, who wrote one; and Tim Morgenthau with one. The women were: Eileen Keerdoja, responsible for five articles; and Melinda Beck, two (including the cover feature).

### Concepts

One of the few recurring themes running through the 13 articles was men's resentment or harassment of women service members, which was mentioned in six (46 percent) of the 13 articles. Two other concepts, fraternization/dating and lowered physical standards, received repeated coverage in four (30 percent) and three (23 percent) issues respectively. Other concepts noted at least once were: combat; management of men; pregnancy; uniforms; and lack of physical strength. Only one article examined the wide spectrum of the issues; most articles gave only brief notice to them.<sup>7</sup>

Due to the nature of Newsweek coverage, few concepts received prolonged attention. Men's resentment was covered from 1975 to 1980, fraternization from 1976 to 1980 and issues related to combat, physical strength, and management of men, pregnancy and uniforms mentioned only in the 1980 cover story.

Individual Examinations"This Woman's Army"

Published in the October 20, 1975 issue, this 11-column-inch article written by Dennis A. Williams was featured in the "National Affairs" section as the final of six articles and focused on women's expansion within the Army.<sup>8</sup>

The article, which was located on page 41, featured two photographs of women on an Army rifle range--one of a long line of women shooters and one close-up of a woman aiming directly at the camera. The pictures emphasized the women's changing roles and Army policies.

The article reported on changes within the Women's Army Corps which required women to qualify with weapons as well as other "tradition-shaking decisions." It noted the increased numbers of women as well as the available jobs: "once confined to clerical and medical roles, the WAC's can now do anything male soldiers can do short of combat." Although the WAC training commander was quoted as saying "'We're crawling right now and just beginning to walk,'" one female soldier stated that weapons training "'makes you feel like you're a soldier.'"

The article, although written in feature style, presented its information in a fairly straight journalistic fashion and without the use of personal descriptives of the women (or the one man quoted). Its information and



statistics were generally accurate, however one quote was undoubtedly incorrectly attributed. Reporting on new uniforms issued 18 months earlier a "recruit" was quoted: "'Before, wearing that green uniform with the skirt we felt like we were in the Girl Scouts instead of the Army.'" A recruit, a term applied to those in basic training, would not have been in the service 18 months earlier nor would she have worn the old uniforms.

"Of Arms and the Woman"

Published in the January 26, 1976 issue, this 11-column-inch article written by Merrill Sheils was run as the second of two articles in the "Education" section and focused on the upcoming entrance of women into the military academies.<sup>9</sup>

Located on page 60, the article featured one photograph of a female Air Force Academy officer speaking to a male officer. Neither the caption under the photo ("up and away") nor the title gave the reader any idea of the context of the story. Since the reader would not have known the officer's position, the only purpose for the photo would be as a graphic device to break up the otherwise grey page.

The article focused on the preparations of each academy for the entrance of women, beginning with the lead "At West Point, there is even more concern than usual these days about certain portions of the female body. Can

the upper torso, or bosom . . . take the 'pummeling' of the . . . athletic program?" It stated that the "Air Force Academy has taken by far the greatest pains to prepare for coed status," that "West Point sent out rather discouraging brochures to females who expressed interest," and that "Annapolis officers grumpily protested." However, one female officer brought in to supervise the Air Force cadets stated that her job, in part, was to "teach the cadets--men and women alike--that 'all women in the military aren't big and ugly.'" Before describing the types of jobs women Air Force cadets wouldn't be allowed to do, the article quoted the air academy's superintendent who hoped that they would "'get a good football quarterback out of the new [women] students.'"

The article's basic information and statistics were accurate; however, its attempts to be "cute" and/or funny seemed to relegate the idea of women in the service academies to that of a joke. Additionally, the inclusion of the Air Force lieutenant's comments about "big and ugly" women not only reinforced stereotypes of military women, but indicated that Air Force training officers at the academy were selected in part on the basis of appearance.

#### "Bring Me People"

Published in the July 12, 1976 issue, this 13-column-inch article written by Dennis A. Williams was run as the

final article in the "National Affairs" section and focused on women's entrance into the military academies.<sup>10</sup>

The article, which began on page 24, featured three photographs of women in the initial days of the Air Force Academy: getting a haircut, learning how to march and in a large formation. Although the photos were rather non-descript, they did reinforce the theme of the article.

The article began by noting that the new women cadets at the Air Force Academy had to pass under the granite arch bearing the legend, "Bring Me Men," and went on to provide the statistical data related to women's entrance at all academies, including numbers, ages, ethnic groupings and entrance scores. It noted that the women were issued "unorthodox gear" such as "maidenform 'Shape Me Sweetly' bras, Miss Universe Beauty Pageant panties and L'eggs pantyhose." It also stated that "many upperclassmen were surprised [by the women]. 'I thought they'd be a lot of dogs and truck drivers.'" The article also noted that "there will be little opportunity for socializing" during the first several weeks of training, but that academy officers were "confident that when the women do start dating, there will be nothing like the sex scandal that embroiled the Merchant Marine Academy" when a female cadet, found in bed with a male cadet, was forced to resign.

The presentation of statistics and general information within the article was correct; however, the article reflected sexist comments about the women's appearance and tended to play up the novelty side of the story with details such as those on the women's undergarments.

#### "Women Warriors"

Published in the September 19, 1977 issue, this 11-column-inch article written by Eileen Keerdoja was featured as the second item within the "Update" section and provided a review of the women's performance at the academies after one year.<sup>11</sup>

The only illustration accompanying the article, which was located on page 12, was of a male Navy officer instructing a woman midshipman in a rifle drill. The photograph was undramatic and did little to emphasize the title since both people photographed were in sparkling, clean white uniforms. It would have been far more arresting to utilize a "warrior" type of photograph of Army or Air Force women conducting field training.

The article itself related that the women had performed well and that the "percentage of women who survived the entire 1976-77 plebe year was actually higher than that of the men at West Point and Colorado Springs." It also reported that a club designed especially for women had "proved so popular that male plebes asked to join" and that the level of resentment had abated with the new

female cadets of the class of 1981 likely to be "accepted more readily by the male students."

The article, although written in feature style, presented its information in fairly straight journalistic fashion and with an objective relating of facts.

#### "Eight Belles"

Published in the November 13, 1978 issue, this 12-column-inch article written by Melinda Beck was featured in the "National Affairs" section and focused on the first women to be assigned to Navy ships.

The only photograph featured in the article, which was located on page 75, was of five female Navy officers standing in front of a Navy aircraft carrier. The caption under the photo of the smiling women indicated that they were the "first five" although the text makes reference to eight who had been assigned to sea duty. The photo would have grabbed the reader's attention, but as women were not allowed on aircraft carriers at the time, it presented a false image.

The article describes the recent federal ruling that allowed the women's assignment, cited statistics and goals and reported on some of the changes made to accommodate the women: "Ship's stores . . . now stock 'female items,' electrical systems have been beefed up to accommodate hair driers and ventilation shafts have been covered to thwart peeping." The article also touched on men's resentment

("'I'm not used to having a female tell me what to do'"), but quoted the captain as saying that his "'men are going to work harder not to be outdone by women.'" It also addressed the "fear" of the Navy wives who felt that "there is enough stress and strain being married in the services without adding this dynamite."

The article, although written in feature style, presented its information in fairly straight journalistic fashion and with an objective relating of facts.

#### "Coed Honor Guards"

Published in the January 8, 1979 issue, this 11-column-inch article written by Eileen Keerdoja was featured in the "Update" section and focused on the recently integrated White House honor guard.<sup>13</sup>

The article, which began on page 8, was the only one not to utilize any accompanying photography. It provided background information on the make-up of the honor guard and upon its inclusion of women 17 months earlier as well as a listing of basic requirements for the members. It noted several "concessions" made in the women's behalf, such as a different grip on the rifle and quoted an NCO who stated that he "'doesn't associate them as women. If I treat them as soldiers, I get a lot more work out of them and a lot more respect.'"

The article, although written in feature style, presented its information in fairly straight journalistic

fashion. It did not utilize personal descriptives of the individuals quoted.

Navy Women: Full Steam Ahead"

Published in the September 24, 1979 issue, this 13-column-inch article written by Eileen Keerdoja was the first of two items in the "Update" section and centered on the status of Navy women at sea.<sup>14</sup>

The article, which began on page 19, featured a photograph of one woman officer standing over a seated man and giving him instructions. It carried the caption: "'They learn to live with it.'" The caption, reflecting women's management of men, added emphasis to the picture.

Serving as an update on Navy women 10 months after they were assigned to sea duty, the article related statistics on the number of women at sea, the number of ships and the Navy goals as well as a mention of the types of jobs the women were filling. In addition, it focused on the attitude of Navy wives who were shown to be more accepting of the policy than they had been at the start and on the socializing of the sailors. One female sailor stated that she considered her job a challenge which she enjoyed even though "'the hours and the pay are obnoxious, and it's noisy.'" Reflecting on the "camaraderie" aboard the ships, one captain stated that the "'ships have picked up a family spirit--it's all of a sudden turned into a "we" attitude.'"

The article, although written in feature style, presented its information in fairly straight journalistic fashion without the use of personal descriptives or language.

"Women in the Armed Forces"

Published in the February 18, 1980 issue, this 93-column-inch article written by Melinda Beck, was not only the single article to receive cover mention, but the only cover article. It examined the broad aspects of women's service with an emphasis on the issue of women in combat.<sup>15</sup>

It was also the only article to utilize color photography, which began on the cover page--a close-up of a woman in camouflage uniform and helmet, wearing face paint and taking aim with a M-16 rifle. The cover featured the title in bright yellow type and the teaser: "Should They Be Drafted?" Turning to pages 34 and 35, readers saw a collection of eight photographs in both black and white and in color depicting women in various scenes including shots of women on the rifle range, throwing a grenade, holding a baby and inspecting male troops. The diverse photographs produced a mental picture of women serving in all aspects of military duty. Other photos, interspersed throughout the article, reinforced that image as women were shown in full combat gear running through a field and working on an engine.



The article presented an in-depth analysis of women's service through its examination of the increased numbers of women and expanded career choices, with discussions of the issues of pregnancy, physical strength and fraternization. The main thrust of the article focused on the issue of women in combat, however, offering background information of President Carter's decision to register women for the draft.

Stating that "amid all the controversy, what isn't generally realized is that women have already established a beachhead in the U.S. armed forces," the article noted that "by most accounts, the women have proved remarkably capable." It offered testimonials by a 27-year-old Air Force captain "who flies a KC-135 refueling plane" and a 23-year-old Air Force captain who was "'in charge of public relations for the whole base,'" as well as young recruits. And it recounted arguments against women in combat from military leaders, Congressional leaders and military women themselves.

The article presented a balanced examination of the subject of women in combat without the use of personal descriptives of the individuals quoted. Generally, its information and statistics were accurate and its presentation objective.

"The Unisex Look"

Published as a side bar to the cover story in the February 18, 1980 issue, this 14-column-inch article written by Allan J. Mayer focused on the problems of adapting men's uniforms to women.<sup>16</sup>

The article, on page 42, was set inside a box and covered approximately two-thirds of the page. It featured two photos, one of two Army women in long johns and one comparing the soles of the men's and women's boots. The photographs, although simple, were very effective in delineating the problem of "unisex" clothes as one of sets of long johns was so big that the woman's hands were not visible.

The article's lead stated that "somehow, the U.S. Army has been rather slow to realize that women are not just smaller versions of men," then related the numerous problems women service members had faced with respect to their uniforms (e.g. "helmets wobbled," "the combat boots chafed," and "fatigues didn't fit"). It detailed the variances in women's bodies that required Army designers to adapt the clothing and the measures taken. The problem, the article related, was that the Army "wants to standardize everything and make GI Jane indistinguishable from GI Joe" and "'what you want to see is just a group of soldiers.'"

The article, written in straight journalistic fashion despite its feature style, presented accurate information in an objective manner.

"Yes Sir, Women Made the Grade"

Published in the June 9, 1980 issue, this 12-column-inch article written by Tom Morganthau was run in the "National Affairs" section and reported on the graduation of the first class of women cadets from the military academies.<sup>17</sup>

Only one photograph accompanied the article, located on page 43, and that featured two excited, smiling women cadets among other male cadets, all in dress grey West Point uniforms. It carried the caption: "Sisterly exuberance at West Point graduation: 'We're not tokens anymore.'" The photo served to reinforce the title and the text itself.

Stating that "the rites of passage were carefully gender free," the article described both the graduation ceremony and statistics relative to it. The article reported that the "women of 1980 performed as well as men in the classroom," although "dropout rates for women were generally higher." It also noted the restrictions placed on women's service by law and remarked that the "'resentment is very much alive for the classes of '81 and '82-- it's just handled a little more subtly.'" Despite that,

however, West Point officials "warned those who cannot accept the presence of women to 'seek life elsewhere.'"

The article, written in feature-style, presented accurate information and statistics in an objective manner and without the use of personal descriptives.

"'The Grand Old Lady of Software'"

Published in the May 9, 1983 issue of the magazine, this 10-column-inch article, written by Eileen Keerdoja, was featured in the "Update" section and focused on the service of one woman officer.<sup>18</sup>

Only one photograph accompanied this article, which began on page 13C; it featured an elderly woman in Navy uniform. As it was located at the end of the article and not readily apparent, it served as no immediate "hook" into the story. It was, however, arresting to see such an elderly woman in military uniform and it did provide a dramatic close to the story.

The article detailed the career of the 76-year-old woman who was described as the "Navy's oldest officer on active duty" and who "has spent her career at the forefront of the career revolution." Although her "one career disappointment occurred when the Navy retired her . . . in 1966," the article related that she was called back seven months later to standardize the Navy's computer programs and languages" and that by the time she retires in 1985, "she will have served in the military for 42 years."

The article, written in feature-style, presented its information in objective manner without the use of personal descriptives. Throughout the story the captain was referred to simply as "Hopper."

"A Gay Soldier's Fight to Serve"

Published in the January 23, 1984 issue, this 11-column-inch article written by Eileen Keerdoja was featured as part of the "Update" section and centered on the efforts of one woman to serve in the military.<sup>19</sup>

Only one photograph accompanied this article, located on page 15, and that featured a woman in civilian clothes holding a picture of herself in uniform with the caption "an uncertain future."

The article related how the former sergeant and ROTC cadet was "washed out" after admitting that she was a "lesbian" and how she was fighting the decision with the help of the Marine Civil Liberties Union. Relating the Army's position that "homosexuals threaten group morale and make discipline and recruitment difficult," the article also presented the woman's views that "that's the same argument they used when blacks were first coming into the Army." It identified the woman further by stating that she was "taking communications courses," "helps publish a local gay journal" and "speaks at various colleges."

The article was written in standard journalistic style and in an objective manner devoid of personal descriptives of the woman who was consistently referred to by her last name.

"An Officer and a Woman"

Published in the July 9, 1984 issue, this 12-column-inch article was located on page 43 and was featured as the fifth of nine articles related to the cover story: "The Top Brass: Can They Fight a Modern War?" It was the only Newsweek article not to identify its author.<sup>20</sup>

The article focused on the success one woman Navy officer had achieved despite the restrictions inherent in Navy service for women. It related that she had pursued jobs in the operational field in an effort to remain professionally competitive, but that in all probability her Navy husband, now her junior, would have the better "chance to someday make admiral" in the service that "cultivates 'the whole man.'"

The article, written in feature-style, objectively examined women's chances for top promotion through a focus on one military woman. Although there was a discussion of the female officer's marital status, it was used for the purpose of highlighting differences in male and female careers and was not a reflection of stereotypical reporting.

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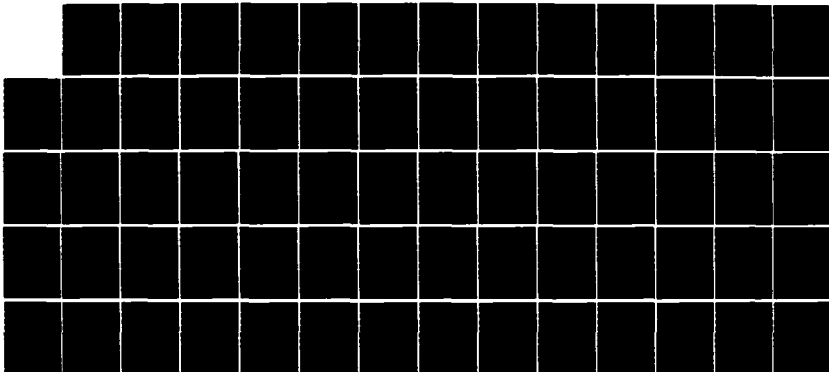
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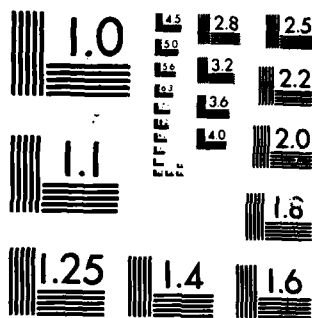
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TimeFrequency and Placement

The first article dealing with the subject of women in the military appeared in the February 9, 1976 issue of Time. Thereafter, at least one article appeared in every year to 1981. No articles were published in 1975, 1982, 1983 or 1984. A total of 11 articles were published in nine separate issues during the period of this study.<sup>21</sup> All but one of the articles were features; all dealt exclusively with the subject under study rather than as an inclusion of a broader report.<sup>22</sup> The majority (six, or 55 percent) were found under the regular Time section, "Nation," which features items of broad national interest.<sup>23</sup> Three articles were located under "Sexes" (a section reporting on conflicts or differences between the two), and one article was located in "American Notes" (which features short news items of Americans in the news) and "American Scene" (similar to the "Nation" section, but written in feature style emphasizing a changing America). On the average, the articles were 22 column inches in length, with the one news brief only three column inches long.

Of the 11 articles seven (63 percent) were event-induced: five reported on some aspect of women's attendance at the military academies; one described the

publication of a book about women in the military; and one reported on a "first."<sup>24</sup>

The topic of the military academies, likewise, received the most attention with five articles.<sup>25</sup> Other topics included: two short profiles; and one each on pregnancy, the expansion and integration program, a first and a book.

The most coverage of women in the military occurred in 1978 when three articles were published; however, that figure is misleading since all three articles appeared in one issue of the magazine. The years 1976 and 1979 were actually the periods of greatest coverage with two articles each. As previously noted, no articles were published in 1975, 1982, 1983 or 1984.

#### Illustrations

There were a total of 21 photos utilized in 10 of the 11 Time articles.<sup>26</sup> The majority (seven) of the photographs were of women working. In all of those situations, women were depicted in non-traditional positions: paratrooper; pilot; piloting a ship; supervising men; and weapons control officer. Of the remaining photographs: five were of women in a field training environment; five in uniform within a casual setting; one each undergoing an inspection and performing physical training; and two "other" shots, which included photographs of objects or equipment other than military women. In four instances,

photographs used were from military recruitment or public relations files and were obviously staged or posed. Only one issue featured color photography with that issue containing nine color photographs. None of the articles received cover mention.

#### Authors

Only recently had Time been crediting its reporters as writers of its articles, thus only four of the 11 articles' authors were identified. All of those were women, with one author contributing two articles. Barbara Dolan, author of articles in 1978 and 1980, was identified only as a Time "reporter-researcher." Joelle Attinger, author of a 1978 feature, was identified as a "reporter," but Jane O'Reilly, author of the 1981 article, was not given any further identification. She is, however, consistently noted as a Time contributor and known generally for her writings on feminist topics.

#### Concepts

Time's coverage was not characterized by serious, prolonged coverage of any specific issue. Pregnancy and the problems of fraternization and dating among service members, however, were discussed in four of the 11 articles. Other issues receiving repeated discussion were those of combat, men's resentment and physical strength.

Women's uniforms were discussed only once, in 1976, while the issue of women's attrition from the service was raised only in 1981. There was, otherwise, no consistent pattern of coverage of issues in Time.

#### Individual Examinations

##### "Long Gray Hemline"

Published in the February 9, 1976 issue, this 15-column-inch article was featured as the last in the "Nation" section and focused on the up-coming admission of women to the previously all-male military academies.<sup>27</sup>

Located on page 29, the article featured three photographs of women modeling the new West Point uniforms. Coupled with the title, the impression was that the primary focus of the article was on the uniforms; however, that was not the case.

The article detailed the preparations that were being undertaken at West Point to accommodate the influx of women, but centered its focus on the changes that weren't being made in course, jungle-warfare training, Arctic exploration and physical training. It stated that the women, who were "chosen for athletic as well as academic prowess," would not be "coddled." It devoted little time to the resentment of the "entrenched" males nor did it provide much description of the uniforms, stating only

that they were being designed by Hart Schaffner & Marx and would "be essentially the same as those worn by the men."

The article, although written in feature style, presented its information in fairly straight journalistic fashion without undue emphasis on "feminine" aspects such as make-up or hair. Its discussion of uniforms was in keeping with the general tone of the article and reflected just one of the changes.

#### "Beauties and the Beast"

Published in the July 19, 1976 issue, this 6-column-inch article was featured as the second of two articles in "The Sexes" section and focused on women's first week in training at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point.<sup>28</sup>

Located on page 74, the article featured one photograph of a very young-looking woman saluting a male cadet. The scared expression on the woman's face reflected a sense of innocence which reinforced the conflict within the title.

The article related the historical significance of women's presence during Beast Barracks (West Point's summer training for incoming freshmen) and recounted the statistics. It also offered glimpses of the women's first day when they marched, did pull-ups "(highest female score: seven; highest male score: 23)" and got their hair cut. It also reiterated the comments of the academy superintendent who had "threatened to resign if women were

accepted," but who now stated that he had been "rather adolescent."

Generally, the article presented its information in straight journalistic fashion; however, there were two examples of questionable, if not sexist, writing. In the second paragraph, the Time article made reference to "cadettes" rather than the generic, cadets which was used by the military services. The citation of only the score of the pull-up test, reflecting women's poor performance and indicative of a much more complex problem, exhibited a bias since no other scores were given nor was there any other reference to physical strength or performance.

#### "Mom, the Cadet"

Published in the November 28, 1977 issue, this 8-column-inch article was featured in the "Nation" section and focused on the change in Air Force policy that allowed women cadets to continue their training at the Air Force Academy after completing their pregnancies.<sup>29</sup>

The article, which was the only one of the 11 not to utilize any photography, was located on page 14. Stating that the ruling "reflects a progressivism that is not shared by the older services," the article went on to report that "while a cadet may have her baby if she chooses, she cannot marry until she had graduated."

The article, although written in feature style, presented its information in fairly straight journalistic

fashion. It did not utilize personal descriptives of any kind.

"'Women May Yet Save the Army'"

Published in the October 30, 1978 issue, this 55-column-inch article (the longest Time feature) was carried as the main feature in the "Nation" section and focused on the broad view of women's integration in the military.<sup>30</sup>

This article (and the accompanying sidebar article) was the only one to utilize color photography. Turning to page 38, the reader confronted a double-spread featuring seven different color photographs of women: in the field; "at the controls of a Titan II missile"; as a paratrooper; and at the helm of a ship. Its immediate effect was to produce the image of women in very non-traditional, demanding roles. The title and the coverline printed directly beneath it, "A hopeful view of the change sweeping all the armed forces," presented a positive image of military women.

The article related recent and past history of women in the armed services and cited statistics detailing their expansion while presenting comments from both military and civilian leaders about their role in combat. It listed several "special problems" the women had faced, including "male hostility" and physical limitations, as well as commenting on issues of pregnancy and social interaction with the men. Women were depicted in a variety of roles

including communications specialist, bulldozer driver and military police officer, with all indicating that they joined the service for an opportunity to learn a skill and get out of a routine existence. Reflecting on military women's stereotypes, one Marine woman stated that she could have been better prepared by a class "in the psychology of the sexes," but instead was "lectured" not to ""get pregnant and beware of lesbians.""

The article offered a balanced report on women in the military, presenting generally correct information with accurate statistics. Identifying individuals only by rank, the article did not utilize personal descriptives. A small editing error was noted when a male private, "a member of Shirley's platoon," stated that he had been impressed with his fellow female soldiers' abilities; no other reference was made to "Shirley" in the article. It was not clear if "Shirley" was a first or last name.

#### "She Gives the Orders"

Published as a sidebar in the premiere story in the October 30, 1978 issue, this 18-column-inch article, written by Barbara Dolan, focused on one day's activities of an Army second lieutenant.<sup>31</sup>

The article, on page 40, was set inside a box and covered approximately two-thirds of the page. It featured one small, color photograph of the second lieutenant hurdling a wall on an obstacle course. The article was



prefaced by a paragraph describing the officer as 22, with "a baby face and little pigtails that stick out underneath her cap." It continued by saying that as "one of two female company executive training officers" at Ft. Dix, the lieutenant succeeded "in a man's world" by being "tough."

The article followed the lieutenant through one day's activities (beginning at 6:30 a.m.) which included joining the recruits and drill sergeants for "one hour of morning exercises" in which the "'males keep going because they see me doing it,'" an inspection of the troop barracks, a tour of her platoon's work area and administration of paperwork. The lieutenant was said to be afraid of becoming a "surrogate mother" to the teen-age women recruits and was not looking forward to the arrival of an additional 20 women because "'I end up telling them about Tampax and the Pill and making sure they wear cotton underwear." It also related that she had "little time for socializing" which caused the break-up of her engagement.

The article offered a relatively realistic depiction of an executive officer's (second in command) routine day in a basic training company and the atmosphere surrounding the officers, drill sergeants and recruits. In one instance, the article discussed the problems the recruits were having and indicated that the lieutenant settled all personnel matters including discipline. That was not

technically correct, as only the commander has the authority to impose punishment; therefore, they can't "all end up with" the executive officer.<sup>32</sup> The descriptive material included in the article was an obvious attempt to contrast the position with the woman. It was, however, an example of stereotypical reporting.

"She Goes on Maneuvers"

Published as the second sidebar to the feature article in the October 30, 1978 issue, this 16-column-inch article, written by Joelle Attinger, focused on one day of field training for a Marine second lieutenant.<sup>33</sup>

The article, on page 41, was set inside a box facing that of the feature on the Army lieutenant and covered approximately two-thirds of the page. It featured one small black and white photograph of the officer, her face painted with camouflage paint. Although it was prefaced in much the same way as the previous article, it did not contain any personal descriptions of the officer, but rather a description of "boot camp": "Sweat and grunts, live grenades. . . . cliffs, swamps, minefields."

The article followed the woman officer throughout her day as she prepared her gear, received a briefing, participated on a "fire team" maneuver and waded through a three-foot-deep stream.

The article related the events of the day in a straightforward manner without the use of descriptive

language to detail the woman officer. There was, in fact, little reference to the fact that the officer was a woman with her only comment, "'How you do really depends on what kind of woman you are. You have to be aggressive,'" indicating her status. Her marital status and homelife were briefly referred to in that she lived with her artist husband and two step-daughters.

#### "The Military is Pregnant"

Published in the October 8, 1979 issue, this 17-column-inch article was carried as the first of two items in the section, "The Sexes" and focused on the growing numbers of pregnancies within the military.<sup>34</sup>

Located on page 110, the article featured one black and white photograph of a woman modeling "the Navy's winter blue maternity uniform." The photo was from official Army sources.

The article featured the coverline "Coping with motherhood" and began by detailing how the Navy repair ship, Vulcan, had had to leave behind ten crew members when it had set sail on a six-month crew some weeks earlier because the ten were pregnant. Stating that the "pregnant soldier or sailor is becoming as common as the beer-bellied sergeant," it reported the statistics involved and explained military policy. It also discussed two "military mothers" who had worked through or around their pregnancies, but quoted one Army commander as saying

that "'The guys will take care of a pregnant soldier--and at the same time resent it.'"

Although written in feature style, the article presented its information in straight journalistic fashion with individual women identified only by rank and job position.

#### "Dating at West Point"

Published in the November 19, 1979 issue, this 16-column-inch article was run as the second item under the "Nation" banner and focused on the problem of hazing at West Point.<sup>35</sup>

The article, located on page 43, featured two black and white photographs. The first was of a group of hazers "masquerading in Ku Klux Klan robes and hoods at the academy's summer camp" and featured the quote, "'If I had an incompetent woman leader in combat, I'd shoot her in the back.'" The second photo was of a uniformed male and female with the quote, "'A few of the guys are jealous.'" As any photo of white-sheeted gangs has an immediate impact, it combined with the small photo of the man and woman, and with the title, to produce a decidedly negative image of West Point.

Beginning with a pull quote by West Point's superintendent that they were "'teaching young men how to work with young women as equals, and with women as their superiors and subordinates,'" the article then related reports

of hazing endured by the women because they had been dating male cadets. It reported that part of the problem was the "mere presence of women" which was considered "an offense against the military's macho spirit" and the frustration of some cadets at "not being able to get dates of their own." In addition, it provided statistics on the number of women enrolled at the academy and their attrition rate in light of the "severe harassment."

Information was presented in objective journalistic fashion offering no examples of stereotypical reporting.

"West Point: The Coed Class of '80"

Published in the May 19, 1980 issue, this 39-column-inch article written by Barbara Dolan and featured in the section "American Scene" focused on the graduating class of 1980 with a specific emphasis on the media attention it had received.<sup>36</sup>

The only photograph that accompanied the article was of a female upperclassman reprimanding a male plebe. It featured a very stern-looking woman and left an image of women in command. The article itself related that "'Over-sensitivity to the presence of women at West Point on the part of the staff and faculty has been disruptive, serving to alienate the men, foster separatism, and delay the complete integration.'" It examined the coverage the women received, reviewed the problems that had been expected, those that had developed and the performance of

the women as their graduation approached. With the reporter confessing that she is "startled" by her own wonderment of how such a "gorgeous girl" could be headed for an Army career, one cadet was quoted: "'They think we're either butches or amazons, looking for a man, super-bright or superdumb.'"

The information was presented in a balanced manner; however there was a tendency to "contrast" quite often (e.g., a general kissing a female cadet, an old friend of the family, on the cheek) and to focus on the social aspects of the experience (e.g., dating and marriage). The reporter's comments were unnecessary and only served to reinforce stereotypical images of military women.

#### "Dick and Jane in Basic Training"

Published in the November 16, 1981 issue, this 24-column-inch article, written by Jane O'Reilly, was featured as the only item in "The Sexes" section and reported on the publication of Helen Rogan's book, Mixed Company.<sup>37</sup>

Only two photographs were utilized with the article, which began on page 140: one of a group of men and women in a field environment and one of Rogan herself. The article provided an overview of the book's main features and quoted statistics reflecting the expansion of women into the military. It featured comments from Rogan on the

attitudes she found prevalent in her research with background on the author herself.

The article offered a balanced report in straight journalistic fashion with no evidence of stereotypical reporting.

"One Good Woman"

Published in the March 11, 1985 issue, this three-column-inch article was run as the fourth of five items in the "American Notes" section and reported on the naming of the first woman Marine general, Gail Reals.<sup>38</sup>

The article, located on page 33, featured a small photograph of the general reviewing paperwork at her desk. The article provided background on her military accomplishments, but stated that "although a general, she is barred by law from . . . combat." The general's only quote in the short article was reference to the Marine Corps: "'For obvious reasons, this is primarily a male organization.'"

The article was written in straight journalistic fashion. Reference to the general was always made by her last name.

U.S. News & World ReportFrequency and Placement

The first article dealing with the subject of women in the military appeared in the August 18, 1975 issue of U.S. News & World Report, the earliest feature in any of the magazines studied. Thereafter, with one exception, at least one article appeared in every year to 1982. There were no articles published in 1979, 1983, 1984 and 1985. A total of 15 articles were published during the period of this study; the most of any of the magazines studied.<sup>39</sup> Ten (67 percent) articles were features which dealt exclusively with the subject under study; four (27 percent) were features included as part of a broader subject (e.g., the Defense system); and one article was located in the section "Currents in the News," devoted to items of current news interest. Seven of the 15 articles received cover mention.<sup>40</sup>

On the average, the features dealing exclusively with women in the military were 48 column inches in length (although several articles were considerably longer), and the articles incorporated into larger features were 14-1/2 column inches long. The one article which was part of a regular section was eight and one half column inches.

Ten articles (67 percent) resulted directly from a specific action or event: six discussed women's entrance, performance results or graduation from the previously all-



male military academies; three reported on the Pentagon's decision to "pause" in its recruitment of women; and one was on President Carter's decision to ask Congress to register women for the draft.<sup>41</sup>

Six (40 percent) of the 15 articles studied focused on women's attendance at the military academies while four examined the issue of women in the military from a broad scope. Four articles reported on the "pause" in recruitment and one presented a short profile on one successful military woman.

The most coverage of women in the military came in 1976 when four articles were published. Multiple articles were also published in 1975, 1978, 1980 and 1982. As previously noted, no articles were published in 1979, 1983, 1984 or 1985.

### Illustrations

There were a total of 63 photos utilized in the 15 articles with every article containing at least one photograph. The majority (16, or 25 percent) of the photos depicted women at work. Of these, six were mechanics and two were pilots with the remaining eight depicting eight separate skills. There were no photographs showing women in traditionally "feminine" job positions.

Of the 63 photographs, 11 portrayed women in a field environment, eight with men. Thirteen photographs were of women in uniform within a casual setting and eight were of

women within a large formation. The remaining pictures consisted of: two pictures of women undergoing a formal inspection; six taken in civilian clothing; one undergoing physical training; one portrait; and five classified as "other," which included photographs of people or objects other than military women. In 11 instances, photographs used were from military recruitment or public relations files and were obviously staged or posed. All 11 were from two articles concerning women's entrance to the military academies and were designed to illustrate new uniforms created for women. Color was used in conjunction with black and white photography in six of the last 10 articles and was used solely in 1982. None of the articles published in 1975 or 1976 utilized color.

#### Authors

As a general rule, articles appearing in U.S. News & World Report do not contain bylines; therefore, nine (60 percent) did not identify authors. Of those listed, two authors were women and two were men with only one male author, Robert Dudney, credited with more than one article. Dudney was identified only as an associate editor. Caroline Mayor, responsible for one article, was likewise identified only as an associate editor, the same identification given to William L. Chaze, the author of a 1980 article about West Point. Linda K. Lanier was credited as the author of the last of the 15 articles

studied; however no further identification was given for her.

### Concepts

The issues of women in combat and lack of physical strength received most attention in this magazine, each being mentioned in seven of the 15 articles. These concepts were followed closely by those of pregnancy and emotional stability which were discussed in six articles. Other themes running throughout the magazine coverage were: the ability to manage men (four); uniforms (three); lower physical standards (three); men's resentment or harassment (three); women's attrition rate (two); and, men's ego problems (two).

Women in combat received the most prolonged coverage, appearing in articles from 1976 to 1982. Several other issues received coverage which spanned a wide period of time, although not as intensively: emotional stability was an issue from 1975 to 1981; ability to manage men received coverage from 1976 to 1982; and lower physical standards/abilities was covered from 1975 to 1980. Several issues received concentrated coverage in the later years of the study; pregnancy and lack of equal physical strength were not covered until 1978 and the concept of women's attrition rates was not discussed until 1981. Uniforms, men's egos, fraternization and femininity were not discussed after 1977.

Individual Examinations"When Women Enter the Service Academies"

Published in the August 18, 1975 issue, this 13-column-inch article focused on the upcoming entrance of women into the military academies.<sup>42</sup> The article, which was included as part of a larger "Special Report" on the defense system, was located inside a box on page 25 and covered approximately half of the page. It featured one black and white photograph of men and women marching at the Merchant Marine Academy. The photo was small and unclear, making little impact.

The article reported on changes being made at the academies, but centered on the Merchant Marine Academy where women had been admitted a year before and on whose experience the other schools based their decisions. It discussed women's entrance to the Merchant Marine Academy, the living arrangements and the uniforms ("woman [sic] midshipmen balked at having to wear slacks to a dance"). According to the article the biggest question among the military services was whether "coeds will be able to handle the emotional stress," nothing that at the Merchant Marine Academy "some woman [sic] students broke into tears when they were subjected to the traditional hazing."

The article was written in feature-style, presenting its information in a balanced manner. Through its focus on the uniforms and on women's emotionalism, the article

reflected stereotypical images of women. It was also noted that the magazine had not yet determined what to call the new cadets (e.g., "woman midshipmen") so it normally referred to them as "coeds," a term utilized four times in the short article.

"Women at the Military Academies: Not Much of a Problem"

Published in the October 20, 1975 issue, this 12-column-inch article focused on women's entrance into the military academies.<sup>43</sup> The article, which was included as part of a larger feature on the Navy, was located inside a box on page 64, covering approximately half of the page. It featured three small photographs of women modeling Air Force Academy uniforms--pictures from official military recruiting or public relations files. With the focal point of the article (and the page) being the uniform pictures, the reader was set up for a light-weight article.

The article reported on the recent legislation that ordered the academies to accept women and on some of the changes taking place as well as on things that wouldn't change, including physical aptitude tests and physical education. It announced that the Air Force had already approved cadet uniforms for women and that the Army had asked a manufacturer of "airline-stewardess clothing" to adapt their women's clothing. A "problem" still

"unresolved," however, was the restriction on "upperclassmen from fraternizing with the women." Despite the adjustments, the article reported that the "coeds" were "not likely to be much of a problem after all."

The article was written in feature-style and presented its information in an objective manner. By focusing on the dating habits and the uniforms, the article reflected stereotypical women's coverage. There was no mention made of the deeper social issues such as the men's resentment or the possibility of combat training. On two occasions, the women cadets were referred to as "coeds."

#### "As All the Service Academies Go Co-Ed"

Published in the February 16, 1976 issue, this 7-column-inch article featured a photo essay depicting the new cadets' uniforms.<sup>44</sup> The article, which began on page 66, featured nine black and white photographs of models wearing the newly designed clothing. They presented the women in a variety of uniforms from each of the academies.

The article related how each of the academies had undertaken the job of designing the women's uniforms and the manner in which they would differ from the men's.

The article was written in straight journalistic fashion; however, the magazine persisted in calling the new cadets "coeds," although in this article it occurred

only once. Except for the preoccupation with the uniforms, there was no stereotypical reporting noted.

"'Better Opportunity in the Military'"

Published in the April 26, 1976 issue of the magazine, this 25-column-inch article, which focused on women's military roles, was included as part of a larger feature on women who made it "to the top."<sup>45</sup> It featured an interview with an Air Force general in the nurse corps and included a small black and white photograph of her.

The general provided statistics that delineated women's expansion and offered the general's views on career opportunities for women as well as limits imposed upon them. Although she acknowledged that men were sometimes insubordinate to women, she stated that if a woman managed the job and people well and did not depend on "feminine wiles," she would earn respect.

The article was written in straight journalistic fashion without the use of stereotypical reporting techniques.

"Sex Barrier: It's Falling Fast in the Military"

Published in the June 28, 1976 issue, this 35-column-inch article focused on women's expansion into non-traditional roles and featured the coverline: "First the draft ended. Then more women began enlisting. Now

they're moving into high ranks and winning equal status with male servicemen."<sup>46</sup>

The article, which began on page 53, featured four black and white photographs of a woman mechanic, a military policy officer, a "Navy aviator" and a group of Navy women standing in front of a ship. All the photographs were from military recruitment files and staged, but they did reflect the diversity of skills that military women were attaining and graphically reinforced the article. (It should be noted that although the Navy women were shown in front of a Navy ship, they were not allowed to be assigned to them until 1978.)<sup>47</sup>

The article began by focusing in the increasing numbers of women achieving high rank (colonel and general) and then reflected on the policy changes that had allowed them to advance. It also related the recent history of women's service and the spur in recruitment. Several women individually identified were dog handlers, an instructor of basic ship handling and naval warfare, a Navy civil engineer and a "test pilot, helicopter-maintenance officer."

Although it touched briefly upon frustrations felt by the women, the article presented a generally positive portrayal of military life. There were no examples of stereotypical coverage. No personal descriptives were



utilized and women were referred to by name and rank alone.

"As Women Get Their First Taste of Academy Life"

Published in the July 19, 1976 issue, this 3-column-inch article featured a photo essay depicting the arrival of the women cadets to the military academies.<sup>48</sup> The article, which began on page 66, featured nine black and white photographs of women at various stages in each of the three academies, including the swearing in ceremony, getting shots and getting haircuts. The text of the article related statistics and general background information.

The article was presented in straight journalistic fashion featuring objective reporting and no instances of stereotyping.

"So Far, So Good"

Published in the July 11, 1977 issue, this 107-column-inch article reviewed women's performance at the military academies after one year's attendance.<sup>49</sup> It featured the coverline: "It has been a year since women invaded the services' last all-male bastion. The results are in--and they are surprising even the critics."

The article, which began on page 26, featured two pages of photographs showing women at each of the

academies in a variety of tasks including parades, classes, exercises and the field.

Commenting that the women had not only "survived," but had compiled "outstanding records," the article reported on the statistics of attendance and attrition, then examined the attitudes and lives of women in the four academies. It indicated that it had "not been easy for the males to adjust to women" at West Point, where an "apparent majority" of the men still did not want women classmates, nicknamed "plebettes." One colonel, who stated that learning to discipline the women had been hard for some males, said, "'It's tough to discipline a soldier when she blinks her baby-blue eyes or slips you a dimple.'" It also reported on the concern at the Naval academy not to "Amazonize" the women, and stated that the academy's emphasis on physical training has "raised the question of how much femininity the women can hang on to." In each separate section, the rules of fraternization were discussed and each superintendent was said to be withholding final judgment on the women's performance until they had been there longer.

This article attempted to present a balanced report on women's performance; however it featured such a heavy concentration on the de-feminization, dating habits, and living quarters of the women, and only minimal information about their academic performance, that it resulted in a

trivialization of the subject. The word "plebettes," supposedly coined by those at West Point, was not used in any other article in this study and is suspiciously close to "cadettes" used by this magazine in earlier articles; the reader was not informed as to the attribution of this "nickname." Generally, the information and statistics were accurate.

"Women in Uniform: Can They Save the Military?"

Published in the June 5, 1978 issue, this 49-column-inch article which focused on women's expansion in the military services was the cover feature of the magazine and utilized extensive color photography.<sup>50</sup>

The cover of the magazine featured the title "Women in Uniform" in bold, large letters with the tag line beneath it only slightly smaller. The color photograph showed a woman in full field gear, including helmet and rifle, kneeling in the middle of an open field. The cover page certainly would have caught the reader's attention. On page 31, another photograph of a woman Marine, again in full field gear, joking with male "cohorts" re-emphasized a "woman in combat" theme. A two page photo spread on pages 33 and 34 with a heading, "A Growing Role in Every Service," featured eight color photographs of women performing a variety of jobs including pilot, mechanic and paratrooper. It reinforced the article's concept; that women were serving in all types of positions.

The text of the article related that Congress had repealed certain laws which restricted women's service, then went on to describe women's expansion in the military in terms of numbers and roles, with a particular emphasis on the increasing involvement in combat-support roles. Stating that "it costs about the same to recruit a well-educated female into the armed services as a poorly qualified male," it explained the military's need to utilize women to bolster its sagging recruiting figures. And, with women being trained in nontraditional areas, "if nuclear war should come, it is possible that two women, turning their control keys simultaneously, might be the ones who would send the first flight of deadly missiles on its way."

Balancing the report on the women's inroads, was a discussion of "unanswered questions" that "worry" military leaders such as "how well women will bear up under the dangers and emotional strains of the battlefield" and "whether a military force composed of a high percentage of women will seem somehow less formidable to a potential adversary, and thus fail to deter war." It also briefly discussed the "problem" of increased pregnancies.

The article presented a balanced discussion of issues connected with women's expanding military roles, presenting generally accurate information and statistics. Although it raised the "question" of how formidable an

opponent the women would appear to other nations, it interestingly did not mention the Israeli experience in which enemy armies refused to surrender to their women, thus extending battles and increasing casualties.<sup>51</sup>

"'We Can Do Anything'--Women Speak Out"

Published in the June 5, 1978 issue as a sidebar to the main story, this 43-column-inch article written by Caroline Mayer presented views of military women in four services respective to their combat roles.<sup>52</sup>

Located on pages 35 and 36, the article featured one black and white photograph of new women recruits. Since the picture contained approximately 50 women, it served to reinforce the theme of the main article: that growing numbers of women were entering the military. The article talked to women in a variety of jobs--including pilot, company commander, power-generator repair person, aircraft-crew chief, aircraft-maintenance officer, welder and deck seaman--in an effort to discern their feelings about being in combat. The women revealed conflicting emotions: "'We're just as qualified if properly trained. It's our country too'"; "'I love my country. I should be able to die for it'"; "'I don't have the physical stamina to travel at a man's pace, to carry heavy equipment and an M-16 rifle, let alone be ready when we reach our destination to launch an attack'"; and "'If I had to go to combat, I would constantly be worried about my child. It

would be better for the Army if I got out.'" This article ended by stating that military women felt they could be a "valuable asset to the armed services, whether they go into combat or not."

The article presented a series of comments about military women on both sides of the combat issue remaining objective throughout. Women were continually identified by rank and last name, and given no personal descriptives.

"Women in Combat: Closer Than You Think"

Published in the March 3, 1980 issue, this 71-column-inch article, which focused on women's expanding roles (specifically as related to combat), was written by Robert Dudney and was the cover feature of the magazine. It was similar in scope to the June 5, 1978 cover issue.<sup>53</sup>

The cover of the magazine featured the title in bold, yellow letters imprinted across a close-up photograph of a woman wearing camouflage face paint with a helmet. Turning to page 30, readers would have immediately noticed the "Special Report" written in red above the "Women in Combat" title with the tag line "Closer Than You Think" in red directly beneath it. In the center of the page was one black and white photograph of a man and woman, in full field gear, standing in the middle of a muddy field, both disheveled and dirty. The photo combined with the title and red graphics had a dramatic impact. Other photographs in the article showed women at the helm of a Navy ship,

operating field communications, working on a jet engine and crawling under barbed wire through the mud. A box depicting "Women's Roles In Past Wars" showed women circa 1917 and 1942.

Beginning "American women in large numbers are destined to see combat in any future war involving U.S. military forces," the article described the recent surge in the number of military women, emphasizing the growth in "tasks that would have been off limits only a few years ago." It then proceeded to examine the attitudes of the four services individually, with comments from several of its women members. The article cited an "official [Army] document" which decreed that "women are not peacetime soldiers" as well as one "19-year-old" male communications soldier who was against women in combat since "'women just don't react as savagely as men.'" It described the Air Force as "sex-blind" because of its "emphasis on technological skill rather than physical strength," the Navy as the "most tradition-bound of U.S. services" and the Marines, as "the most macho element" in the American military. It also offered comments from military leaders which reinforced those descriptions.

The article presented a balanced report on the issue of women in combat with an accurate detailing of statistics and information. Men and women were identified by name and rank with job descriptions providing the only

other descriptive information. All of the women identified performed non-traditional jobs.

**"Academy Women: Ready to Take Command"**

Published in the May 26, 1980 issue, this 86-column-inch article was written by William L. Chaze and focused on the 1980 military academies' graduating classes.<sup>54</sup>

The cover of the issue was dominated by a full color photograph of two West Point cadets attired in full "dress" uniform at the forefront of a large parade formation of other West Point cadets. The picture featured a "tight" profile shot of the two cadets--one female and one male--with the other cadets blurred in the background and the title emblazoned across it in bold, white block letters. In the publisher's column on page 5, U.S. News's president John H. Sweet discussed the story, stating that "three years has made a lot of difference. These women now have an upbeat confidence that I don't think you find in their counterparts on other college campuses." The article's author stated, "'My overall impression of the women was that they are extremely self-reliant, unusual people, both curious about things and adventure-minded. I was a bit surprised to find few of them interested in the feminist movement.'"

On page 32, readers saw the same bold lettering for the title as had adorned the cover, only this time in red, with the subhead: "They've made history by qualifying for



an elite corps of officers in the armed forces. But the toughest tests still lie ahead" directly beneath it. The only photograph on the page was a black and white shot of a woman cadet, mouth open wide, shouting commands, which served to reinforce the title. Two full pages of color photographs accompanied the article depicting academy women in the classroom, during physical training and at their graduation ceremonies.

The article began by stating that although the 229 women "broke the sex barrier" at the academies, they "must make their mark in which remains the mostly male world" of the active duty services. It then discussed the high attrition rate of the women, citing reasons of "academic and physical grind," "iron discipline" and harassment by men "who resented them for shattering more than a century of male tradition," but indicated that there had been "surprisingly few problems." Commenting on the "nearly 20,000" women officers already in the services, the article quoted one West Point instructor: "'They [academy graduates] will be expected to go further and faster than others. They will be part of a new elite.'" It then provided a recap of the women's performance and experience at each of the military academies through comments of instructors, superintendents and the women themselves. At West Point, one woman cadet (who held the number three position within the brigade) stated, "'Some male cadets

becoming too dependent on women in combat situations," it discussed issues involving the numbers of women in combat support roles, the attrition rate, the lack of physical strength, and pregnancies. It also examined the "drastic shrinkage of the pool of males eligible for military service" and the possibility of reinstating the draft.

The article was written in straight journalistic fashion, presenting an objective, balanced report with accurate information and statistics. No individual women or men were identified within the article.

"Women in the Army: 'To the Rear, March'"

Published in the September 6, 1982 issue, this 10-column-inch article was run as a part of the "Currents in the News" section and reported on an August 26, 1982 statement by the Army stating that recruitment of women would be "slowed."<sup>56</sup>

Located on page 8, the article contained one photograph of a woman in full field gear making a tactical field crossing. In the reporting on the extension of the earlier "pause" in recruitment of women, the article cited the Army's stated reasons, gave a history of women's expansion since 1972 and closed with one reason not given by the Army: "Now, amid hard economic times, there is an abundance of men ready to enlist."

The article was written in straight journalistic fashion, presenting an objective, balanced report with

accurate information and statistics. No individual women or men were identified within the articles.

**"Women in the Army--End of a Honeymoon"**

Published in the October 4, 1982 issue, this 52-column-inch article written by Robert S. Dudley featured an expanded review of the Army's decision to "back away from its practice of widening the role of women soldiers" reported seven weeks earlier.<sup>57</sup>

The cover of the magazine, which featured Marines in Lebanon, ran the title as one of two teasers. On page 51, the title was printed in bold, black letters with the negative coverline directly beneath it: "spend time with combat units, and you see why ambitious plans to expand the role of females in the service now are being put in reverse." It also featured the dateline "Fort Bragg, N.C." which is home to the Army's most elite combat units, including the 82nd Airborne Corps. The only illustration on that page was a graph depicting the rise and then decline of recruiting goals for women. Other photographs accompanying the article were of woman welders, an earth-mover operating and a "field" soldier.

Claiming that the "near-universal verdict" of commanders at Ft. Bragg was that the effort to move women into traditionally "male jobs" had been "harmful," it cited problems of high attrition rates, "troublesome" strength differences, pregnancy-related problems and "the

refusal of some males either to take orders from women or assign them to hazardous work." It related the experiences of women in several non-traditional jobs, including one who had been assigned to an artillery unit by mistake and remained there for "more than two years": "'I was wandering around doing a man's work. I even got a commendation.'" But it centered on one "critical problem"--"the unwillingness of many male commanders to assign women to 'male' jobs" which had created a "serious drag" on the Army's fighting ability. The article also noted the "severe morale problems among women soldiers" as a result of the policy that many saw as an attempt to return the military to an "exclusively male domain."

Despite the negative coverline, the article presented a balanced reporting of the issues with an accurate rendering of information and statistics. Individuals identified in the article were consistently referred to by name and rank with no personal descriptives utilized.

"'Women Have to be Twice as Good'"

Published in the November 29, 1982 issue, this 8-column-inch article, written by Linda K. Lanier, was included as part of a larger feature titled "Breaking Through: Women on the Move," which was the cover feature.<sup>58</sup>

The article, which examined women who were leaders in their respective fields, focused on a Navy rear admiral

who oversaw the operation of the Naval Training Center and over 15,000 personnel. The cover featured pictures of four of the women profiled, including the admiral. On page 51, the reader discovered a color photograph of the admiral shaking hands with a male subordinate after the completion of a formal inspection. The article provided background on the admiral's career and the changes that had taken place in the Navy since she joined 29 years earlier. She was quoted as saying that in her effort to reach the top, "you had to keep reinventing the wheel, re-proving that you were indeed capable." Her marital status is identified by the statement, "I guess my mother could not understand a daughter who never married. I told her I married the Navy."

The article was written in feature-style and focused on the admiral's unique status. It was devoid of personal adjectives and throughout the story, she was referred to as either Hartington or "the admiral." The identification of the officer's marital status (as with those of four of the other six women profiled in this feature) was an example of stereotypical coverage of women.

#### Chapter Summary

In an examination of the 39 articles presented in this chapter, it was found that the subject of women in the military has, for the most part, resulted directly

from a specific event or action with 25 (62 percent) of the articles noted as such. The greatest bulk of this material focused on women's entrance to, performance in and graduation from the military academies. Other events noted the assignment of the first women at sea and in the White House honor guard, the first woman Marine general, reviews of books, charges against or on behalf of military women and policy changes. Military academy attendance was the central issue in 1976, the year receiving the greatest coverage.

The topic most frequently covered in the news magazines was, however, not event-induced. Instead, it examined women's expanding military roles from the broad perspective with U.S. News & World Report providing several analyses on the subject. In addition to this broad overview and women's academy attendance, U.S. News gave repeated coverage of the Army's decision to "pause" in the recruitment of women for the Army--a decision having wide-ranging impact on women's service. Neither Time nor Newsweek reported on that decision. Time gave repeated coverage to the issue of the growing numbers of pregnancies and their effect on the military--a subject ignored by both Newsweek and U.S. News--but spread out the rest of its coverage over many different topics. Newsweek, too, covered many topics, offering repeated exposure to only three: attendance at the academies; the

broad overview of women's service; and the first women to be assigned to Navy ships--a subject not reported elsewhere in the news magazines.

Both Time and Newsweek tended to place their articles within regular sections of their respective magazines. However, Newsweek generally published much shorter articles than either of the other two news magazines. U.S. News, in contrast, normally featured its articles on women in the military as separate entities, apart from designated sections of the magazine. U.S. News, too, published articles almost twice as long and offered repeated cover mention for its articles.

A variance also was noted in the use of photographs in each magazine. U.S. News & World Report carried almost three times as many photographs as the other two magazines, with the majority depicting either women working or within a field setting. Time's photographs depicted many of the same images; Newsweek utilized photographs of women in uniform and within a casual setting for the majority of its illustrations. While Time and Newsweek utilized color in extremely limited amounts, U.S. News used it repeatedly.

Coverage in the news magazines generally followed the changes occurring within women's service, initially focusing on women's expanding roles and entrance into the academies. As women's integration continued throughout

the ten year period it was reported. However, as noted earlier, not all magazines reported the same events. Coverage was most extensive in the middle 70s and 1980 dropping off significantly after that. U.S. News & World Report did not publish anything after 1982, Time only ran one article after 1981, and Newsweek published only three articles after 1980. Coverage centered on women as a group for most of the articles. But the magazines turned their attention to individual women for their last articles, with Newsweek devoting its last three articles to individual women.

During the early years of the coverage, as women were entering the previously all-male military academies, each of the news magazines displayed stereotypical coverage, although to different degrees. Newsweek generally played up the novelty aspects of the situation by focusing on the different items given to the women in their clothing issue, such as undergarments. It also tended to treat the subject in a more joking, trivial manner.

Although Time treated the subject much more seriously, it devised new words such as "cadette" to differentiate the women from the men and tended to play up the women's physical limitations. U.S. News offered the most objective coverage, but referred to the women cadets as "coeds" throughout most of the early articles. As the years progressed, these types of reporting disappeared,



and by the time of the women's graduation, they were treated as equal members of the academy. Time was the only news magazines in which the reporter's personal feelings were detected.

The news magazines, for the most part, were not guilty of overt stereotypical presentations of their women subjects. Time was more likely than the other two publications to utilize personal adjectives to describe women's appearance. It also normally identified their marital status, an action also taken by U.S. News in its examination of individual women. Other than the trivialization mentioned earlier, Newsweek did not reflect stereotypical coverage. This is attributed as much to the type of coverage it offered as to its tendency to present short, straight-news items. Women, however, were normally identified by name and rank only.

Although there were more women than men identified as authors of the 39 articles, U.S. News & World Report featured more articles written by men. Those U.S. News articles normally covered the "harder" news of women in combat and the decision to pause in the recruitment of women, while the female authors' articles focused on the "softer" topics of women's feelings about their abilities and one woman's success. Time identified only four authors, all women, and they too focused on the "softer" reports. In contrast, Newsweek's male authors reported on

the topics of women's entrance to the academy (where the trivialization of the subject was noted earlier), graduation and uniforms, while the women reported both the "soft" and "hard" news items. Newsweek's women reported on the successes military women were enjoying as well as the problems they were striving to overcome.

The news magazines provided the most coverage of military women within this study and provided it more consistently than any other magazine type. Their coverage was in-depth and encompassed the broadest range of topics.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Dennis A. Williams, "This Woman's Army," Newsweek, October 20, 1975, p. 41; Merrill Sheils, "Of Arms and the Woman," Newsweek, January 26, 1976, p. 60; Dennis A. Williams, "Bring Me People," Newsweek, July 12, 1976, pp. 24-25; Eileen Keerdoja, "Women Warriors," Newsweek, September 19, 1977, p. 12; Melinda Beck, "Eight Belles," Newsweek, November 13, 1978, p. 75; Eileen Keerdoja, "Coed Honor Guards," Newsweek, January 8, 1979, pp. 8-9; Eileen Keerdoja, "Navy Women: Full Steam Ahead," Newsweek, September 24, 1979, p. 19; Allan J. Mayer, "Unisex Look," Newsweek, February 18, 1980, p. 42; Melinda Beck, "Women in the Armed Forces," Newsweek, February 18, 1980, pp. 34-36; Tom Morganthau, "Yes Sir, Women Made the Grade," Newsweek, June 9, 1980, p. 43; Eileen Keerdoja, "The Grand Old Lady of Software," Newsweek, May 9, 1983, pp. 13-14; Eileen Keerdoja, "A Gay Soldier's Fight to Serve," Newsweek, January 23, 1984, p. 15; "An Officer and a Woman," Newsweek, July 9, 1984, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup>"An Officer and a Woman."

<sup>3</sup>Merrill Sheils; Dennis A. Williams, "Bring Me People"; Eileen Keerdoja, "Women Warriors"; Melinda Beck, "Eight Belles"; Eileen Keerdoja, "Coed Honor Guards"; Eileen Keerdoja, "Navy Women: Full Steam Ahead"; Tom Morganthau; Eileen Keerdoja, "A Gay Soldier's Fight to Serve."

<sup>4</sup>Merrill Sheils; Dennis A. Williams, "Bring Me People"; Eileen Keerdoja, "Women Warriors"; Tom Morganthau.

<sup>5</sup>Eileen Keerdoja, "Coed Honor Guards."

<sup>6</sup>Melinda Beck, "Women in the Armed Forces."

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Dennis A. Williams, "This Woman's Army."

<sup>9</sup>Merrill Sheils.

<sup>10</sup>Dennis A. Williams, "Bring Me People."

- <sup>11</sup>Eileen Keerdoja, "Women Warriors."
- <sup>12</sup>Melinda Beck, "Eight Belles."
- <sup>13</sup>Eileen Keerdoja, "Coed Honor Guards."
- <sup>14</sup>Eileen Keerdoja, "Navy Women: Full Steam Ahead."
- <sup>15</sup>Melinda Beck, "Women in the Armed Forces."
- <sup>16</sup>Allan J. Mayer, "The Unisex Look."
- <sup>17</sup>Tom Morganthau.
- <sup>18</sup>Eileen Keerdoja, "The Grand Old Lady of Software."
- <sup>19</sup>Eileen Keerdoja, "A Gay Soldier's Fight to Serve."
- <sup>20</sup>"An Officer and a Woman."
- <sup>21</sup>"Long Gray Hemline," Time, February 9, 1976, p. 29; "Beauties and the Beast," Time, July 19, 1976, p. 74; "Mom, the Cadet," Time, November 28, 1977, p. 14; "Women May Yet Save the Army," Time, October 30, 1978, pp. 38-40, 42, 47; Barbara Dolon, "She Gives the Orders," Time, October 30, 1978, p. 40; Joelle Attinger, "She Goes on Maneuvers," Time, October 30, 1978, p. 42; "The Military is Pregnant," Time, October 8, 1979, p. 110; "Dating at West Point," Time, November 19, 1979, p. 43; Barbara Dolan, "West Point: The Coed Class of '80," Time, May 19, 1980, pp. 6-8; Jane O'Reilly, "Dick and Jane in Basic Training," Time, November 16, 1981, p. 140; "One Good Woman," Time, March 11, 1985, p. 33.
- <sup>22</sup>"One Good Woman."
- <sup>23</sup>"Long Gray Hemline"; "Mom, the Cadet"; "Women May Yet Save the Army"; Barbara Dolon, "She Gives the Orders"; Joelle Attinger; "Dating at West Point."
- <sup>24</sup>"Long Gray Hemline"; "Beauties and the Beast"; "Mom, the Cadet"; "Dating at West Point"; Barbara Dolan, "West Point: The Coed Class of '80"; Jane O'Reilly; "One Good Woman."
- <sup>25</sup>"Long Gray Hemline"; "Beauties and the Beast"; "Mom, the Cadet"; "Dating at West Point"; Barbara Dolan, "West Point: The Coed Class of '80."
- <sup>26</sup>"Mom, the Cadet."

- 27 "Long Gray Hemline."
- 28 "Beauties and the Beast."
- 29 "Mom, the Cadet."
- 30 "Women May Yet Save the Army."
- 31 Barbara Dolon, "She Gives the Orders."
- 32 U.S., Manual for Courts-Martial, p. 26-1.
- 33 Joelle Attinger.
- 34 "The Military is Pregnant."
- 35 "Dating at West Point."
- 36 Barbara Dolan, "West Point: The Coed Class of '80."
- 37 Jane O'Reilly.
- 38 "One Good Woman."
- 39 "When Women Enter The Service Academies," U.S. News & World Report, August 18, 1975, p. 25; "Women at the Military Academies: Not Much of a Problem," U.S. News & World Report, October 20, 1975, p. 64; "As All the Service Academies Go Coed," U.S. News & World Report, February 16, 1976, pp. 66-67; "Better Opportunity in the Military," U.S. News & World Report, April 26, 1976, pp. 53-54; "Sex Barrier: It's Falling Fast In the Military," U.S. News & World Report, June 28, 1976, pp. 53-54; "As Women Get Their First Taste of Academy Life," U.S. News & World Report, July 19, 1976, pp. 66-67; "So Far, So Good: A Report Card on Coed Military Academies," U.S. News & World Report, July 11, 1977, pp. 26-31; "Women in Uniform: Can They Save the Military?" U.S. News & World Report, June 5, 1978, pp. 31-35; Caroline Mayor, "We Can Do Anything," U.S. News & World Report, June 5, 1978, p. 35; Robert Dudney, "Women in Combat: Closer Than You Think," U.S. News & World Report, March 3, 1980, pp. 30-33; William L. Chaze, "Academy Women: Ready to Take Command," U.S. News & World Report, May 26, 1980, pp. 32-36; Robert S. Dudney, "Fresh Doubts About Women in Armed Forces," U.S. News & World Report, July 20, 1981, p. 44; "Women in the Army: To the Rear March," U.S. News & World Report, September 6, 1982, p. 8; Robert S. Dudney, "Women in the Army--End of a Honeymoon," U.S. News & World Report, October 4, 1982, pp. 51-53; Linda K. Lanier, "Women Have to Be Twice as Good," U.S. News & World Report, November 29, 1982, p. 51.

40 "Better Opportunity in the Military"; "Women in Uniform: Can They Save the Military?"; Caroline Mayer; Robert Dudney, "Women in Combat: Closer Than You Think"; William L. Chaze; Robert S. Dudney, "Women in the Army--End of a Honeymoon"; Linda K. Lanier.

41 "When Women Enter the Service Academies"; "Women at the Military Academies: Not Much of a Problem"; "As All the Service Academies Go Co-Ed"; "As Women Get Their First Taste of Academy Life"; "So Far, So Good: A Report Card on Coed Military Academies"; Robert Dudney, "Women in Combat: Closer Than You Think"; William L. Chaze; Robert S. Dudney, "Fresh Doubts About Women in Armed Forces"; "Women in the Army: To the Rear March"; Robert S. Dudney, "Women in the Army--End of a Honeymoon."

42 "When Women Enter the Service Academies."

43 "Women in the Military Academies: Not Much of a Problem."

44 "As All the Service Academies Go Co-Ed."

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47 Jeanne Holm, Women in the Military (Novata, CA: Presidio Press, 1982), pp. 313-45.

48 "As Women Get Their First Taste of Academy Life."

49 "So Far, So Good."

50 "Women in Uniform: Can They Save the Military?"

51 Leslie Hazelton, Israeli Women: The Reality Behind the Myth (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977).

52 "'We Can Do Anything.'"

53 Robert Dudney, "Women in Combat: Closer Than You Think."

54 William L. Chaze.

55 Robert S. Dudney, "Fresh Doubts About Women in Armed Forces."

56 "Women in the Army: 'To the Rear March.'"

<sup>57</sup>Robert S. Dudley, "Women in the Army--End of a Honeymoon."

<sup>58</sup>Linda K. Lanier.

CHAPTER XI  
CONCLUSIONS

Within the last decade, United States women's military service has undergone dramatic change as women in record numbers forged into areas once considered off-limits to them. They entered previously all-male military academies, took to the sea, joined Navy and Air Force aviation programs, commanded ships and attained star rank.<sup>1</sup> This expansion was not always greeted with enthusiasm as "old soldiers" fought to maintain their closed societies, then struggled to cope with the "revolutionary" problems of sexuality, pregnancies, day care and combat involvement that the women brought with them.<sup>2</sup> Social implications abounded as the military, the women and American society in general attempted to adjust to new roles.

Conclusions on the Hypotheses

This study was designed to examine both the quantity and quality of the coverage of military women in popular American magazines--to determine if the changes were reported, by whom and in what manner. The results of this analysis clearly indicate that women in the military did



receive consistent coverage. However, there was considerable variation within the magazines' content which reflected their perceptions of the issues. For women's magazines, military career possibilities received the greatest emphasis, while black magazines acknowledged the women's "firsts." News magazines examined women's expansion from the broad view and reported on inroads at the military academies. The coverage in specialized and general-interest magazines was as diverse as the magazines themselves.

There was variation, too, in the amount of coverage devoted to the subject, with 15 magazines (54 percent) publishing only one article in the ten-year period compared to U.S. News & World Report's 15. News magazines, in general, led the way with 39 of the 98 articles. Although women's magazines contributed 21 of the articles, they were divided among 12 separate publications while the black magazines' 19 reflected a higher concentration of interest within the three periodicals examined. Specialized publications yielded nine articles while the general-interest magazines produced ten, the majority coming from People.

The vast majority (21) of these articles were published in 1980, the year in which the first women graduated from the four military academies. Although all articles did not concentrate on this event, this focus

does reflect the pattern of coverage within the magazines in general, partially establishing the first hypothesis of this study--that coverage of military women would be sporadic, but would increase to coincide with key events in military history.

There was coverage in every year examined in this study, with a preponderance in 1980, 1979 (13 articles), when numerous "firsts," especially among black military women, were occurring, and 1976 (12 articles), when women entered the academies. The 11 articles published in 1981, likewise, reported the publication of two important books about military women and noted other events. But as the crest of women's integration began to decline, so did the coverage. The years 1985, 1984, 1977 and 1975 received the least amount of coverage, reflecting the relatively limited historically or socially significant events involving military women during those periods. Indeed, only Time reported the naming of the Marines' first woman general.

A total of 58 articles were event-induced, establishing the first hypothesis in terms of total coverage. However, this trend was not consistent among all types of magazines. It was most clearly evidenced in the black and general-interest magazines in which 74 and 70 percent of their respective coverage was predicated upon some event. It was especially true for Life and the

New York Times Magazine, whose total coverage was precipitated by events. Perhaps surprisingly, the major news magazines, Newsweek, Time and U.S. News & World Report, utilized this technique less often, with 66 percent of their coverage event-induced. The percentages were fairly consistent among the three; however, U.S. News did present slightly more event-induced coverage than Newsweek or Time.

In contrast, hypothesis one was not supported among the women's or specialized magazines where only 48 and 33 percent of the respective coverage was event-induced. Coverage in those magazines tended to reflect circumstances arising from the events rather than the events themselves, including women's increased physical capacities and the effects of men's hostility and harassment.

The second hypothesis--that the subject of the coverage would change in focus from military women as a group to profiles of individual women within the last three years--was not supported either in the study as a whole or within the various types of magazines. A total of 19 articles "profiled" individual women and they were sprinkled throughout the ten-year period of study. (Six additional articles reported on aspects involving individual women; however, they were strictly straight news items and not considered profiles.) Clearly, with

one exception, the coverage of military women has consistently focused on the total force. Five of the last eight articles examined in this study did feature individual women in both straight news and profile-type articles. However, there is insufficient data to conclude that a trend toward individual coverage is developing, although future research may find this to be so.

The one exception noted to this pattern of coverage was Ebony, which consistently focused on individuals or very small groups. In only one instance did the magazine present a feature relative to the total force. When taken as a group, however, black magazines' coverage was spread fairly evenly among group and individual examinations. The general-interest, specialized and women's magazines seldom featured individual women; Esquire, in fact, was the only specialized magazine to do so, while Ms. and Seventeen were the only women's magazines. All three news magazines did feature profile-type articles, but only six in the total ten-year period. Newsweek's final three articles, as well as Time and U.S. News's last, all reported on individual women either in straight news or feature style, which may indicate the start of a new trend.

The profile-type articles are also related to the third hypothesis, with its premise that the women featured in them would be depicted in a stereotypical manner. An

analysis of the data indicates mixed results for this hypothesis. Ten (52 percent) of the articles do reflect a stereotypical presentation of women which was accomplished through a discussion of their marital status, home life, hobbies or emotionalism. These results are skewed by Ebony's large representation among the data base and by its consistent efforts to depict "well-rounded" women performing not only at work, but at home as well. Ebony, therefore, definitely did depict stereotypical images. Likewise, People devoted a relatively large amount of space to discussions of the women's social life or marriage plans. Esquire, the only men's magazine represented and the only magazine featuring a truly in-depth profile article, carried an article devoid of stereotypes. Both women's magazines (Ms. and Seventeen) represented in this category were guilty of some form of stereotypical presentations in their discussion of the women's dating interests. The news magazines were relatively free of this type of coverage, expressing little interest in the women's personal lives.

It should be noted that if this hypothesis had been expanded to include all descriptions of women, rather than just those within profile-type articles, the results would have reflected a more strongly stereotypical coverage. Some of the more stereotypical presentations in this study were found in articles focusing on small groups or

utilizing individual women as representatives of the total force. An expansion of the hypothesis would have noted stereotyped coverage in several other magazines, including Black Enterprise, Life, the New York Times Magazine, Woman's Day and Redbook.

The fourth hypothesis regarding the coverage within the various types of magazines was only partially supported. Although it was found that the news and women's magazines did concentrate their coverage on the broader aspects of women in the military, the other types of magazines were not uniform in their concentrations upon the "softer," more personalized feature articles, as postulated.

News magazine coverage was dominated by reportage of news events detailing women's admission to the military academies as well as their graduation, breakthroughs in previously closed arenas such as sea-duty, and policy changes directly affecting the women. Another large area of concentration for the news magazines was their analyses of the effects women's expansion was having within the military and its potential impact upon society in general. U.S. News & World Report was especially diligent in this aspect, tending to provide much more analysis than either Time or Newsweek with their concise relating of facts.

The use of "softer" feature articles was, likewise, limited in the women's magazines, which tended to examine

career possibilities and women's inroads. "Softer" articles were presented by Woman's Day, Seventeen, Essence and Ms. There seemed to be no general philosophy behind the coverage of military women in the women's magazines; although the women's academy entrance was reported, the graduation was not, and while career aspects were related, no mention was made of the decision to pause in the recruitment of women, which would have affected those aspects. These inconsistencies tend to imply a "hit and miss" attitude among the women's magazines.

For the most part, the specialized magazines also concentrated their coverage on the broader aspects of the issues including the expansion itself and the harassment problems. Esquire was the only specialized magazine presenting a fully personalized article, although Senior Scholastic, gearing its material to its younger readers, did offer "softer" articles. In contrast, the general-interest magazines--Life, the New York Times Magazine and People--exclusively utilized the soft, feature approach in support of the hypothesis, while the black magazines were once again split between the softer elements of Ebony and the hard news approach of Jet.

This dichotomy was also reflected through the images they projected of black military women, an adjunct of hypothesis four. The premise that black magazines would depict images of positive, successful military women was

only partially supported. This image was clearly established in Ebony where all of the articles cited accomplishments. However, Jet's presentation of news of black women reflected the negative as often as the positive. The third adjunct to this hypothesis involving magazine content presumed that men's magazines would depict women as "soft" in contrast to their harsh environment and their coarser male peers. That premise was clearly not supported in this study, with Esquire's profile depicting a strong, proficient and occasionally "hard" woman officer. As this study examined only one men's magazine, with one article, however, the results are limited in scope.

The fifth hypothesis, which theorized that the coverage would concentrate upon personal and social issues and not be characterized by intense press scrutiny, was clearly established throughout the magazines. The only indications of anti-military sentiments or bias present throughout the study were noted in The Progressive, a left-leaning periodical generally opposing military viewpoints, and Ms., representing anti-militaristic feminist philosophies. In addition, Working Woman was noted on one occasion to warn its readers to be skeptical of military recruiting claims.

In all other instances, including the news magazines coverage, military sources were attributed without ques-



tion or skepticism. The military was not always depicted favorably, especially as related to problems of harassment and inconsistent treatment of men and women; however, articles generally were balanced and no probing, investigatory reporting was noted. In many articles, in fact, the tone was unabashedly positive, most notably in People, Essence, Ebony and Teen, which could have been used for recruiting purposes.

Because there have been no definitive studies of military coverage, it is not possible to draw conclusions about its content. However, there appear to be inconsistencies in the reportage. Coverage of certain aspects dealing with the military, such as defense spending and cost overruns, weaponry and retirement programs, seem to be subjected to a much more intense press scrutiny than was observed in the coverage of military women. Investigatory reporting, skepticism of sources and disdain for military authority figures, which appear to be standard practice within much of the military coverage, was not noted in this study.

The final hypothesis of this study concerned the authors of the articles--specifically, that male writers would focus on women's adjustment problems while the women would report women's successes. An analysis of the data indicated partial support for that hypothesis. There were nearly three times as many women authors as men (42 to 15)

and, while the women writers, in total, focused on the successes of the military women, this was done in varied degrees in the different types of magazines. Women's magazines (which used only women authors) and news magazines offered the greatest support for the premise, with the bulk of their woman-authored data concentrating upon elements of success. General-interest magazines were almost evenly divided in their presentations of problems and successes; however, in specialized magazines, articles dealing with problems of adjustment were more frequently written by women. The quantity of data within that category was very limited and can not, therefore, be applied to specialized reporting across the board. Since only one article in a black magazine was signed, there likewise can be no broad conclusion in that category.

Contrary to prediction, male-authored data followed the same pattern with the majority of the material focusing on the success that military women had achieved. This pattern was consistent among the three magazine types identifying male authors: general-interest, specialized and news.

#### Perspectives on the Coverage

American popular magazines, as a whole, did report on the changes occurring within American women's military service, yet there was such variation within the coverage that readers with limited magazine interests would surely

not have received a total picture. News magazines provided the broadest information on the changes and their repercussions. However, even there, not all magazines reported the same information, with U.S. News & World Report alone in this study discussing the decision to pull back from its utilization of women in 1982. U.S News consistently offered more information and analysis than either Time or Newsweek. Considering Newsweek's generally superior reputation for domestic coverage,<sup>3</sup> it was surprising to note its lag behind Time.

Readers of black magazines would have learned of specified events such as women's admission to the academies, the first black general or the conviction of two women on charges of lesbianism, but would not have gleaned the total picture involving expansion, harassment or the rise in family care issues. Only Black Enterprise attempted to present the broader view, but its one, very short article within the ten-year period of study did little to rectify the problem. It is doubtful that the black military woman reader of these magazines could relate to much of the coverage she saw.

In order for women's magazine readers to obtain even a somewhat complete picture of the military woman and the issues that affected her, they would have had to read a plethora of magazines, since only Essence, Ms., Seventeen and Working Woman published more than one article on the

subject. The majority published only one article in the ten-year period which normally was limited in scope. Coverage within the general-interest magazines was somewhat more concentrated (and, in the case of Life and the New York Times Magazine, more analytical), but the subject of this coverage was limited. Similarly, specialized magazines did not address the broad base. Thus, it is likely that that portion of American society who do not regularly read news magazines and do not have a direct interchange with military women do not fully realize either the numbers or scope of their service.

Overall, the coverage was not stereotyped as expected; however, the tendency to discuss women's marital status or personal life was present in black, women's and general-interest magazines. This type of coverage was most obtrusive in Ebony (in which equal or greater emphasis would be given to the women's social activities) and People. In contrast, stereotyping in Life, the New York Times Magazine and Woman's Day took a different form: personal descriptives including "petite," "bubbly," "curving little body," "disarmingly pretty" and "stunning" were regularly applied. It is possible that the authors felt the need to counteract what they considered to be the general consensus among the American population, that military women are "dogs" or big, unattractive and masculine. The news and specialized magazines were

relatively devoid of stereotypical presentations, most often utilizing only name, rank and job title to describe women.

In a related vein, women were almost exclusively depicted in nontraditional jobs or positions despite the fact that the majority of women in the military are in the traditional clerical or medical fields. This was reflective of the coverage detailing women's expanding roles, but not of the military in general. Even in articles which focused on the career-related aspects, the nontraditional fields were emphasized, an emphasis readily apparent within the visual realm as well, with women normally depicted as mechanics, welders, air traffic controllers and pilots. Similarly, women officers comprise only approximately 15 percent of the total women's military population.<sup>5</sup> However, the vast majority of the coverage reflected women officers. Although a great deal of the coverage recounted women's entrance into military academies--coverage of women officers--there was still a disproportionate number of officer interviews, testimonials and quotes. As a whole, then, coverage was not representative of women's military service.

Of course, there are many more stories about women in the military which would be more representative but just don't get written, as is the case with most subjects. Why, for instance, was there no coverage about women's

involvement in the Grenada invasion? What about the vast, growing numbers of women veterans? How much is the reportage affected by the small number of women who regularly cover the military? A possible way to expand the coverage would be to interest more women reporters in the military in general and thus its women. Of the women authors noted in this study, only Judith Stiehm and Helen Rogan are known for their research and knowledge of the subject.

#### Suggestions for Future Research

Allusions to "commonly held" stereotypes of military women were noted sporadically throughout this study and can be traced to World War II smear campaigns.<sup>6</sup> As the numbers of military women and veterans increase, it would be useful to know if old stereotypes persist in the minds of Americans or if references to them merely reflect journalist bias or military women's paranoia. An attitudinal survey would, therefore, be of assistance on various levels.

Military recruitment efforts concerning military women might also yield useful information. Of particular interest would be the depiction of women in the military's magazine ads in an attempt to discern any change of image over time and what differences were manifested in women's magazine ads. As the ads should have reflected the military's sentiments toward women, changes could be

expected as women moved into expanded roles, were actively sought and as the decisions were made to conversely restrict their involvement.

Another valuable study would involve an analysis of the coverage of women in other nontraditional settings such as law enforcement, where many of the same arguments against military women would apply. An analysis of that type would be useful as a comparative tool for this study and for an understanding of the coverage of women in nontraditional roles in general. It could further determine if stereotypical coverage is more prevalent when there is no convenient rank or title for reporters to use in place of descriptives.

Finally, to adequately evaluate the coverage of military women, it is important that the research be placed within the context of the total military coverage. Presently, no such broad examination of the military coverage exists. It would be useful to know how much attention is focused on the hardware, the policies, personalities and social aspects of the military. It would then be possible to determine if the women in the military had received equitable consideration.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Jeanne Holm, Women in the Military (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1982).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> David Shaw, "Men at Top are Key to Time/Newsweek Battle," Los Angeles Times, 3 May 1980, Part 2, pp. 1, 24-26.

<sup>4</sup> Martin Binkin and Shirley J. Bach, Women and the Military (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1977), p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Department of Defense, Military Women in the Department of Defense (Manpower, Installations and Logistics) (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1984), p. 48.

<sup>6</sup> Mattie Treadwell, U.S. Army in World War II, Special Studies: The Women's Army Corps (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1954).



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