

Mass Media: The Image, Role, and Social Conditions of Women

**A collection and analysis
of research materials**

by

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NOTE TO THE READER

The publications marked X in the body of the text (e. g. : X, Report National Advertising Review Board (NARB), 1975) are listed below.

Advertising and Women. A Report on Advertising Portraying or Directed to Women, New York: the National Advertising Review Board (NARB), 1975.

A Report on the Way Women View Their Portrayal in Today's Television and Magazine Advertising, unpublished advertising study, New York: Foote, Cone and Belding Marketing Information Service, November 1972.

Die Darstellung der Frau und die Behandlung von Frauenfragen im Fernsehen. Eine empirische Untersuchung einer Forschungsgruppe der Universität Münster u.l.v. Prof. Dr. E. Küchenhoff (Band 34, Schriftenreihe des Bundesministers für Jugend, Familie und Gesundheit), Stuttgart : Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1975.

Extent of Sex Discrimination in TV, in Media Report to Women, vol. 5, 4, April 1977, p. 5.

Fran Hosken Reports on Women's Communication Networks in Africa, in Media Report to Women, vol. 5, 9, September 1977, pp.12-13.

Images of Women in the Media, Women's Studies Group, Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, England, November 1974.

International Meeting of Women on Media, in Media Report to Women, vol. 6, 2, February 1978, pp. 3-5.

Margita White Obtains FCC Agreement to Re-evaluate Broadcast Job Descriptions, in Media Report to Women, vol. 6, 1, January 1978, pp. 1-2.

Methodist Women Find Prime Time TV Communicates "False Images", in Media Report to Women, vol. 4, 9, September 1976, p. 4.

Michèle Casanave Study Found Public Radio Women's Programming 1.4 % of Total, in Media Report to Women, vol. 4, 10, October 1976, p. 7.

Patterns of Discrimination Against Women in the Film and Television Industries, London: Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians (ACTT), 1975.

The Image of Women in Television. A survey by the Sacramento, Ca. Branch of the American Association of University Women (AAUW), 1974.

The Relative Roles of Men and Women in Television Commercials. A survey conducted by the Screen Actors Guild (SAG) - New York Branch Women's Conference Committee, November 13, 1974.

The Seminar on Women's Programmes on Radio and Television, in ASBU (The Arab States Broadcasting Union) Review, January 1976, pp. 45-52.

Window Dressing on the Set: Women and Minorities in Television. A Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C., August 1977.

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Women Emerging as Format D-J's, in Billboard, November 12, 1977, pp. 1/36/112.

Women Engaged in Broadcasting: Less than 1 % of Radio Devoted to Women's Programming, in Media Report to Women, vol. 5, 11, November 1977, p. 12.

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Women in the Daily Press, in Isis International Bulletin, October 1976, pp.1-11.

Women in the Wasteland Fight Back: A Report on the Image of Women Portrayed in TV Programming, Washington, D.C.: NOW National Capitol Area Chapter, 1972.

Women in the Mass Media. Report of the meeting convened on behalf of Unesco following the 10th General Assembly and Scientific Conference of the International Association for Mass Communication Research, University of Leicester, England, August 30-September 4, 1976.

World Communications. A 200-country Survey of Press, Radio, Television and Film, Paris: Unesco Press/England: Gower Press/New York: Unipub, 1975.

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Introduction

The question of mass media as mirror vs. creator of culture undoubtedly remains one of the most debated issues in the scientific exploration of the relationship between mass media and society. The controversy between critical media sociologists, who emphasize the value-producing function of mass media, and empirics, who are foremost interested in demonstrating how social reality is reflected in mass media, seems to have subsided in recent years, resulting in a compromise integrating both approaches. Much of the empirical research of the past decade points indeed in the direction of a creative, reinforcing or transforming cultural impact of mass media.

The subject of the study which we conducted at the invitation of Unesco serves as a nearly perfect illustration of the diverging conceptions underlying mass communication research.

A preliminary examination of the literature documentating the image, role and social conditions of women in mass media confronted us with another typical problem pervading mass communication research and social studies in general: a research field in a continuous state of flux, and the absence of accurate research methods to analyse the interdependence of its components. The image of women in mass media and women's participation in the production of messages disseminated by the mass media cannot be studied in isolation from the broad socio-economic, political, and cultural context at a specific point in time. How women are represented in mass media ultimately results from an interplay of forces which mould social reality. One of these social forces is the mass media. The communication media produce message systems and symbols which create or structure prevailing images of social reality, thus affecting the process of social change. Therefore, hardware, software and social development are inextricably linked. That such a perspective of the interrelationship between mass communication and society has far-reaching implications, particularly with respect to the developing nations, needs no further argument.

How this complex process operates with respect to one increasingly relevant social problem of our time is the focus of the present study. Its specific purpose is to systematize, analyse and evaluate our knowledge about the interrelationship between mass media and women's status on the basis of the literature which is currently available in this area of study. From this overview and critical analysis, we hope to assess which aspects of women's media roles have been a frequent or neglected focus of research, which continents and countries show concern with the issue, what major conclusions may be drawn from the available evidence and, finally, what research and policy implications ensue from this information. The extent to which we have been successful in meeting these objectives has depended partly on the barriers we encountered in the course of our investigation. Apart from the obvious limitations of time, distance and finance, cultural and language barriers hindered access to potentially relevant materials. The shortcomings of this mass communication study are partly owing to . . . communication problems, though not to the lack of co-operation from the individuals and organizations we contacted. We are particularly indebted to Unesco as well as to the various documentation centres for communication research forming part of the international network promoted by Unesco.

The processing of this diversified mass of research materials presented us with the difficult problem of classifying and analysing the relevant documentation. A crucial decision involved the delineation of our research field. The definition of the term "mass media" in the literature on mass communication theory covers a wide spectrum. For the purposes of this study, we opted for an operational definition which corresponds with the use of the term in popular speech. Mass media can then be defined as means or instruments serving as carriers of messages from a communicator to a mass audience. For the same practical reasons, we have restricted our analysis to the four principal mass media: radio, television, film,

press, thus leaving many and equally important means of communication entirely unexplored. (1)

Despite the many shortcomings of this report, of which no one is more aware than the authors, we hope to have contributed to a better understanding of the interrelationship between mass media and society and their potential impact on the lives of at least half of the world population.

The author (or institution) is responsible for the choice and the presentation of the facts

contained in this book, and for the opinions expressed therein, which are not necessarily those of Unesco and do not engage the responsibility of the Organization.

1. 15 May 1978 was set as the closing date for processing materials. Documents which became available after this deadline could not be included in this survey.

I. The image of Women in mass media

Research on women and mass media has focused predominantly on the portrayal of sex-roles in various mass media and different types of messages disseminated by the mass media. Content-analysis is the most commonly used approach in the study of media images of women. How women are represented in radio, television, the press, and film, as documented in such studies, will be discussed at length in the first section of this report. Because advertising is considered particularly influential in determining images of women projected in media, which are economically dependent on its support, research results pertaining to sex-role portrayal in advertisements will be grouped under a separate heading.

1. Images of women in advertising

Advertising has been a prime target of attack and scrutiny (Deckard, 1975, 380). The basic explanation for the critical focus on sex-role portrayal in advertising lies in the close relationship which exists between advertising, the consumer goods industry, and the crucial economic role of women as consumers. As a result, a large portion of commercial messages envisage women as their primary target audience (Faulder, 1977, 37). Advertising effectiveness largely depends on the manipulation of the consumer's self-image (Weibel, 1977, 142). Since women are perceived as the major consumers, advertising manipulates the female image in order to persuade women to buy. The major vehicles for advertising consumer products include commercial television and magazines, particularly those addressing a female audience. Other media carrying advertising, such as newspapers, radio, billboards, etc., have so far escaped the attention of researchers and critics. Since mass advertising plays a key role in every consumer-based economy, research on portrayal of women in advertising is concentrated in industrialized consumer societies, particularly in the U.S.A., as reflected in the following discussion.

(a) North-America

Critics of female images in advertising are not concerned with the quantity of women appearing in advertisements. Research indicates that women are visible in advertising at least on an equal basis with men (Courtney and Lockeretz, 1974 - O'Donnell and O'Donnell, 1978), as opposed to the severe under-representation of females in other types of media content (cfr. infra). The qualitative representation of this highly visible female is considered far more alarming. Recurrent sexist charges focus on three aspects of the female image in advertising: as employed woman, as housewife, as sex-object (X, Report National Advertising Review Board (NARB), 1975). To document the extent to which women are stereotyped in advertising, two measures will be used:

- content-analysis of female portrayal in print and broadcast advertisements. The majority of research materials come in this category.
- women's recognition of and reaction to the way they are represented in advertising.

1. The portrayal of the employed woman, woman as housewife, woman as sex-object. A review of content-analytical studies

1.1. The representation of the employed woman

Participation of women, single and married, in the labour force has expanded significantly since 1947 (Ferris, 1971, 85-87). In 1973, more than half of American women between 18 and 64 were gainfully employed (X, NARB report, 1975). The number of women in professional occupation has also grown substantially. During the 1960's, the number of women earning \$10,000 or more increased sevenfold (X, NARB report, 1975). Compared to the actual female employment status, working women are under-represented in both print and broadcast advertisements. Cantor (1972) found that women in TV-commercials were mostly represented in domestic roles, while men were more likely

to be portrayed in occupational roles or non-domestic activities. Occupationally portrayed women rarely held high-status jobs. In prime time TV-commercials (Miles, 1975), working males outnumbered working females by 2 to 1. Women appeared mostly as housewives or, if employed, in traditionally female occupations. Courtney and Whipple (1974) compared the results of four studies on female portrayal in TV-advertising covering a two-year time span. The over-representation of women in home/family roles, and of men in media/celebrity and business management occupations was apparent. Women were further shown in a limited variety of occupational roles, not reflective of their real-life activities. The range of occupations males were portrayed in was much wider than that of females, although the imbalance seemed to be changing. In an analysis of commercials aired during the 1975 season on KDKA-TV, Pittsburgh (Women's Advisory Council to KDKA-TV, 1975), males still held a much greater variety of occupations than females (70 vs. 17). As revealed in other studies, the majority of females (72%) were portrayed in domestic roles. Only 28% of the portrayed women were employed and almost invariably in traditionally female occupations. 54% of the males were in occupations, frequently of high status. The female images projected in magazine advertisements follow the same pattern as revealed for TV-commercials. However, Sexton and Haberman (1974) noted some increase from 1951 to 1971 in the number of working women, although strictly in traditional jobs. A 1976 study (Culley and Bennett, 1976) provided an evolutionary perspective of the portrayal of women in both print and television advertising from 1970 to 1974. While women were still more likely than men to be shown in domestic roles, the gap between the sexes had narrowed significantly with respect to occupational representation. However, the study observed that roles that are not depicted are as indicative as those that are. No women were shown as lawyers, doctors, judges, or scientists. Even occupationally portrayed women were seldom shown at work. Few advertisements were directed to working women.

1.2. The portrayal of woman as housewife

The issue of housework occupies a special place in feminist criticism of sexual role divisions (X, NARB, 1975). Housework is considered women's special burden, and the routine and drudgery involved in the performance of domestic tasks are perceived as a waste of women's time, energy and talents. The portrayal of women in household-related roles, mostly in advertisements for household products, is a cause of concern, particularly because of the repetitiousness of the housewife image. Showing women performing domestic tasks and using household products in their homes is not objectionable per se. The endless repetition of such portrayal suggests however that women's place is only in

the home (X, NARB, 1975). Culley and Bennett's follow-up study (1976) revealed that in TV-commercials aired in 1974 as well as in 1971 the largest role category for women was the housewife/mother role. The percentage of housewives had decreased however from 56% in 1971 to 45% in 1974. In magazine advertisements, the housewife/mother role also remained predominant for women in 1974 as in 1970. Although most studies report the overwhelming representation of women in household roles, the trend appears to be on the decline in magazine as well as in TV-advertising. Sexton and Haberman (1974) found a substantial decrease in the housewife image of women in magazine advertisements from 1951 to 1971. Another study covering the 1959 to 1971 period in magazine advertising confirmed this downward trend (Venkatesan and Losco, 1975).

While in terms of quantity, the portrayal of women as housewives appears to be changing for the better, the quality of the housewife image shows less sign of improvement. Housewives are often shown as stupid, incapable of performing simple tasks, and dependent on male advice (Courtney and Lockeretz, 1970). One significant indication of the authority position of men with regard to women is the off-camera voice-over, which is used in many TV-commercials to summarize the virtues of the advertised product. All studies of role portrayal in TV-advertising unanimously report an overwhelming predominance of male voice-overs (cfr. X, Screen Actors Guild, 1974 - Miles, 1975 - Verna, 1975 - WAC to KDKA-TV, 1975 - O'Donnell and O'Donnell, 1978). Marecek e.a. (1978) noted a subtle change in the portrayal of males vs. females as authority figures in TV-commercials from 1972 to 1974. While the representation of women both as authoritative voice-overs and as on-screen experts in advertisements without voice-overs remained virtually unchanged over the 3-year period, the proportion of female experts in commercials using an authoritative, mostly male voice-over had increased. However, this increase was restricted to commercials for "women's" products such as household-related and personal-care products. A further description of the male-female relationship of authority/dependency was given in a comparative study by Courtney and Whipple (1974). Two of the four studies they reviewed analysed the tasks and activities of product representatives in advertisements. Females were usually shown performing domestic tasks related to the product. Male product representatives were mostly depicted demonstrating the product or giving advice and instructions, but never using it. Men were also shown as the beneficiaries in 54% of the food advertisements and in 81% of the cleaning products advertisements. The product categories featuring females in their advertising are also indicative of the advertiser's view of women's capacities. An update of Courtney and Lockeretz' 1970 analysis of magazine advertisements (Culley and Bennett, 1976) revealed that

females predominated in advertisements for personal and home-related products, while advertisements for non-household products featured either women and men together or males only. In TV-commercials men were also more likely to represent non-domestic products, while female representatives were more likely to appear in advertisements for household-related products (O'Donnell and O'Donnell, 1978). According to Culley and Bennett, the implication inherent in this practice is that women do not operate independently in other than inexpensive and household-related purchases. Besides defining the relationship between the sexes as one of female dependency and male authority, many advertisements reflect unflattering portrayals of women in domestic roles (WAC to KDKA-TV, 1975). The housewife appears as a person obsessed with cleanliness and embarrassed or guilty about dirt. She is frequently shown as either envious of other women's achievements or boastful about her own cooking or cleaning accomplishments. While the number of women in household roles has decreased in recent years, advertising continues to show housewives as dependent on male advice and assistance in the purchase and the use of products, which often include those associated with the performance of tasks traditionally considered female (WAC to KDKA-TV, 1975). The frequent unflattering depiction of housewives as being over-achieving because of guilt feelings, embarrassment or envy, further defines the already narrow image of her as a person with a distorted sense of values (X, NARB report, 1975).

1.3. The depiction of woman as sex-object

Women are resentful of the exploitative use of the female body in advertising (X, NARB, 1975). They feel that the use of the female body as a mere decoration or as an attention-getting device diminishes women's self-esteem and ignores other aspects of women's personality and their human potential. The effect of the sexual-sell advertising on male-female relationships and on children's sense of values is perceived as potentially harmful. The concern about the impact on children of advertising sex-role portrayal is particularly relevant in view of the finding that advertising directed to children appears to be more sexist than adult-oriented advertisements (O'Kelly and Bloomquist, 1976 - Verna, 1975 - WAC to KDKA-TV, 1975).

Dispenza (1975) suggests that women are primarily used by advertisers to sell products to both women and men on the basis of their sexual appeal to men. Depending on the sex of the target group, the strategies vary. In female-oriented advertisements, women are invited to identify with the female product representative who is offered the ultimate reward, i. e. success with males, as a result of using the product. In male-oriented advertisements, male consumers are promised the portrayed female as the bonus that comes with the product. Venkatesan and Losco (1975) found that the female roles most frequently represented over the 13-year period from 1959 to 1971 were woman as sex-object

and woman as physically beautiful. The portrayal of woman as sex-object, although overall on the decline, was most pronounced in men's (53% of the portrayed females) and general audience magazines (65%). The changes in female portrayal occurring over the 13-year time span were mostly attributable to the shift of emphasis in women's magazines. While only 12% of the females in women's magazines advertisements were coded as sex-objects, the emphasis had shifted to "woman as physically beautiful", the most frequently portrayed role category (61%) in the women's press. The predominance of sex-object/decoration images of women in men's magazines was also revealed in a 1976 study conducted by Pingree, Hawkins, Butler and Paisley. This team of researchers developed a 5-level ordinal consciousness scale to measure the degree rather than the quantity of sexism in magazine advertising. Although the entire sample, including "Ms. Magazine", "Playboy", "Time" and "Newsweek", contained overall a significant number of Level 1 advertisements, i. e. those depicting women as sexual objects, as decorations or as persons dependent on man, "Playboy" topped all other magazines in the sample with no less than 54% of the female advertising characters as sexual or decorative objects.

Poe (1976) examined the representation of active women, defined as women engaged in physical activities or sports, in a sample of women's and general magazine advertisements of 1928, 1956 and 1972. Besides a general decrease in the presence of active women and the emphasis on recreation rather than competition, the analysis revealed that sports advertisements frequently had a sexual rather than an athletic implication.

Although the exploitation of women as sexual objects seems to be receding in both magazine and television advertising (Culley and Bennett, 1976), the use of the female body for its sexual appeal is still a well-established advertising practice, particularly in male-oriented media. The decrease in sex-object images of women is further compensated by an increased emphasis on female physical beauty. Sexton and Haberman (1974) found that the depiction of women with obviously alluring physiques had substantially increased in 1974 as compared with 1971 in three of the five product categories examined. Only home and office equipment advertisements featured no decorative or alluring women.

The profile of women in advertisements outlined by Sexton and Haberman (1974) on the basis of their research results, encompasses the general trends indicated by content-analysis. The overall conclusion is that advertising continues to present narrow images of women. Women are mostly depicted as social people appearing in a predictable environment. Although the emphasis on women as alluring, decorative or traditional, varied according to the product category, at least one of these traits was prevalent in advertisements for all products. Advertising's contribution to broadening the perspective of women is limited to a substantial decrease in the number of housewife/

mother images. Although working women are appearing more frequently in advertising, they remain restricted to traditionally female occupations. Research thus appears to provide ample evidence corroborating continuing criticism of the way advertising portrays both white and minority women (X, NARB report, 1975).

2. Women's perception of and attitudes towards female images in advertising

Despite indications that women find the image of woman as comprising an inferior class derogatory (X, NARB report, 1975), and feminist campaigns protesting against insulting and degrading portrayals of women in advertisements (Deckard, 1975, 379-380), little research has been conducted on how women view their portrayal in advertising (Lundstrom and Sciglimpaglia, 1977). An advertising agency (X, Foote, Cone and Belding, 1972) interviewed a representative sample of women about their reactions to the way they are represented in television and magazine advertising. Only about 15% of the respondents were genuinely satisfied. Most respondents (about 50%) had mixed feelings, but were more negative than positive in their reactions. About 20% of the interviewees were extremely resentful of female portrayals in advertisements. Although only a minority of female respondents was highly critical, this group was more articulate in voicing objections and reasons for dissatisfaction than the satisfied or mixed group. Furthermore, the strongest critics tended to be better educated and financially better off than the non- or mild critics, and thus more likely to be influential opinion-leaders. 15% of the respondents had no opinion. They tended to be older and more down-scale than women in the other opinion groups.

The demographic characteristics of the respondents in a survey conducted by Lundstrom and Sciglimpaglia (1977) provide further evidence for the finding that better-educated and more affluent people tend to be more critical of sex-role portrayal in advertising. More women than men responded to the questionnaire the researchers mailed to a sample of Dallas and Denver residents. Lundstrom and Sciglimpaglia interpret the higher response rate of women as indicative of a higher interest level among women than among men. The responses came mostly from younger, better-educated persons with a higher socio-economic status than the average resident of these cities. This suggests that the young, the educated and upper-classes tend to be more concerned with advertising images of people than the average person. Since the response rate was biased in favour of upper-level people, the survey results were not generalizable to the entire population.

The study revealed that women, more than men, increasingly found that advertising suggests that women don't do important things, portrays women in a manner that is offensive, and implies that

woman's place is in the home. Females were less likely than males to agree with the statements that advertising gives a realistic picture of men, and that it depicts women as sex-objects. The survey also examined the relationship between perceptions of sex-role portrayal and (1) company image, and (2) buying intentions. The attitudes towards the company image showed significant differences between the sexes. Women were more likely than men to believe that companies using offensive advertisements practised discrimination in employment, and that role portrayals in advertising were merely an extension of the company's view of women's place in society. However, with respect to buying intentions, both women and men tended to continue purchasing products, even if they were advertised in a way they considered offensive. Although overall women were more sensitive to sexual role portrayal than men, their attitudes were not excessively critical. Consistency in women's attitudes was found with respect to the statements that (1) neither men nor women were accurately portrayed in advertising, (2) that current portrayal of women in advertising is improving. As predictable from the response rates, the strongest critics were better-educated, younger, upper-status women, who had rejected traditional role concepts. On the basis of these data, the researchers suggest that the strongest critics of sex-role images in advertising may include those women who are most articulate and most influential.

One characteristic of the critical female consumer, i. e. non-traditional role orientation, was further explored in a study conducted by Wortzel and Frisbie (1974). In order to examine advertising effectiveness, Wortzel and Frisbie surveyed a demographically diversified and representative sample of mostly young (i. e. more likely to be less tradition-oriented) women with regard to their sex-role portrayal preferences. The subjects participating in the experiment were measured for their attitudes towards women's liberation. It was found that sex-role portrayal preference was based on the advertised product's function rather than on ideology. Lull, Hanson and Marx (1977) explored the degree to which college women and college men were sensitive to sex-role stereotyping in TV-commercials. The hypothesis that college women would be more sensitive than their male counterparts was strongly supported. The research data also provided some evidence that identification with women's liberation is positively associated with recognition of female sex-role stereotypes in TV-advertising, but less than expected. Recognition of sexual stereotypes to some extent depended on the degree to which the stereotype was the focal point in the advertisement.

The research conducted so far reveals the following trends in attitudes towards sex-role portrayal in advertising:

- sensitivity to sexual stereotyping in advertising is not as widespread as feminists might hope;

- women are more critical than men;
- awareness of female stereotypes is positively related to high socio-economic status and educational level, and to some extent to identification with the women's movement;
- strong critics tend to be more articulate than mild or non-critics. The group of upper-status and articulate women who are alienated by current advertising images of women represents an influential and potentially growing segment of the population.

Although research on female images in advertising and the way women perceive them has focused primarily on television and magazines, objectionable advertising does not seem to be confined to these media. The pervasiveness of offensive advertisements both with respect to media and the range of products, was the most striking result of a survey conducted in Ontario, Canada (Aaron, 1975). The fact that out of 1,017 returns to the questionnaire only one expressed satisfaction with sex-role portrayal in advertising supports the overall finding that critics are more articulate in voicing their objections than non-critics in expressing their support.

(b) Western Europe

The European literature on portrayal of women in advertising is generally less concerned with statistics and numerical data. It is rather descriptive and often polemical, using empirical data - not always methodologically verifiable - to illustrate the underlying rationale. This approach is reducible to the argument that the effectiveness of advertising depends on women's identification with the images it projects. The essential function of advertising is of the economic order. Everything, including sex-role images, is conceived in function of this commercial goal. "The general idea of advertising being in the forefront of change and development is misconceived. It embraces change in the technological sense alone - not as a step towards human betterment or social justice, but as an increase in efficiency and productivity." (Millum, 1975, 181). Corroborating evidence is often borrowed from American studies, as data on the European situation are still lacking (Scott, 1976). Since the American advertising industry appears to be the major trendsetter in the way advertisements are conceived and produced (Lorée, 1977), advertising messages distributed in Europe reflect a striking resemblance to the American model. Therefore, the profile of the advertising woman outlined by Scott (1976) is applicable to the European situation, even though it relies heavily on data relevant to the American cultural context. This profile is described in terms of basic assumptions about woman's role and woman's place which underlie female images in advertising. The resulting female stereotype is one which defines woman with respect to the bi-polar sphere of the home and her relationship to man.

1. A woman's goal in life is to attract and attain a man

Manifestations of this view of femininity are manifold:

- women in advertising are always young and attractive;
- they are frequently depicted as sexual objects;
- advertising restricts woman to the home and isolates her from other women. Outside the home, man is her favourite companion;
- women in advertising seldom appear as competent or intelligent people. Intelligence is presented as a masculine trait. Intelligent women are therefore "unfeminine" and disliked by men.

Emphasis on woman's physical appearance pervades advertisements directed to both male and female consumers. Female-oriented advertisements appeal to women's fear of being rejected by men because of body odour, bad breath, excessive body hair, dry or oily skin, etc. Male-oriented advertisements feature beautiful, sexy women as the ultimate reward for using the advertised product (Lorée, 1977 - Warren, 1978). The seductive woman is an object of pleasure for and consumption by males (Rocard, 1968). In exchange for beauty and youth, women are rewarded with security and status, love and romance (Adams and Laurikietis, 1976). As in America, the flagrant exploitation of female sex-appeal in advertising is receding (Henstra and Pinckaers, 1976 - Gravesteyn, 1975). This, however, does not imply that female beauty has lost significance for the concept of femininity as defined in advertising. On the contrary, emphasis on the attractive female physique is actually increasing (Ceulemans, 1977 - Van De Maele, 1978). The beautiful woman who is primarily concerned with the effect of her physical appearance on men was the most frequently found female image in a study of advertisements in British women's magazines (Millum, 1975). To the familiar image of woman who is concerned with the way she looks in order to attract male attention and attain social success, advertising has added the image of the narcissistic woman who is equally sensual and aware of her feminine beauty, but concerned only with her own personal feelings about herself. Lorée interprets this development as reflecting advertising's response to the feminist re-definition of woman's identity and role. The narcissistic or auto-erotic woman represents the commercial version of the liberated woman (cfr. Warren, 1978). No truly liberated images of woman are to be found in advertising, according to Lorée (1977). The emphasis on female beauty in the pictorial message is amplified by the accompanying advertising copy. Investigation into the interrelationship between the visual and textual advertising language in the persuasive process revealed that the three key words associated with sex-role portrayal were naturalness, beauty and uniqueness (Vorlat, 1976). For

women, being natural and beautiful was presented as the essence of femininity. Being unique appeared to be more important to a man than to a woman.

Advertising thus defines woman's relationship to man primarily in terms of the appeal feminine attractiveness has for man. The male-oriented image of woman is also implicit in the depiction of woman secluded from the world outside her domestic environment and from other women (Scott, 1976). A recent analysis of advertisements in the Belgian women's press provided corroborating evidence for the contention that women tend to be portrayed alone and confined to the home (Van de Maele, 1978). The home is actually increasingly stressed as woman's natural environment and serves more and more as decor for her interactions with both males and females (Henstra and Pinckaers, 1976 - Van De Maele, 1978). While women are more frequently paired with male partners both in and outside the home, the number of advertisements showing women in each other's company has increased over the past decade (Van De Maele, 1978). While women tend to be less often portrayed alone, they favour men to keep them company in, and a fortiori outside, the home (Ceulemans, 1977). Women and men are depicted as equal partners in social situations only. With respect to household, professional, technical or complicated matters, man functions as the authority, the expert, the adviser, while woman executes (Ceulemans, 1977 - Van De Maele, 1978 - De Keyser, undated).

Research thus provides ample evidence for the contention that woman's role in life as defined in advertising is to attract a man by means of her appealing physique, and to keep him by being deferential and subservient to him. In recent years, the emphasis on the beautiful woman as an object of pleasure has increased, while the portrayal of woman as an incapable, dependent person to be dominated by man has decreased. If this development is to be interpreted as a reflection of the changing social climate, it indicates that advertising is not committed to changing woman's image. It merely adapts to social change by updating the traditional image.

2. Women are ultimately and naturally housewives, wives and mothers

Domesticity is the second pole of the two-dimensional image of femininity in advertising (cfr. Flick, 1977). That woman is essentially a domestic person is expressed in various ways (Scott, 1976):

- Women do not work outside the home

Occupational portrayal of women is rare and certainly not commensurate with the actual number of females in the labour force (Ceulemans, 1977 - Van De Maele, 1978 - Millum, 1975). While some studies indicate a more or less substantial increase in the proportion of working women in advertising

of the past 10 to 15 years (Henstra and Pinckaers, 1976 - Lorée, 1977), other surveys observed no such development (Ceulemans, 1977 - Millum, 1975 - Van De Maele, 1978).

- Women are not successful in work outside the home: they do not do male jobs

Even if more working women appear in advertisements, they have not moved out of the traditionally female service occupations (Lorée, 1977 - Henstra and Pinckaers, 1976 - Ceulemans, 1977). Content-analysis further suggests that the increasing frequency of employed women is largely product-related, and not attributable to a conscious effort on the part of advertisers to close the void between image and social reality (Henstra and Pinckaers, 1976). In particular advertisements for vacations and travel, which have significantly grown in recent years, are accountable for the change, as they use women in service occupations to attract (male) interest (Henstra and Pinckaers, 1976). The rising vacation/leisure/travel industry also appeals to female consumers, including those who are gainfully employed, by offering them a temporary return to true femininity, i. e. youth, beauty, sex-appeal, Lorée observes. Advertisements for household products are also beginning to envisage and portray working women. Efficiency in terms of performance and time are stressed here, in order to reduce guilt feelings women might (and should!) experience when pursuing a (strictly female) career. According to Lorée (1977), this change of strategy merely implies that advertising is willing to tolerate women's professional aspirations, provided that they do not interfere with their marital and maternal obligations. Women in advertising, even if they are working, still have to carry the burden of housework. Double work is the price women have to pay for having, or wanting, to work outside the home.

- Men and women have strictly delineated sex-roles and household tasks

All content-analyses indicate that advertising divides the world into male and female spheres: woman's place is in the home, the world of work is man's territory. This becomes apparent from the preponderance of housewife roles for women and the high frequency of occupational roles for men (cfr. Flick, 1977). The male position of authority in the professional world is evident: women are seldom employed and, if they are, they remain in the service and subordinate positions traditionally reserved for them. Even within the home, the respective tasks of men and women are clearly circumscribed. The association of cleaning products, detergents and baby-care products with female usage, and of more expensive or larger purchases with male expertise and decision-making describes the female vs. male position within the

family unit (Ceulemans, 1977). Henstra and Pinckaers (1976) attribute the diminished emphasis on the housewife role, which they observed in Netherlands magazine advertisements, to the transfer of advertisements for cleaning products and detergents to television. While parental roles are on the increase for both males and females (Henstra and Pinckaers, 1976 - Van De Maele, 1978), the mother-child and father-child relationships differ significantly. Childcare is woman's work (cfr. Netherlands opinion poll cited by Flick, 1977). Men occasionally spend some time with their children. Usually parents appear together in a family context, usually around the dinner table, where all enjoy mother's cooking (Van De Maele, 1978). With respect to employment, marriage and parenthood, women seem to have clearly delineated roles. That sex-roles are complementary rather than interchangeable also appears from the association of the qualities products are imbued with: beauty, softness, dependency, tenderness, carefulness are feminine traits; expertise, strength, ambition, dominance are associated with masculinity (Ceulemans, 1977). This supports Scott's conclusion that "advertising denies everything which is oppositely sexual: strength in the woman, compassion and sensitivity in the man." Henstra and Pinckaers (1976) approached the question of sex-role polarization in advertising from a different perspective. They used a three-dimensional scale to identify the characteristics demonstrated by the male(s) and female(s) appearing in each advertisement as "feminine", "masculine" or "neutral". Traits which are culturally defined as "feminine" predominated for females, although the proportion of women with a decidedly "feminine" psychological profile had decreased in 1975 as compared with 1965. The trend towards depolarization of sex-roles and sex-role attributes was more pronounced with respect to male advertising models. While in 1965 half the male population in advertisements demonstrated a clear "masculine" profile, the proportion of "masculine" males had decreased to 39% in 1975, while the percentage of "neutral" personality profiles had risen from 36% to 41.5%.

- Women like housework. It is fulfilling

According to Scott (1976), advertising gets around the contradiction between emphasizing women's domestic role and the obvious fact that housework is boring, unpleasant and menial by suggesting the opposite. Therefore, housewives in advertising derive great satisfaction from their cooking and cleaning accomplishments. What makes life worthwhile is soft laundry, shiny floors and sparkling clean dishes. It is particularly the implication inherent in this unflattering portrayal, i. e. that women have a warped sense of values (cfr. Scott, 5), which advertising critics find offensive. However, up until now few objective data have been presented to substantiate this widely-held contention, which is frequently stated matter-of-factly.

- Little girls grow up to be housekeepers, wives and mothers

The assignment of traditional sex-roles to children would be a significant indication that advertising is primarily concerned with preserving and reinforcing the status quo. According to Scott (1976), that advertising channels children into sex-stereotyped roles is clearly evidenced by its depiction of children's interactions with their parents, their peers and with toys. The research materials we consulted analysed adult roles only, thus leaving this important research area entirely unexplored.

(c) Latin America

The participants in the seminar on "Mass Media and Their Influence on the Image of Women", held in the summer of 1977 in Santo Domingo and attended by 20 member states of the Organization of American States (OAS), did not overlook the role of advertising. The resolution, released by the Inter-American Commission on Women of the OAS (CIM, 1977), stressed the importance of advertising as the primary means by which communications media sustain themselves. Its relevance to the study of the interrelationship between mass media and images of woman was further demonstrated from the double perspective of women's role as major consumers and as principal elements of persuasion. Advertising envisages female consumers as the principal audience for its messages. Women are further utilized in the persuasion process as attention-getting devices via the exploitation of their sexual appeal. To this end, advertising depicts women as sexual and decoration objectives. The resolution did not digress on other aspects of the female image, which implies that the portrayal of woman as sex-object is considered the dominant image of woman projected in advertising.

Conclusion

The significance of advertising in the assessment of how mass media affect the social position of women needs no further argument. Advertising is of vital importance to the continued functioning of mass communication media which are financially dependent on it. Advertisers revert to mass media in order to maximize marketing potential for their products. Women feature in this process in two capacities: as most solicited consumers and as instruments of persuasion. It is the latter role which we have documented extensively above. The evidence indicates that woman is utilized in advertising to sell products to both male and female consumers by virtue of her two-dimensional role: her role as housewife/mother/wife and her function as a decorative and sexual object. The fact that the concept of woman's role, underlying these dominant images, has remained virtually unchanged

over the past decades indicates that advertising is indeed not to be perceived as a vanguard of social development. Its impact on the process of social change is restraining rather than progressive (cfr. Flick, 1977). Only for the purpose of increased efficiency does advertising embrace change (cfr. Millum, 1975). It is in this light that developments in the way advertising portrays women are to be interpreted.

Two trends suggest some adaptation to changing social conditions: the substantial decrease in the number of housewives appearing in advertisements, and the increasing emphasis on the physical appearance of women. While the former may be considered a truly positive evolution, the latter nullifies any expectations one might have as to advertisers' commitment to the improvement of woman's condition. Changes in the way advertising depicts women merely reflect that advertisers have become sensitive to the fact that continued emphasis on the domestic image of woman no longer serves their commercial interests. To capitalize on women's new self-image, advertising has turned to manipulating one aspect of the new woman, i. e. her sexuality. Under the guise of sexual liberation, advertising continues to exploit the traditional image of woman as sex-symbol. Other dimensions of woman's personality and the numerous ways in which she participates in all spheres of contemporary life are as absent from advertising images as ever.

2. Broadcasting

A. Images of women in radio

Research conducted to date on women's images projected in broadcasting is heavily balanced in favour of television. Because of the absence of, or limited accessibility to, and as a result the narrow impact of, a well-developed broadcasting system in many countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, the broadcasting media have generated little interest as potential hindrances or contributors to the improvement of women's status in these countries. The bulk of available research documents originates in the U.S.A., where television has secured a powerful position as the primary family entertainment medium. While radio has suffered both in status and functional diversity from the advent of television, it nevertheless remains an omnipresent medium in many societies with great potential for stimulating public awareness of women's social position. That awareness of this potential is growing is demonstrated by feminist pressure on radio stations, particularly in the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom, for obtaining more broadcast time for women and women's issues. Awareness of the function broadcasting, and particularly radio, can perform in the education of Third World women and in general development is also growing. While this growing consciousness has resulted in increased efforts to document the potential application of

broadcasting for developmental purposes (cfr. research sponsored by Unesco), systematic studies of how radio presents women today, or how it may contribute to a positive portrayal of women in the future have yet to be undertaken.

(a) North America

Despite successful attempts to use radio as an outlet for feminist ideas (Hole and Levine, 1971, 275-276), no effort has been made to evaluate qualitatively the images of women reflected in radio. Research from both academic and feminist sources does not reach beyond a quantitative assessment of radio air time devoted to "women's programming". The precise implication of the term "women's programmes" was a focal point of a 1975 survey of public radio stations conducted by Michele Casanave and published in (X, Media Report to Women, Oct. 1976). Public, rather than commercial, radio stations were surveyed, because, by its own definition, public radio should serve the needs and interests of audience groups insufficiently catered for by commercial radio. The responses from local radio stations (58% of the sample responded) showed women-related subject matter and the intention to reach a female audience as the most essential ingredients for a women's radio programme. Using this criterion, Casanave examined air time, production mode and staff, and programming budget as indicators of a radio station's concern for women. The results indicated a lack of commitment to women's programming. More than one-third of the responding stations did not broadcast women's programmes. Those that did, devoted approximately 1.4% of their total weekly broadcast time to this type of programme, and spent an average of 1 to 3% of their total programming budget on women's programmes. Most stations relied predominantly on female staff for production, almost half of whom consisted of part-time employees or community volunteers. However, the study - at least as reported in Media Report to Women - failed to content-analyse the thus defined women's programmes. Neither was the relevance of radio content specifically aimed at women evaluated, as has been the case for other media (cfr. infra - the women's section in newspapers). Many producers as well as non-producers of women's programmes responding to the survey questionnaire objected to a female-male categorization of radio programming, on the basis that all areas of interest appeal, or should appeal, to both women and men. This rejection of sex-segregated radio programming corresponds with feminist criticism of the delineation of male vs. female spheres of interest in the media.

Whether or not labelling women-related radio content "women's programmes" is relevant, at least one group of women has expressed the need for more radio programmes focusing on women's issues and women's music. (X, Media Report to Women, Nov. 1977). The group, "Women Engaged

in Broadcasting", found that none of the commercial or public radio stations in the Boston area devoted more than 1% of their air time to programmes for and about women. Since the remaining 99% of programming restricts women to the roles of selling products or singing love songs, radio largely fails to reflect the interests of its female audience, the group argues. According to its study report, serving women's interests requires a reflection of their participation in society and its culture. Women's culture is virtually excluded from radio, and other media as well, the report observes. The awareness of this cultural void is growing among women and opening a new field of study, focusing on the position and portrayal of women in popular music and the arts (cfr. Reinartz, 1975-Goddard, 1977-Meade, 1972-RAT Staff, 1972-Brown, 1975-Billboard, Feb. 25, 1978).

(b) Western Europe

The position and portrayal of women in radio remains also largely unexplored in Europe. A recent attempt to document the position of women in British media by the "Women in Media" group included a comprehensive survey of radio (Ross, 1977). The study focuses primarily on the four BBC national networks. The author observes that women account for approximately two-thirds of Great Britain's radio audience, and that they generally listen more to the radio than men. This is reflected in the stations' programming content and policies, according to Ross. The survey revealed that broadcasters define the role of radio primarily as background company and as a link with the outside world for housewives, their major audience, whom they perceive as a separate stratum. Because it is generally believed that women prefer to be talked to by men - a belief which has remained virtually unchallenged - daytime radio voices are almost invariably male. Ross compares the function of the male radio disc-jockey with that of the female pin-up in tabloid newspapers, observing that both result from what she calls "the sexual-sell advertising". She traces this philosophy back to the influence of the commercial pirate stations. Advertising and marketing people perceive radio as a medium for selling household products to women as consumers. They claim that women cannot sell to other women, because of the "lack of conviction" of the female voice. According to Ross, this rationale is used by the male radio hierarchy to preserve the status quo. To support her explanation, she refers to recent developments in radio news reporting which show that women are as acceptable as men as reporters on "serious" issues. On the other hand, since daytime sound broadcasting strictly adheres to the established format of trivial man-to-woman talk interspersed with music, no alternatives have been allowed to challenge the belief that female listeners would reject being talked to by women and about other than trivial matters. This male-biased

view of women's place, i. e. as a captive audience, is most persistent on Radio One, which is the most popular channel with young people. Ross notes some progress in recent years on Radio Four, but it has by-passed the mass-audience pop stations. The argument that women's voices lack authority has been used in the past to keep women out of news-reading and reporting. Due to pressure on the BBC to end sex-discrimination, a few women were appointed in news reporting and management at Radio Four. However, Ross is inclined to believe that these appointments merely amount to tokens, particularly in view of the fact that the top-rate prestige programmes are still presented by men.

In radio talk shows, women also function as tokens. An all-female talk show could present a valuable alternative to the overall male viewpoint, but the BBC all-women show does not meet the requirements, according to Ross. Only one current daytime programme for women deals with a broad range of issues of concern to contemporary women, in the author's opinion. Its weekend edition aimed at both men and women shows that broadcasters are beginning to realize that traditionally female concerns such as childcare, cooking etc. can also be of interest to men. In the author's opinion, no real progress will be made in reflecting women's roles in society until there are more women in policy-making jobs. In this respect local stations, both BBC and commercial radio, appear to be more progressive. They employ more female broadcasters and producers. Their daytime programmes cover a wider spectrum of issues, including "minority interests" such as the women's movement. Nevertheless, the pressure from "Women in Media" on independent radio to end male bias by bringing more women into the industry has only met with limited success. According to the author, the persistence of male-biased radio programming stems from the industry's refusal to facilitate women's entrance in radio. The study conducted by Ross (1977) represents the only comprehensive study of radio portrayal of women in Europe and elsewhere. Some observations in French radio's response to women's growing self-awareness and their changing position in society are included in an analysis of women's magazines by Benoît (1973). However, Benoît's brief discussion of new dimensions in sound broadcasting for women is merely intended to illustrate the trends she noted in women's magazines (cfr. infra, I. 4. B) and not as an autonomous survey based on systematic monitoring. She detects the introduction of new themes, such as general social and legal issues, in traditional women's programmes which in the past were devoted entirely to advice on domestic and sentimental matters. But more important and more illustrative of the new trends in the women's press is a new style of sound broadcasting, of which M^énie Grégoire's programme on Radio Television Luxembourg (R.T.L.) is the most prominent example. This particular programme is not

specifically for women, but approximately two-thirds of its audience and the large majority of its letter-writing listeners are female. A socio-demographic audience profile shows that radio is more successful than the women's press in penetrating into the less culturally privileged social classes. The major innovation, in comparison with conventional advice programmes and paralleling the women's magazine content re-styling, is the prominence of the sexuality theme. As in Elle and Marie-Claire, the French magazines examined in the study, Benoît observes a process in Grégoire's programme which translates personal problems into general issues. However, the process of revealing the social nature of women's problems, i. e. the evolution towards feminism, is not brought to completion. Radio thus demonstrates the same ambivalence towards women's liberation as the women's press. Benoît fails to interpret radio's unwillingness or incapacity to reflect the growing social awareness of its audience, which is increasingly becoming articulate in correspondence from listeners to Grégoire's programme.

(c) Africa

The potential of radio for improving women's status as an integral part of the development of African nations remains largely unexplored. Yet radio represents the most promising mass communication medium in this respect. The high illiteracy rates among African people (in some countries, the percentage of women who do not read or write is over 90% (X, Media Report to Women, Sept. 1977) makes broadcasting media more accessible than other media requiring reading skills. Of the broadcasting media, the physical availability of radio surpasses that of television, which seldom penetrates rural areas where the majority of the population lives. However, the transfer of professionalization, organizational structures and technology of broadcasting from industrialized to developing countries, as examined for Algeria and Senegal by O'Brien (1977), has precluded the creation of a broadcasting system adapted to the needs and interests of the majority of its audience and the realization of its potential. O'Brien calls for the utilization of local resources and talent. The training of media people, including women, is considered of essential importance to the functional utilization of radio in social development.

(d) Asia

As in Africa, the role of radio in changing women's status in developing areas of Asia is considered of prime importance, especially in view of the limited physical reach of television. A survey conducted in India (Press Institute of India, 1976) revealed that only 20% of the women respondents in rural areas had radios, as compared to 72% of the urban women. The level of exposure to radio, as well as to

newspapers, among rural women was found to be only marginal. An examination of audience's evaluations of radio programmes showed that only entertainment-oriented broadcasts were appreciated. Educational programmes, which account for 43% of the total output, appeared to evoke little interest. The seminar report attributes this general disinterest to the fact that the educational background, information needs and the comprehension level of the target audience are not taken into account. This finding tends to support O'Brien's observation (1977) that broadcasting in developing areas largely fails to reflect and respond to the particular needs and interests of its major audience.

(e) Latin America

The Interamerican Commission of Women (CIM) document reporting on the 1977 seminar on "Mass Communication Media and Their Influence on the Image of Women" identifies radio as the medium with the largest quantitative scope (CIM, 1977). Since the report only presents the conference's general conclusions, no detailed information regarding the penetration level of radio broadcasting in the various member states of the OAS (which includes the U.S.A. as well as Central and South American nations) is available. Women are represented in radio primarily in soap-operas, songs, and programmes aimed at women. The former two types of content generally portray women as subservient and fatalistic, the latter type presents distinctly traditional images of women, the report concludes.

Conclusion

The scarcity of research on radio's representation of women as compared with the abundance of television surveys (cfr. infra) is indicative of the position of radio within the media hierarchy in the television age. It further suggests that media critics and researchers have to date been unappreciative of the ways in which radio can contribute to the improvement of women's status in societies at various stages of development. In industrialized societies, a male-biased view of women persists in radio, as demonstrated by both the quantity and quality of radio programming directed to women. In developing nations, the utilization of the medium for educational and developmental purposes has been largely ineffective or insufficient, due to the discrepancy between the elitist values and views of broadcasting professionals on the one hand, and the socio-economic status, educational level and information needs of the radio audience on the other.

B. Images of women in television

Most of the research on the portrayal of women in all types of TV-programming originates in the U.S.A. The dominant role of television in the propagation of ideas to the American public warrants serious and extensive examination of the images and concepts of sex-roles it projects in information and entertainment programmes. Few studies have explored the precise impact of exposure to television on the viewing audience's beliefs, attitudes and behaviour. The lack of effect studies is primarily due to the difficulty of isolating television influences from the effects produced by other sources of information about the world. The omnipresence of television in American households makes it virtually impossible to find research subjects who have never been exposed to television to serve as a control for TV influence (X, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1977). However, research has indicated that children learn from television, and sometimes model their behaviour after examples observed on TV (Miles, 1975). In some instances, it has been demonstrated that television can alter children's real life perceptions (Miller and Reeves, 1976). These and other findings suggest that television is a potentially powerful socializing force.

Since the bulk of research materials focuses on American television, the following discussion will deal primarily with results reflecting conditions prevailing in American society in general, and the structure and functioning of American television in particular. To a certain extent, the discussion is relevant for other parts of the world as well, since a large portion of TV programming produced in the U.S.A. is exported for broadcasting abroad, to Australia, Canada, Europe, Latin America, etc. No research has been reported on television's portrayal of sex-roles in Africa and Asia, largely owing to the absence of a well-established broadcasting system accessible to a majority of the population in many countries on those continents. To the extent that Western broadcasting technology and organization have been transposed cross-culturally (cfr. Contreras, 1976), and influence broadcasting structures and professionals in developing countries (cfr. O'Brien, 1977), the ideas and values that are communicated reflect the Western influence and depart from the socio-cultural conditions and the needs experienced by the majority of the population. The resulting discrepancy between the professional elite of broadcasters and the relevance of their messages to the needs and interests of their audiences constitutes a major obstacle in utilizing radio and television's potential for purposes of national development.

(a) North America

1. News broadcasts

Studies of the representation of women in television news programmes generally analyse three components, which together present a significant indication of the status of women reflected in television news. We will elaborate here on the appearance of women as news-makers and on the coverage of women's issues. The third component, women as reporters, will be discussed later (cfr. II, 2.B). A further distinction needs to be made between network news and local news broadcasts. Five studies are available, two of which analysed news programmes originated by one of the three commercial networks. Of the remaining three surveys, two focused on both network and locally originated news shows. The fifth study does not specify the origin of the news programmes analysed. Although sampling and data gathering methods varied in degrees of representational significance and reliability, the research results reveal that women are greatly underrepresented in news-maker and reporting roles and that women's issues are rarely covered.

An analysis of a sample of evening news programmes broadcast on NBC, CBS and ABC in 1974-1975 (X, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1977) revealed that white males predominated in news-maker roles with a share of 78.7% of the total. In comparison with ethnic and racial minority people, both male and female, white women fared better, occupying 9.9% of the news-maker roles. Non-white females rarely made the news (3.5%), while 7.8% of the news-makers were non-white males. The limited visibility of women as spokespersons was also reported by the Women's Advisory Council. (X, WNBC News Monitoring, 1976). Its report concluded that women tend to be either invisible or the silent presence in news programmes. Nearly complete omission in news programmes of women, their views, abilities and accomplishments, was the most common criticism of all the monitors who participated in a study of newscasts on a network-affiliated station in Sacramento, Ca. (X, AAUW survey, 1974). The Women's Advisory Council to KDKA-TV, Pittsburgh (1975) compared female visibility on network and local news. Local news programmes represented women relatively more frequently (23%) than network-produced shows (15.5%), Cantor (1973) reports a 10% share of women in news-maker roles on WRC-TV, Washington, D.C.

The capacity in which women make the news was examined in three instances, but data comparison is hampered by the diverging classification categories used. Women considered newsworthy by WNBC-TV (X, WAC, 1976) were mostly criminals, victims, entertainers, or relatives of famous men. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights document (1977) reports a predominance of white

female news-makers appearing as wives and mothers. The AAUW survey (1974) concluded that TV news programmes generally presented two stereotyped images of women: the helpless victim and the opinion-less, supportive wife/mother. This trend to show women in a limited number of role categories also emerges from studies of newspaper portrayal of women (cfr. chapter 14A). That such representation distorts reality was demonstrated in one survey (X, WAC-WNBC, 1976), which compiled a list of women's activities occurring during the monitoring period, none of which was covered in the news.

The second pattern in the representation of women in news broadcasts is the disproportionate treatment of issues related to women in comparison with other news topics. Cantor (1973) concluded that women are not considered news on the basis that, out of 21 news categories, women's rights and women's changing role were least emphasized. Less than 1% of news broadcasting time was devoted to women's issues. Another source (X, U.S. Comm. on Civil Rights, 1977) reports that only 1.3% of the news stories in the sample dealt with women's issues. No news reports focused on individual women's achievements or accomplishments. The basic issue underlying the treatment of women in news broadcasts is television journalism's concept of newsworthiness. The above findings indicate that, to the extent that television furnishes information about relevant issues and confers status upon important people, women are considered neither important nor significant.

2. Dramatic programming

Drama is a tried and true form of television entertainment. It represents a major ingredient of television programming during both daytime and evening broadcasting. The following discussion will focus on family-oriented programmes aired during evening and prime-time slots. Soap-operas, which are aimed at a daytime and predominantly female audience, and programmes for children will be dealt with separately.

A substantive body of research materials documents the representation of women in TV-drama. Comparative evaluation of research results is seriously hindered by differences in sampling and data collection methods, research focus, spectrum of selected programmes, date and time span of the survey, etc. In order to systematize our approach, a 7-point critique outlines and tested by McNeil (1975, 259-271) will be used as a basic frame of reference. The hypotheses to be examined are:

- Female characters are fewer in number and less central to the plot.
- Marriage and parenthood are considered more important to a woman's than to a man's life.
- Television portrays the traditional division of labour in marriage.
- Employed women are shown in traditionally female

occupations, as subordinates to men and with little status or power.

- TV-women are more personally- and less professionally-oriented than TV-men.
- Female characters are more passive than male characters.
- Television dramatic programming ignores the existence of the women's movement.

This pattern is more pronounced in adventure-action drama than in comedy.

Television portrays women less frequently and less often in central roles than men.

Tedesco (1974) reports a gross underrepresentation of women as compared to men in her analysis of prime-time network dramatic programming aired in the 1969 to 1972 seasons. The ratio of men to women in the dramatic programmes shown on one local TV-station in 1972 (Cantor, 1973) supports the claim of women's limited visibility on TV. 70% of the fictional characters were male, 30% female. The percentages reported by Miles (1975) reveal a less pronounced numerical imbalance between male and female characters appearing in dramatic TV-content: 39% females vs. 61% males. The disparity was much greater when adventure-type programmes were isolated from the total sample (only 15% females), while in situation comedies the number of females closely approached that of males. The larger proportion of males, varying according to the dramatic formula, applied to both the total number of appearances and the number of major characters. O'Kelly and Bloomquist (1976) also found a numerical bias in favour of males. Their data (66.5% vs. 33.5%) are not entirely comparable to the above described results, as they pertain to a sample of programmes including both drama and other types of TV-content. They do, however, reveal a similar pattern.

A content-analysis of 1974 dramatic programming on prime-time TV conducted by Miller and Reeves (1976) further corroborates the general pattern. Males far outnumbered females in both major and supporting roles. Female characters more closely approached males in frequency of appearance in family dramas and comedies. A comparison of shows in their first season and re-runs revealed a slight improvement in women's numerical presence, but the difference was not statistically significant. Another study of network prime-time and Saturday children's programmes aired from 1969 to 1974 revealed that males clearly dominated both major and minor roles (X, U.S. Comm. on Civil Rights, 1977). The study categorized dramatic characters by race as well as sex. The representation of non-whites nearly doubled over the 6-year time span. However, the increase in frequency of appearance mostly benefited minority males at the expense of both female and male whites. A comparison of 1971 and 1973 studies of blacks and women in drama on commercial TV

(Northcott e.a., 1975) contradicts this finding. This study reports an increase in the numerical representation of white women, and a reduced visibility of both female and male blacks. The lower frequency of appearance of blacks in the 1973 sample is not necessarily inconsistent with the increase in minority characters noted in 1974, since Northcott e.a. only measured the number of blacks, while the second study includes the presence of other minority groups. According to the most recent study of female and minority portrayal in TV-drama over a five-year period (1971-1975), the 1973 decrease in the portrayal of blacks in favour of white women was reversed in 1973 (Seggar, 1977). Over the five-year period, all sexual/racial groups except non-black minority males gained numerically, but only blacks and whites of both sexes gained proportionately. The predominance of males in all types of dramatic roles was also revealed in a study of programming on KDKA-TV, Pittsburgh (WAC to KDKA-TV, 1975). Men outnumbered women greatly in drama, slightly in situation comedy. Weibel's findings (1977) confirm the general trend: males outnumbered females slightly in comedy, 2 to 1 in family drama, and 8 to 1 in drama/adventure. Seggar's conclusion (1975, 273-282) that the representation of women had increased substantially in 1974 as compared with 1971 was refuted by McNeil (1975, 283-288) on the ground that the analytical data from his 1971 and 1974 studies provided no basis for comparison. She further argued that male and female roles as documented in the 1974 study were not comparable, since all female roles but only major male roles were analysed. Finally, she points out that other studies, including her own 1973 analysis, indicate a decrease in female visibility. Whether or not the quantity of female characters has actually decreased in the seventies must remain unresolved here, since methodological differences between the various studies yield non-comparable data precluding definite conclusions. The research results do indicate a severe underrepresentation of women dramatic programming on commercial television as compared to both the number of male characters and the preponderance of women over men in the actual population figures. Drama on public television appears to follow a similar pattern in female representation as commercial television (Isber and Cantor, 1975).

Marriage and parenthood are considered of greater importance to a woman's life than to a man's life

McNeil found only partial evidence for this hypothesis (McNeil, 1975, 259-271). Women's marital and parental status was far more often clearly indicated than that of men. However, the data provided no conclusive evidence that females tended to be less often single or childless than males. In the analysis conducted by Tedesco (1974), the proportion of TV-characters who could be coded as married comprised more than 50% of the female characters, but

less than one-third of the TV-males. This finding tends to support the thesis that marital status is a more crucial factor in identifying women than in identifying men. Seggar (1975, 273-282) also found a significant difference in the portrayal of marital status of males and females performing major roles in 1974 TV-drama. Women were more likely to be shown as married than men. The study reported by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1977) examined both marital and parental roles for male and female characters in network prime-time dramatic programming of the 1969-1972 period. Less than one-third of all males were portrayed as husbands, while almost half of all female characters were depicted as wives. Neither male nor female adults were frequently portrayed in parental roles. However, women were more often shown as mothers than men appeared as fathers. In dramatic programming on KDKA-TV, a local Pittsburgh station (WAC to KDKA-TV, 1975), the appearance of characters in parental roles was also very limited, but the proportion of female and male parental roles was nearly equal. Women were more often coded in housewife roles than men in husband roles (16% vs. 3%). Weibel (1977) also noted a predominant housewife/mother image of women in situation comedy, professional drama, and family drama, while in drama-adventure type shows women were merely transit characters. Although Weibel's discussion does not provide quantitatively and qualitatively comparable data for male and female characters, the emphasis on housewife/mother roles for women vs. occupational and non-domestic roles for men suggests that television considers marriage and motherhood, and the responsibilities associated with them, as more central to a woman's than to a man's life.

Our review of research data provides ample evidence in support of the relatively greater relevance of marital status to TV-women. Data regarding parenthood also tend to support the hypothesis, but the evidence is less extensive and less consistent, and thus inconclusive.

Television depicts the traditional division of work in marriage

Not only were women more often than men portrayed in marital roles in the study conducted by McNeil (1975, 259-271), but the percentage of employed characters differed significantly according to sex. Of the overall male TV-population, almost three-quarters were gainfully employed, while less than half of the females held jobs. Among married characters, the disparity was even greater. Few married women, and fewer mothers were portrayed as employed. Working wives typically appeared in comedies, but their employment status was never substantially portrayed. These findings lead McNeil to conclude that television remains virtually unaffected by the feminist re-examination of marital roles. No other evidence is available either supporting or rejecting the hypothesis. All other studies reveal a

lower frequency of employed females as compared to working males, but the data do not specify marital status. Weibel (1971) observed an increasing number of employed wives in situation comedies of the 1970's, but considers this development irrelevant, since the trend has subsided in recent years, and because women were only shown in job-related situations when personal dilemmas were involved.

Employed women are depicted in traditionally female occupations, as subordinates to men with little status and power

Three sets of data lend support to this hypothesis (McNeil, 1975, 259-271). Men's occupations were concentrated in high-prestige fields such as law enforcement, medicine and business management. Women worked predominantly in traditionally female fields. In the few instances when TV-women held high-prestige positions, they played less important roles and their work activities were not central to the plot. Female characters generally worked under close supervision and had far less authority. No woman in the sample exercised direct authority over an adult male. In a debate with McNeil over the accuracy of their respective research results, procedures and conclusions, Seggar (1975, 289-294) points out the diverging percentages of gainful employment reported in the two studies. He agrees with McNeil that the range of occupational roles of women is limited and stereotyped. However, McNeil's conclusion that females are usually subordinate in work-related activities is contested by Seggar on the basis of insufficient evidence resulting from inaccurate measuring techniques.

The part of McNeil's thesis pertaining to sex-stereotyping of occupational roles and fields in TV-drama is substantially documented and strongly supported by the available research results. Although percentages vary, all studies analysed reveal an underrepresentation of female TV-characters in occupational roles as compared to male characters and in relation to women's actual participation in the labour force. Studies describing female employment in terms of degree of occupational stereotyping and range of occupations indicate a concentration of employed women in a limited number of jobs and in traditionally female fields and roles. Few female dramatic characters held high-level jobs. Three studies examined the evolution of TV-portrayal of women over time. Weibel (1977) observed the introduction in the mid-'70's of policewomen as leading characters in crime drama, which developed into the principal adventure-type dramatic format of the 1970's. A study comparing 1971 with 1973 programming (Northcott e. a., 1975), and a survey of the 1969 to 1974 dramatic programmes (X, U.S. Comm. on Civil Rights, 1977) examined the occupational portrayal of white vs. minority women. The documents show a significant decrease of respectively employed black women and employed minority (mostly black) women. Northcott e. a. (1975) report

an increasing frequency of white females both in total number of appearances and in occupational roles traditionally reserved for men. They interpret the decline in visibility and occupational portrayal of blacks, and particularly black females, accompanied by a growing emphasis on white women as a reflection of television's response to the increasing momentum of the women's movement in the 1970's.

The study reported by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1977) revealed more sexual than racial differences in occupational portrayal. Only two of the occupations portrayed in the 1969 to 1974 dramatic programming showed racial differences: more whites, both male and female, were managers; more non-whites were service workers. Even within these occupational categories underlying sexual differences emerged: women predominated the service roles, men predominated managerial occupations. While no significant change in the occupational portrayal of white women was observed, the number of them appearing in television drama had actually decreased from 1969 to 1974. In this respect, the findings of the two evolutionary studies reveal opposite trends.

The dominance-subordination issue in the TV-portrayal of men and women requires further examination. Turow (1974) studied the pattern of advising and ordering in male-female interactions. Although the data are not directly related to occupational status, they provide additional evidence for the contention that males tend to be dominant in TV-drama. Turow found that in TV-drama characters were selected, occupations assigned and plots developed in such a manner as to minimize the chances enabling women to display superior knowledge with respect to men. When they were given such opportunities, the advice or order regarded traditionally female areas of knowledge. This finding supports the contention that on TV male and female spheres of action and authority are strictly delineated.

All the data reported above pertain to patterns in dramatic programming on commercial television. A sample study of drama on public TV (Isber and Cantor, 1975) indicated that women are equally underrepresented as on commercial TV and similarly cast in female sex-typed occupations.

Women are far more personally- and less professionally-oriented than men

This hypothesis specifies the issues raised in hypothesis 2 and 3, i. e. the confinement of women to the home, family and personal relationships. McNeil (1975, 259-271) used the types of problem women were involved in, the nature of their interactions, and the focus of their activities as indications of their home and family-bound orientation. Women were much more involved in family and romantic conflicts, while men were more frequently faced with problems related to the outside world

and work. Personal relationships accounted for 74% of female interactions vs. 18% of male interactions. Profession- or authority-related interactions constituted only 15% of women's vs. 35% of men's relationships. A much higher proportion of female activities focused on home/family/personal relationships, while male activities more often centered around job or profession. In his discussion with McNeil about their respective research findings, Seggar (1975, 289-294) confirms McNeil's finding that TV-women's activities centre around the home. The general finding that women are numerically better represented in situation comedies than in action drama provides additional support for the personal orientation of TV-women. Comedies tend to focus on interpersonal relationships. Although working women appear in this type of programme, they are only shown at their jobs when interpersonal problems are at stake (Weibel, 1977). The dominant image of women in comedy is that of the housewife concerned with resolving interpersonal conflicts and acting as moderator between family members.

Women on television are far more passive than men

Two manifestations of passivity were measured by McNeil (1975, 259-271): self-concern and problem-solution. It was demonstrated that the focus of men's concerns was more often selfish than that of women's. Men's concerns most often resulted from their professional activities, while women's concerns stemmed more from personal needs. Women often participated in solving their problems, but were more likely than men to leave it entirely up to others. They were portrayed frequently as rather unwilling and less capable of resolving their problems by themselves. These data are interpreted by McNeil as a demonstration of personal orientation and passivity. Seggar (1975, 289-294) questions McNeil's evidence on the basis that it is insufficient to be conclusive. Several studies of male-female portrayal in TV-drama have examined the passive-active dimension of TV-characters' personalities, but using different measures. Women's absence from adventure and action, their likeliness to be victimized in violence-related roles, their dependence on men, their ineffectiveness, are interpreted by Tedesco (1975) as reflecting an image of femininity typified by passivity. Passivity was also observed as a female personality trait in dramatic programming on KDKA-TV (WAC to KDKA-TV, 1975). Men were portrayed as the decision-makers and action-takers. Women were conspicuous by their absence in action/adventure programmes. When they did appear, they were predominantly characterized as passive and as victims in need of male rescue and protection. The active control exercised by male characters emerged as the major characteristic distinguishing males from females in TV-drama of 1969-1972 (X, U.S. Comm. on Civil Rights, 1977). Male control, implicit in all

portrayals, became most explicit in the depiction of violence. Women were far more likely to be victimized, while men tended to be the aggressors. Weakness and financial, physical and emotional dependency were the female complements of masculine power and strength. Although the report does not describe femininity in terms of passivity, the description of masculinity in terms of action, independence and authority, and of femininity as its counterpart suggests a more passive portrayal of women in TV-drama.

Television dramatic programming does not acknowledge the existence of the women's movement

The sample of dramatic programmes analysed by McNeil (1975, 259-271) did not include a single feminist character. The major issues of feminism were generally absent as themes. When occasionally a feminist issue was dealt with, it was treated in a non-feminist manner. Therefore, McNeil concludes, the traditional images of women projected in the other content elements remain unchallenged, for they are not counteracted by alternative characters and themes. Seggar (1975, 289-294) agrees with McNeil that the feminist movement is largely ignored by television drama. Miles (1975) also reports the limited number of non-stereotyped females appearing in dramatic TV-shows. A descriptive study of the sampled programmes revealed that women were treated as sexual objects, ordered about by men, expected to serve men while being placed on a pedestal, shown in stereotyped housewife roles or portrayed as victims rescued by men. In the few programmes featuring free-thinking, talented women, their personalities and actions were ridiculed. Only two strong and non-stereotyped female characters appeared in the 1973-1974 programming, but their relationships with men rather than their careers were emphasized. Two studies report some progress in television's reflection of the issues raised by the women's movement. Northcott e.a. (1975) observed an increasing visibility and non-traditional occupational portrayal of white women in 1973 as compared to 1971 dramatic TV-content. They attribute this development to television's awareness and response to the increased momentum of feminism in the 1970's. Weibel (1977) uses the same explanation to account for the minor, but mostly positive evolutions in the TV-portrayal of women. As women's liberation became a household word in the early 1970's, women's issues became acceptable as themes of situation comedies, and female characters acquired some individuality and responsibility. However, the trend seems to have declined in the mid-1970's. As the initial ardour of the women's movement subsided in the mid-1970's, the dominant image of women as housewife re-emerged. The general pattern that emerges from research data covering the late 1960's to mid-1970's is a strong emphasis on the traditional roles of women. The minor, though

positive changes observed in the early 1970's did not develop throughout the seventies into a reflection of women's changing lifestyles as a result of the growing strength of the women's movement. These findings suggest that television, at least with respect to its dramatic content, largely fails to acknowledge the existence of the feminist movement and the issues it raises.

The available research to a large extent confirms the hypotheses developed by McNeil (1975, 259-271) with respect to the depiction of women in TV-drama. While this personality profile of TV-women requires further documentation and explicitation, it provides a solid basis for indicating the general trends in the representation of women in evening and prime-time dramatic programming on television.

3. Soap-operas

The audience of soap-operas is overwhelmingly composed of adult women, most of whom are housewives, and thus able to watch TV during daytime hours (Katzman, 1972). Geographic region, degree of urbanization, income level, and family size are related to daytime serial viewing. The typical viewer is a southern or mid-western woman from a large low-income family. The number of minutes of soap-operas broadcast daily has grown steadily since 1967. Since the number of television viewing households has increased as well, the amount of time spent watching daytime serials has also risen.

The world portrayed in soap-operas is populated by male and female adults appearing in almost equal numbers (Katzman, 1972). Males appear mostly in professional roles; females function as their wives/girl friends or secretaries/assistants. The major activity of these characters consists in discussing people in an indoor setting. The main topics of conversation are, in descending order, business and trivialities, family matters, romantic relationships, and health problems. In interactions, men tend to be paired with women. Males are less likely to be, or have been, married than females. The world of soap-opera is one of middle-class people with middle-class values, which is one step above the level of the typical viewer, but not too far removed to preclude identification. The characters and themes tend to be realistic. Because of this realism, soap-operas have high impact potential on viewers' attitudes and behaviour, which largely remains unexplored to date, Katzman concludes.

From this descriptive outline, several patterns emerge with respect to the depiction of women:

- The nearly equal ratio of male to female characters in soap-operas is in sharp contrast with the preponderance of males in drama of the action-adventure type. Situation comedies are comparable to daytime serials in this respect.
- The top-ranking occupation for women is that of housewife, while the majority of male characters

are professionals (Katzman, 1972 - Downing, 1974). However, Downing (1974) observed that, in relation to real-life occupational status, daytime serials slightly overrepresent female professionals, but grossly exaggerate the proportion of male professionals. For both men and women, careers and jobs are subordinate to the all-important family life and personal relationships (Weibel, 1977).

- Marriage is a more crucial factor in identifying women than men. Occupational status is more important to men (Katzman, 1972-Downing, '74).
- As for their physical appearance and class status, the large majority of characters are attractive, well-groomed and of middle-class status. According to Downing's findings (1974), women tend to be younger than men, and ageing results in greater deterioration of occupational status for women than for men.
- The major action in soap-operas consists of conversation, mostly between males and females (Katzman, 1972). The topics of discussion deal primarily with romance, interpersonal relationships and personal problems. Since the personal is considered typically women's sphere, the high visibility of women in soap-operas is not surprising.
- Soap-operas portray a sharp dichotomy between "good" and "evil" (Weibel, 1977). Although men as well as women can be either good or bad, "evil" is generally associated with traditionally male traits such as excessive involvement in work, neglect of family, infidelity and selfishness. "Good" is related to conventionally female characteristics such as love, compassion, loyalty to family, willingness to sacrifice oneself for others and to suffer, desire for children, asexuality: (sex is engaged in only when one is in love) (Weibel, 1977). Downing's analysis also revealed that women are generally portrayed as morally good. Woman's goal is the well-being of her family.

On the basis of these traits exhibited by soap-opera females, in addition to their high visibility and their respected position in the family and the social structure, Downing (1974) concludes that soap-operas portray women as real human beings, who are most worthy of emulation among all dramatic characters appearing on TV. While their portrayal in soap-operas seems to reflect more positive attitudes towards women, and more realism than female images projected in other types of TV-content, some dimensions of the daytime serial female continue to reflect conventional concepts of, and expectations from, women. Women in TV-serials are almost always young and attractive. The uniform good looks of TV-women and their immaculate homes, as well as the stronger emphasis on women's marital and men's occupational roles, reveal a persistence of sex-segregated role divisions: women are concerned with their appearance and home-oriented, while the world of work is

reserved for the male. Turow (1974) demonstrated that the fact that women appear in almost equal numbers with men, and that female characters are more central as compared to evening drama does not guarantee the absence of sex-stereotypes, as Downing suggests. An analysis of female-male interactions in terms of advising and ordering between the sexes indicated that in soap-operas as well as in evening drama, men controlled the action. Males issued 56% of all advice and orders in daytime shows. Most of the directives pertained to "neutral", i. e. neither "masculine" (business, crime, law etc.) nor "feminine" (love, family, personal problems, etc.) subjects. The maintenance of male control in the more "feminine" soap-operas was further sustained, besides the predominance of male orders on neutral issues, by the importance of the medical doctor, the most frequently represented male occupation. Medical training seems to entitle men to direct women on typically "feminine" subjects. Doctors gave 70% of the directives by males on "feminine" topics. While in comparison with prime-time drama soap-operas show a shift in the proportion and centrality of women, their sex-role portrayal and stereotyping are not really different, Turow concludes. TV-drama, both in evening and daytime, operates in such a way as to minimize women's opportunities to display superior knowledge with respect to men, and to compartmentalize areas in which women are allowed to be knowledgeable along traditional lines. In this manner, Turow observes, the basic cultural norms remain unchallenged, while the predominantly female audience's desire to see women portrayed in central roles is gratified.

4. Children's programmes

To the extent that television has a socializing influence on the beliefs, attitudes and behaviour of its audience, studies on sex-role concepts communicated in programmes directed to children are extremely relevant. A comparison of children's shows with other types of TV-content revealed that children's television tended to be more sexist-oriented than the total sample of programmes and commercials analysed (O'Kelly, 1974). Children's TV-programmes heavily favoured (white) males in terms of the number of characters shown (85% male vs. 15% female). Adult males not only appeared more frequently than adult females, but the range of occupations they held was much wider than that of females. Women tended to be portrayed in parental and marital roles more often than men. Male children also appeared more frequently than female children, but less often than adult males and females. On the basis of these findings, O'Kelly (1974) concludes that, despite feminist criticism, television continues to represent women and men in a highly stereotyped manner. Insofar as television influences children's sex-role perceptions, it reinforces the status quo. This basic outline of the female profile reflected in children's programmes indicates a

strong resemblance with the trends in female portrayal in dramatic programming:

- Women are numerically underrepresented. Although the reported male to female ratios vary, all available documents dealing with children's programmes on commercial TV reveal a preponderance of male characters. Busby (1974) specifies appearance in terms of role significance. Males outnumbered females in both major and minor roles 2.5 to 1 and 4 to 1 respectively.
- Women appear predominantly in marital and domestic roles. In the sample of children's programmes analysed by Long and Simon (1974), most females were married. None of the married females were shown holding a job outside the home, while most unmarried women were gainfully employed. However, whether married or not, employed or not, women were almost invariably depicted in the roles of home-makers and parents.
- A study of the division of labour within the home revealed that females were responsible for the routine household chores and child care, while males assumed the roles of gardening and the less routine tasks of home maintenance (Busby, 1974). Men also had much more free time, allowing for entertainment, sports and activities with their children. In the sample of children's shows analysed by Long and Simon (1974), all the female characters were responsible for doing all the housework.
- More male than female characters are identified with occupations. Cantor (1973) reports that 25% of the females vs. 60% of the males were employed. Busby (1974) found that the range of occupations held by males covered a much broader spectrum than that held by females, who were mostly in low-status and traditionally female jobs. According to Busby, the occupational portrayal in children's TV does not reflect the actual employment situation of women in terms of quantity and range of occupations, while it closely resembles the real-life employment of men. The study conducted by O'Kelly and Bloomquist (1976) also revealed the portrayal of women in traditionally female occupations.
- Both in the television household and in society, males occupy positions of authority, while women are hardly ever shown in such positions (Busby, 1974). In the programmes examined by Long and Simon (1974), almost all the married females were depicted in positions of deference to their husbands. No women were portrayed in authority positions either at home or at work.
- Women also appear as sex-objects, whose bodies and appearances are subject to evaluation by men (Long and Simon, 1974). Female TV-characters were portrayed as very concerned with the way they themselves looked, as well as their families and their homes. Physical portrayal of women is strikingly uniform, Long and Simon observe:

with few exceptions women appear as young, well-dressed and attractive, as opposed to the wide range of physical appearances of male characters. Busby's analysis (1974) also revealed the uniform sleek and agile physical appearance of women, regardless of marital status. Marriage seemed to affect the physique of men in a different way. Married males were invariably overweight with poorly defined physiques, as opposed to the physically attractive single men and to women.

- Women are depicted as dependent and weak, while men are attributed personality traits generally associated with independence and vigour (Busby, 1974). Three personality profiles emerged from Busby's study: females, heroes (single men), and husbands. The married males differed in physical appearance and personality traits (less intelligent, knowledgeable etc.) from the self-confident, adventurous heroes, but both male groups resembled each other more closely than the group of females. Long and Simon (1974) summarized the overall image of women in children's TV as one defining them as dependent and emotional people.

Commercial TV directed to children thus reflects traditional concepts of women's nature, role and place in society. Women are defined as basically home- and family-oriented, depending on men for security, safety and financial support.

Public television broadcasts educational children's programmes which are highly valued for their quality and progressiveness. However, the concepts underlying sex-role portrayal in public TV appear to be just as outdated as those reflected in commercial TV. A sequence-by-sequence analysis of one randomly selected episode of "Sesame Street" revealed that women's portrayal continued to be stereotyped (Cathey-Calvert). Males dominated the visual and especially the audio portion of the programme. Females were overwhelmingly shown as passive people, whose primary activities were centered around marriage and the home. While the study indicated that "Sesame Street" makes a serious attempt at eliminating ethnic and racial stereotypes, these efforts remain confined to male portrayals. Women of all racial groups continue to be cast in stereotyped behaviours and activities, Cathey-Calvert concludes. The survey conducted by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) Task Force on Women in Public Broadcasting (Cantor, 1976) revealed similar trends in a sample of children's programmes which also included "Sesame Street". Both the number of female characters and the range of occupations in which they were cast failed to reflect the actual participation of women in the labour force. It was therefore concluded that the low frequency of female TV-characters and the narrow range of occupational roles they performed did not provide sufficient positive role models which would encourage female

viewers to realize their potential. Dohrman (1975) also found that males - human, animal and non-human - were numerically dominant in children's TV-programmes. They made up three-quarters of the television population. Males further exclusively occupied the lead role of moderator, and the majority of major parts, as well as most off-camera voice-overs. Not only was the ratio of males to females seriously out of proportion, but the behavioural modes assigned to males vs. females also differed significantly. Analysis of the behaviours exhibited by children's TV-characters revealed an overall strong relationship between male gender and active mastery, and between female gender and passive dependency. Male-female interactions generally demonstrated a male subject/female object pattern. A breakdown of characters according to age revealed that the adult male was most visible, followed by the male child and the female adult with almost equal degrees of visibility. The appearance frequency of the female child was the lowest. Women's overall share of characters was 24%. A closer look at male and female representation in the various ethnic/racial groups portrayed in the sampled shows provides a different perspective of women on TV. The female share of characters amounted to a majority only among American Indians, Puerto Ricans and Orientals, who represent the least recognized minority groups in real life, according to Dohrman. The investigator interprets the dominance of females among low-status minorities as reflecting a symbolic equation of femininity with characteristics traditionally associated with these minority groups. The implications of such a gender profile in children's TV-programming, as indicated by Dohrman, apply to both public and commercial TV. Exposure to the persistent dominance and power of male TV-models, both adults and children, socializes the boy viewer into accepting and valuing man's dominant position in society. The girl viewer, who is consistently confronted with female models performing secondary roles and submitting to male power, learns to accept women's diminished societal rank (Dohrman, 1975). The sex-role stereotyping inherent in all television content directed to children is especially influential on educational TV. Because these programmes are acclaimed as the best among children's TV content, an aura of authority underlines the sex-role portrayals they contain, Dohrman concludes.

(b) Western Europe

Only two studies are available on the portrayal of women on German (Federal Republic of Germany) and British television respectively (X, ü. 1. v. Küchenhoff, 1975 - Koerber, 1977). Both are comprehensive surveys analysing various types of programming. While the British study is more descriptive with a narrow empirical base, the German study provides extensive empirical data documenting the general trends in sex-role portrayal on German television.

1. News broadcasts

In comparison with other types of programmes, women are least visible in news shows both as news-reporters and news-makers (X, Küchenhoff, 1975). Women's share of news-maker roles amounted to 5.2% on ARD* and to 6.6% on ZDF**. Respectively 5.9% (ARD) and 3.1% (ZDF) of TV-correspondents were female. The appearance of women was further restricted to traditionally female spheres such as health and family-oriented news stories. The male position of authority in TV-news, which focuses heavily on politics, is an accurate reflection of the male dominance in public life, the report observes. Koerber (1977) only examined female participation in reportage and presentation of news shows. The figures, based on a week's monitoring of news and public affairs programmes on BBC and ITV, indicated a gross underrepresentation of women in these roles.

2. Dramatic programming

The results of the analysis of dramatic programmes broadcast on German TV correspond with the general trends in female portrayal on American TV (X, Küchenhoff, 1975). This consistency is hardly surprising in view of the fact that almost half of German TV-output is imported, with American drama productions constituting the largest portion of imported TV-fare. The recurrent pattern of female invisibility re-emerges in TV-drama. In comparison with males, females were numerically underrepresented, and seldom appeared as central figures. Males overwhelmingly occupied the dominant, active and central character roles. The portrayal of women as housewife/mother was one of two dominant female images. However, it was quantitatively subordinate to the image of the young, single, independent beautiful and sexy woman. Although the researchers interpret this finding as conflicting with the general contention that television depicts women predominantly in domestic and maternal roles, the divergence from other research data is minor and most likely attributable mainly to coding and classification procedures. In American studies, the proportion of females who could be identified as married is situated around 50%. Of all the female dramatic characters on German TV, 35% were married, 45% single and 13% widowed. In addition to the greater specificity of the classification categories with respect to marital status, the German report bases its conclusion on a comparison with actual statistics on the marital status of women in the two age groups comprising the majority of TV-women. In the 19-25 age group, 73% of the female TV-characters were single. Of the 26-35 year old group, 46% were not married. In reality, 85.3% of German women between 19 and 35 are married. While these young and single TV-women were more active and more liberal in their relationships with men, they demonstrated a basic orientation towards

marriage as their ultimate goal. A further indication for the secondary importance of the housewife/mother image was the finding that women were seldom depicted actually performing domestic or maternal tasks. On the other hand, women were also rarely shown at their jobs, although 40% of the female characters were identified with occupations. Half of the working women held traditionally female jobs. Few worked as professionals in management or high-status jobs. Married women were less likely to be employed than single females. These data indicate support for McNeil's conclusions (cfr. supra) that (a) employed women are shown in traditionally female occupations with little status or power, (b) TV-women are more personally- and less professionally-oriented.

The German study also revealed that women primarily appear on TV in a narrow social context of interpersonal relationships. Occupational roles were apparently assigned solely for the purpose of identifying women's social status. Since women were not substantially portrayed in either domestic or occupational roles, the investigators conclude that female roles are generally absent from TV-drama. Therefore, women on TV are foremost attractive figures available for adventure and romantic involvements. While Koerber's analysis (1977) revealed that in light entertainment programming, active, adventurous, victorious men dominated over victimized, supportive, laughable or merely token females, TV-drama showed a definite shift in favour of women. More programmes are written by women, feature women, and as a result provide a female perspective of women's lives. The much despised soap-operas particularly are moving towards a more realistic portrayal of women and the problems they face in contemporary society, according to Koerber. "Coronation Street" is cited as an illustration of the new trend. Besides presenting a realistic picture of women and the conflicts between the sexes, this programme, produced by a woman, further deviates from the TV-world stereotype in that it portrays working-class people. TV-programming in general is heavily biased in favour of the middle-class way of life, as demonstrated in the analysis of German TV-drama (X, Küchenhoff, 1975) and other studies discussed above.

3. Quizzes, musical programmes and talk shows

This type of TV-content has generally not been a central focus of study. The portion of the survey of German TV-programming (X, Küchenhoff, 1975) dealing with these types of show indicated a striking

*First Television Programme in the Federal Republic of Germany.

**Second Television Programme in the Federal Republic of Germany.

similarity with the overall findings with regard to sex-role portrayal. Women appeared in limited numbers. They were also qualitatively under-represented, appearing as assistants/subordinates to men or as mere physical presences. This led the research team to conclude that women merely appear on TV, while men are the actors. The fact that women were mostly passive in verbal interactions with actively participating men reinforces this conclusion. The dominant conversation topics, however, pertained to the traditional female sphere of personal problems, male-female relationships and the feelings they involved. Besides being more active in verbal communication, men tended to seek more physical contact via socially conventional channels than women did. Women's issues, defined as those regarding the social position of women and women's liberation, were not discussed. While the professional activities of men were a frequent conversation topic, the primary action sphere of women, i. e. household and children, was largely ignored. Show programmes thus clearly reflect the basic sex-role divisions prevailing in society. Men appear as leading actors oriented towards the outside world. Women are portrayed as passive, emotional people who serve as assistants to men or as decorations for male eyes. Although the evidence failed to produce a clearly outlined female image, quiz and show programmes definitely portray women differently from men, the report concludes. Koerber (1977) phrases her evaluation of female portrayal in talk shows on British TV in similar terms. Talk shows are moderated by men, who treat female guests differently from male guests. In quizzes and panel games women are featured as attractive personalities, she observes.

4. Magazine-format information programmes

This term subsumes all informative and documentary programmes excluding news and sports broadcasts, as well as reportages on nature and animal life. The analysis of such programmes represents the final part of the comprehensive survey of German TV-programming (X, Küchenhoff, 1975). The research focus was threefold: the treatment of women's issues, the appearance of women as news-makers, and the presence of female reporters/interviewers/narrators/moderators. As in quiz and show programmes, women were foremost portrayed as beautiful objects, exemplified by their preponderance in announcer and advertising model roles, and the infrequency of their appearance as reporters/interviewers and news-makers. In one-quarter of the sampled programmes, women were completely absent from the audio as well as the visual programme portions. Women in news-maker roles were presented as passive victims, in service functions, or as mere decorations. Politicians, experts, knowledgeable people appearing in the news were seldom women. Female reporters and news-makers mostly appeared in programmes dealing with traditionally female issues such as

domestic matters, education, nursery and art, which figured at the bottom of the hierarchy of news categories. News stories on women's issues were rare and treated, often by males, in an abstract, isolated and personalized manner. Such treatment, the research team observes, does not enable female viewers to identify with the problems under discussion. Since the impact of television is not limited to what it shows, but extends to what is omitted, television not only reinforces traditional sex-role divisions in society, but also discourages the discussion of women's liberation, the report concludes.

(c) Latin America

The 1977 CIM conference (CIM, 1977) on women and the mass media defined television as the medium with great qualitative, and therefore highly significant impact on the attitudes and conduct of the viewing audience. The conclusions reported in the resolution pertain to women's programmes and soap-operas as TV-content directed specifically to women, and to general television programming. With respect to women's programmes, it was noted that their content was showing progress in projecting an image of women in accordance with reality. Since the evidence on which this observation is based is not described in the resolution, and no additional data are available on women's programming on TV, comparative assessment and verification of this positive development are impossible. The CIM report's evaluation of soap-operas is more decidedly negative than the aggregate body of research materials suggests. While various studies indicate a more positive portrayal of women in daytime serials as compared to other types of programming, the CIM seminar firmly asserted that women in soap-operas are presented as completely alienated beings, which creates false expectations and distorted value scales. General programming on TV is not described in terms of sex-role portrayal, only in terms of its importance in reflecting and producing behavioural norms and patterns with unpredictable effects. This evaluation of the impact potential of television reflects the general awareness underlying the mass of research materials dealing with the television medium, and largely explains the research focus in favour of TV.

Conclusion

Research on sex-role portrayal in television content is primarily motivated by the conviction that television is highly influential in shaping people's perceptions, attitudes and conduct. While behavioural effects have not been conclusively evidenced, television's impact on perceptions of reality has been substantiated, albeit to a limited extent. To the extent that television programming provides information about and mirrors real-life sex-roles, its depiction of women is inaccurate and distorted. Apart from minor positive developments in women's

programming, and already subsiding trends in drama, all types of television programming in varying degrees present a highly stereotyped image of women, which complements an equally stereotyped image of men. News programmes largely ignore women's participation in society, as reflected in women's limited visibility as reporters and newsmakers, and the discriminatory treatment of women's issues. Entertainment programmes in all types of format emphasize the dual image of woman as decorative object and as the home- and marriage-oriented, passive person, secondary to, and dependent on, men for financial, emotional and physical support. This consistent reflection of traditional concepts of female nature and female roles is further reinforced by the virtual absence of alternative role models to counteract the stereotype. The exclusion, or at best token appearance, of alternative female images communicates the message that the dominant traditional image is the appropriate one. This pattern in portrayal of women on television is particularly pronounced in children's programmes, including those considered of the highest quality. Insofar as television affects the sex-role perceptions of its audience, it socializes children into accepting men's dominant and women's secondary position in society at large and the family microcosmos. It teaches adult women and men that the prevailing sex-role division is appropriate and ultimately fulfilling.

3. Images of women in film

The emergence and growth of the women's movement in the last decade have aroused considerable interest from film critics and film historians in past and contemporary images of women in cinema. While the contributions women have made to film-making have been conspicuously absent from the chronicled film history, it is significant that recent attempts to document women's roles in cinema have been made by women. Johnston (Screen, 1975) interprets this phenomenon as a reflection of the increasing intervention women are attempting to make in the motion picture industry. Since film-making and the modes in which film produces pictorial language are dominated by the codes established by Hollywood (Johnston, Screen, 1975), interpretations of women's role in cinema have focused primarily on American film production. The 1960's, however, witnessed a growing interest among film analysts in the European cinema. In the sixties, the Hollywood studio and star system was shaken by the impact of the increasing appeal of television. As a result, the output of Hollywood films was drastically reduced, and with it the number of female roles (Haskell, 1973, 325). While American film directors were increasingly losing interest in portraying women, the European actresses directed by prominent film-makers-authors gained in stature. Images of women projected in the European and American cinema are analysed in three book-length studies published in

1973. Molly Haskell's From Reverence to Rape; The Treatment of Women in the Movies and Pop-corn Venus; Women, Movies and the American Dream by Marjorie Rosen document, decade by decade, the roles of women in film history from the pioneering years to the present. The third volume, Joan Mellen's Women and Their Sexuality in the New Film, interprets contemporary cinema's treatment of women. The merits of these three studies have been evaluated in terms of their contributions to the development of a coherent feminist theory of film (Johnston, Screen, 1975 - Place and Burston, 1976). Both Johnston's and Place and Burston's discussions emphasize the need for a systematic feminist approach to film, which, in their opinion, must go beyond an assessment of women's roles in film from a female point of view. Haskell, Mellen and Rosen are credited with an attempt to analyse the relationship between film and society, but they are criticized for failing to provide a basic theory of how film as a medium produces meaningful pictures. The communication of ideology occurs essentially on the formal level, in the visual language of film. Feminist analysis must therefore encompass the visual as well as the narrative styles and the interaction between them. As a uniform vocabulary for describing visual cinematic language is still lacking, and considering the precedence of narrative over visual style in Hollywood cinema (Place and Burston, 1976), the analyses of Haskell, Mellen and Rosen focus on the narrative film language only. Although the above critique would tend to diminish their value, their studies represent major sources of documentation on women's portrayal in films of the past and the present. Two additional studies of female images in the mass media published in 1977 deal with women's roles in cinema, and are included in our discussion (Weibel, 1977 - Brayfield, 1977). A sixth publication reviewed in our survey (Adams and Laurikietis, 1976) is part of a series on sex-role socialization directed to young people and to their parents and teachers.

All of the above cited studies focus on the film industry in Western Europe and North America. Research materials on film images of women in other parts of the world are largely lacking. Documentation on cinema portrayal of women in Africa is confined to one article discussing a highly selective sample of films depicting African women (Hall, 1977). Two documents deal with female images in Asian cinema: Joan Mellen's book-length study of the Japanese cinema (Mellen, 1976), and a seminar report issued by the Press Institute of India (1976) on the status and image of Indian women in film. No research documents were available for examination of film images of women in Latin America, Oceania, Eastern Europe and the U. S. S. R.

(a) North America and Western Europe

Most of the studies we reviewed present a historical perspective on women's roles in film. With the exception of Adams and Laurikietis (1976), Joan Mellen (1973) is the only author who does not examine successive decades of film production. However, her evaluation of women's representation in contemporary cinema is based on film images of the past. As the title of Molly Haskell's work, From Reverence to Rape, suggests, contemporary images of women are marked by a general decline since the 1940's. The contention that cinema's portrayal of women shows no genuine progress (Mellen, 1973, 27), that in fact the film industry fails to reflect the situation of women in any constructive or analytical way (Rosen, 1973, 341) is shared by all six authors. Both Rosen and Haskell subscribe to a theory of film as a mirror reflecting society's norms and values. In contrast with the growing strength of women in real life, their changing roles, more productive lifestyles, their sexual freedom, the new liberated woman, the strong and independent woman, the working woman are absent from current film roles. Instead, women's roles in American cinema are increasingly trivialized, and woman is progressively relegated to sex-object. Other dimensions of her personality remain unexplored. Films focus primarily on clinical, emotionless, detached and alienated sex. Actually, the idea of sexuality seems less and less related to woman. Instead, eroticism is linked with violence, and female sexuality is equated with psychopathy (Rosen, 1973, 337-338). Molly Haskell maintains a similar view of female images in current cinema. She sees the degeneration of women's film images manifested in the celebration of male power and machismo, coupled with violence against, and the sexual exploitation of, women, and in the cinematic focus on all-male worlds. Women's liberation in film is generally equated with the exposure and sexual responsiveness of women to the men around them. Sexual deprivation is the major source of women's misery in film, but the emphasis on orgasmic sexual fulfillment as the supreme and only form of satisfaction expresses a male view. Besides the emphasis on sex and the orientation towards males, cinema focuses on the young (Rosen, 1973, 345). As a result, older actresses have been forced into virtual retirement.

A parallel phenomenon is the general disdain for marriage and motherhood expressed in modern cinema. Haskell also describes this in her discussion of the male protagonist as created by American and British directors. The central male character in the Anglo-American films of the sixties and seventies is an alienated being, often the director's alter ego, victimized by the cruelties of modern life, which include marriage. Woman is the evil force who tries to bring the hero back into the hypocritical society, which is the very source of the hero's alienation. Even in the more sincere and more

sympathetic portrayals of women, they can find no fulfillment in place of romance, marriage and motherhood. Occasionally, women are depicted as strong characters who are able to choose the emptiness of loneliness rather than an unsatisfactory relationship. According to Haskell, this is a more honest reflection of "the spirit of the age" than escapist violence. These films with female protagonists demonstrate that love is still the central theme in the "woman's film", a genre Haskell sees emerging and flourishing in the thirties and forties. On the other hand, they also reveal that woman's concern is different from that of man, thus indicating that the separation between the sexes is more radical than ever before in cinema history. Another modern development is the appearance of the "feminine" hero, the opposite extreme of the super macho-man (Haskell, 1973). From a feminist viewpoint, man taking on characteristics traditionally associated with female behaviour is a positive evolution which counteracts the stereotype. But in cinema, androgyny is solely associated with the male sex, and has actually succeeded in driving women out of the film industry. Both Haskell and Rosen attribute what they perceive as a degeneration of woman's image in film to the impact of television. When television usurped cinema's function as the principal family entertainment medium, the Hollywood film production was severely reduced in size, leaving few opportunities for female actors. According to Rosen (1973), directors and studios were more interested in money-making formulas and products acceptable to the general public. Television also changed the size and composition of the film audience. Cinema responded by shifting its orientation towards young people and males, who became most prominent in the film audience.

Haskell adds another element affecting the portrayal of women in a negative way: the intentionality, and sometimes outright misogyny of male film directors. Since film had become essentially the product of a single creative personality, the (usually male) director-author, the image of woman in film was fundamentally defined by a male perspective. Joan Mellen's work emphasizes a sociopolitical approach to film portrayal of women. The format of the book is a collection of autonomous essays arranged, not around successive decades in film history like Haskell's and Rosen's, but around the work of a particular director, a specific film, or a general theme. The essays are highly subjective and impressionistic, deriving like Rosen's and Haskell's studies from "the dominant tradition of practical criticism based on personal response and subjectivity" (Johnston, Screen, 1975). While the first chapter attempts to integrate the various essays, they remain unrelated, due to the absence of a coherent theoretical and political framework (Place and Burston, 1976). Mellen (1973, 16) agrees with Haskell and Rosen that contemporary cinema presents women as "diminished creatures". Like the other two authors, she places

the cinematic high point in the portrayal of women in the films of the 1940's, when war conditions and "capitalism in crisis" required women to seek a satisfactory way of life independently of, or at least in equal partnership with men. Current cinema, Mellen asserts, does not in general offer images of strong independent women. Although women now appear as tougher and less demure, they are shown as emotionally empty, disintegrated, alienated and unfulfilled. The message communicated by contemporary cinema is that sexual freedom detached from marriage leaves women empty. By portraying sexually liberated, but unfulfilled women, current cinema tries to capitalize on the new awareness of modern women by co-opting it, Mellen argues. At the same time, the stability of the nuclear family and the established values are stressed. Women are defined in relation to the nuclear family, which is the central social institution. This concept applies to both socialist and capitalist societies and cinema, which Mellen claims are equally governed by bourgeois ideas. The officially-controlled cinema of socialist countries continues to depict women in subservient positions. The threat inherent in the portrayal of oppression and exploitation precludes the depiction of liberated women in the cinema of socialist countries. When, exceptionally, socialist films portray women as taking part in the social struggle, the distinction between social and personal/psychological liberation is not made. According to Mellen two images of women are dominant in contemporary cinema: they are either portrayed as domestic, protected, sexless beings, or as sexually liberated persons. She claims that the image of the passive, domestic woman has increasingly been replaced by that of the "loose" woman. This parallels Haskell's and Rosen's observation that women are predominantly shown as sexual symbols. The emphasis on woman as sex-object is most obviously reflected in the highly successful pornographic movies.

European as well as American films continue to present stereotyped images of women as passive, anxious victims, trapped in a culture whose institutions are seldom exposed as the source of women's damaged personalities. The most interesting images of women are found, albeit infrequently, in films that relate women's psychology to the structure of society, which conditions women into believing that they are inferior. Films which portray women as anxious and insecure without linking their personalities to the social structure suggest that such traits are inherent in the female nature. Unlike Mellen, who sees the same myths about women operating in European films, Rosen (1973, 352) claims that directors such as Fellini, Truffaut, Bergman, portray multi-dimensional women instead of the rigidly categorized American types. She appreciates their focusing on women, including women's relationships with each other, and their exploration of the liberated woman who decides her own life and future, even if this choice means

loneliness. Rosen maintains nevertheless that images of fulfilled free women are as absent from European as from American films. Haskell attacks the widely-held conception that female images in European cinema are more progressive or more positive than their American counterparts. She perceives two basic types of woman in European films: dissatisfied and tragic vs. stupid and happy. While European films are unable to portray women of action or women without men, their exploration of women's sensual personality is perceived as less superficial than in the American cinema. Essentially though, Haskell sees actresses in what she refers to as the "superior" European films as creations of their directors, who emanate the male directors' visions rather than their own.

The fact that few women are involved in the creative aspects of commercial film-making is perceived by Haskell, Rosen and Mellen as a major factor contributing to distorted portrayal of women in today's cinema. According to Haskell, the only true woman's films are made outside the American film industry, in independent film-making, and to some extent in Europe. Although Mellen also believes that more women should enter all facets of the film industry, it is not her contention that their presence alone will guarantee a more accurate portrayal of women. Even focusing on women and their problems will not result in new images, unless the female personality is related to woman's experiences as a member of a particular social class and of society. All women share in the perceptions prevailing in society, including its view of women, which are enforced through the social and socializing institutions. According to Mellen, even the films directed and written by women depict the subservience of women, since female artists, no less than their male colleagues, are ruled by the prevailing norms in film industry and society. The few women who are working in film industry are able to perceive and depict what society has done to women, but unable to visualize alternatives. The only images of liberated women are to be found in feminist films. However, Mellen dismisses these as "newsreels" and documentaries rather than cinema. In fact, none of the three authors discussed above examines the question of fiction vs. documentary (Johnston, Screen, 1975). All three limit their analysis to the fiction film "on the not always articulated assumption that the fictional mode is a more effective vehicle for the unconscious, the subterranean, the reflective and emergent social and psychic impulse" (Place and Burston, 1976, 55). According to Johnston (Screen, 1975), the flaws of the three documents are most apparent precisely in the views they express on the development of a feminist cinema. Haskell's concept is a return to the films of the 1940's, when truly egalitarian relationships between women and men were depicted. Rosen holds a similar view. For Mellen, new positive images of women will emerge only when films explore the personality of woman as defined and

conditioned by society. According to Johnston (Screen, 1975), the fact that all three authors confine their analysis of women and film to the narrative art film precludes them from developing a coherent feminist approach to film, as well as a perspective on how feminist films are to be realized in the future. Imperfect and incomplete as they are, these studies are to be credited for introducing feminist issues into the practice of film criticism. What is needed most at the present time, according to Johnston, is a feminist meeting point of film criticism and film critique.

The study conducted by Weibel (1977, 91-133) discusses themes and images of women in films of the past and the present in relation to the socio-cultural conditions in general, the state of the film industry in particular, and the impact of television. Her approach emphasizes a view of film as reflector and reinforcer of prevailing social norms and values, a view which coincides with that of Haskell and Rosen. It is implied that the portrayal of women in film will not change until social consciousness about, and social conditions for, women have improved. The evolution she notes in reviewing women's roles in film history is a regressive one. In contrast with images of strong and independent women in films of the past (particularly the 1940's), contemporary cinema is not interested in portraying women. It focuses on themes that exclude women, or else portrays them as sexual or social misfits viewed from a male perspective. The potential of strong actresses remains unexplored, due to the lack of women screen-writers and directors, and to the profit-orientation of the film industry, which perpetuates the production of money-making films focusing on violence, sensationalism, and sex. This explanation of the few and shallow film images of women, as well as the emphasis on the impact of television on the audience, and subsequently on the orientation of cinema, closely approaches Rosen's interpretation. Like Haskell, Weibel argues that, in the rare instances when films focus on women developing their consciousness about their own identity, or about their relationships with men and society, women's real goal is always marriage and monogamy as the only fulfilling mode of life. Weibel does not anticipate the development of new perspectives of women in the American cinema as long as socio-cultural conditions and opportunities for women in the industry do not alter radically. Like Haskell she observes that, while in Europe film directors focus more sympathetically on women, the view of them in film remains male-defined.

Celia Brayfield's discussion (1977) of past and present images of women in films reflects an explicit feminist point of view. She describes cinema as a centre of male influence with a decreasing number of female workers and virtually no women film-makers (cfr. *infra*, II, 3). Although she also notes the lack of female roles and the sexual exploitation of women in current films, her evaluation is more ambivalent than that of the other authors under

discussion. The explosion of woman-hatred in films of the sixties and seventies is perceived as a reflection of society's and particularly men's anxieties over changing sex-roles. While most films of the last decade express overt misogyny, or celebrate machismo, others have explored woman's identity and have documented the sexual, psychological and social oppression of women. Brayfield also finds the reappraisal of leading women film directors encouraging. Unlike Mellen, Haskell and Rosen, she does not discard feminist attempts at film-making as insignificant. In view of the changed function (from entertainment medium to work of art) and audience of film, the commercial success or the number of people who see a film are no longer measures of its social influence (Brayfield, 1977, 110). The perception of film as a work of art created by its (usually) male director, which gained wide acceptance in the sixties, narrowed cinema's concept of women. Women were essentially viewed through male eyes, and sexually liberated women were seen as a threat to masculinity. Although they disappeared in central roles during this period in film history, and were increasingly portrayed as sex-objects, Brayfield views the more realistic physical portrayal of women as a positive development. Unlike the four other authors discussed above, Brayfield notices a recovery from "sexual paranoia" in the films of the seventies, and a renewed interest in women in search of their identity. She admits that women are assuming central roles again often by virtue only of their sexual relationship with the male protagonist, but they are nevertheless frequently portrayed as whole women rather than mere sexual creatures. More than Mellen, Haskell, Rosen or Weibel, Brayfield is optimistic about new developments in the film industry: the growing recognition of female directors, the creation of new opportunities in film by the women's movement, and, in the United Kingdom, the adoption by the Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians of guidelines for the elimination of discrimination against women in the film industry (cfr. *infra*, II, 3).

A 1976 series of books published by the feminist press Virago and directed to young people and their teachers examines sex-role socialization processes operating in society, including the socializing role of mass media (Adams and Laurikietis, 1976). The discussion of cinema is limited to a description of images of women as compared to men projected in various popular film genres. The scarcity of women working as film directors is cited as a major source of the distorted portrayal of women in contemporary film. A review of popular films revealed the following trends:

- female roles in current cinema are very limited in number and highly stereotyped;
- the film perspective of women is essentially a male one, owing to the lack of women directors;
- few films focus on women;

- in the masculine world of westerns, gangsters, espionage, war and violence, women remain in the background of the heroes' lives and are excluded from participation in the central action;
- in "sexy" films women are reduced to sex-symbols and sexual objects;
- some recent films feature women in central parts, although few reflect women's current social status.

The authors expect new positive developments in the film portrayal of sex-roles under impact of the women's movement and women's continued struggle for equal opportunities in the film industry. A list of concrete questions is provided to increase the reader's awareness of sex-role stereotyping in films. While any attempt to increase young people's consciousness about the socializing role of the media is highly commendable, female and male stereotypes in cinema and in media in general cannot be discussed in isolated context. Young people should be given insight into the functioning of the film medium and the film industry, and into the relationship between film and the images it presents and the structure and perception of sex-roles in society. In this respect, Adams and Laurikietis' analysis proves inadequate.

(b) Africa

In comparison with the scope of the literature on images of women in American and European film, the materials on the subject in African films appear to be extremely fragmentary. In a recent article in "Africa Report", Susan Hall (1977) examined a selection of feature and documentary films dealing positively with the position and roles of contemporary women in various African societies. All the films selected for analysis are available for distribution in America. The accessibility to the materials probably determined the size and composition of the survey sample. Accessibility as a selection criterion does not ensure a representative sample. The representative nature of the selection is further obscured by the absence of basic information on the structure and size of the film industry in Africa and on films dealing with African women. The relative importance and potential impact of the selected films remain ambiguous, unless they are placed in the context of the entire film production dealing with African women.

The two feature films which are discussed depict the oppression of young women by their alien environment. The documentaries focus on the lifestyles and ordinary or unusual roles of women of a particular ethnic group, or of individual women. The author concludes that, while dealing with relevant concerns of African women, these films are not comprehensive. She argues that too much emphasis is placed on Western influences on the changing status of women. Instead, the depiction of women's position in African societies should be related to traditional forces affecting women's past

and present status. Hall further emphasizes the need for films, not only about, but also by, African women. However, she fails to identify the directors of most of the films she examined by sex and nationality. A discussion and evaluation of opportunities for African women in film industry is also omitted.

(c) Asia

Documents on film images of women in Asia are equally sparse. A seminar held at the Press Institute of India in early 1976 focused on the role of mass media in changing social attitudes and practices towards women. The assessment of female film roles does not go beyond the observation that commercial cinema seldom portrays liberated women. According to the report, women are highly categorized in cinema, but the female types appearing in commercial cinema are not specified. The position of women in the "serious" cinema is described as "somewhat better", but not entirely satisfactory. However, no content description is provided. It was concluded that no improvements are to be expected from commercial cinema, as it necessarily caters for the lowest common denominator, and therefore portrays woman as the masses would like to see her. However, no data are provided concerning the structure and audience of the commercial vs. the alternative film industry, or about the status of women in Indian society and the perception of sex-roles. The position of women in Indian cinema can only be evaluated when placed in a broad socio-cultural context.

In her "Re-introduction of the Japanese cinema to Western audiences" (Mellen, 1976, foreword), which she considers long overdue, Mellen analyses images of the Japanese woman in the films of several leading (male) Japanese directors, who have focused on the position of women in Japanese society. According to Mellen, women are seldom portrayed as independent human beings, which is in accordance with their real-life position. In a society predominated by rules in every aspect of life, including relationships between the sexes, vigorous rules govern the life of the Japanese woman, who belongs to the lowest societal caste. In contemporary patriarchal Japan, the perception of woman as either wife or whore persists, Mellen observes. This dichotomy is reflected in the Japanese cinema. Different standards apply to these two kinds of women. A wife's role as keeper of the home and nurturer of her children is incompatible with that of experiencing love as pleasure. The latter is the privilege of the "loose" woman, whose needs remain nevertheless subordinate to those of man. The basic inequality between the sexes pervades all their interactions. According to Mellen, the most interesting images of women are to be found in the films of directors who oppose the traditional concepts of women's role. However,

in the "magnificent body of Japanese films", she was unable to find one example of a woman "who has carved out a meaningful role for herself as an individual and is valued as such by a man" (Mellen, 1976, 251). Many directors who understand how Japanese patriarchy demeans women have depicted woman's oppression and her arduous struggle to free herself from passivity and submission, which she has been taught to assimilate since childhood. No private solutions are offered for women's plight in the Japanese cinema. Directors who are critical of the social place accorded to women also criticize the feudalism persisting in contemporary Japan, which oppresses both men and women. While women's liberation is linked with human liberation, it is implied that women must fight for freedom independently from Japanese men who are too comfortable with the present patriarchal social order.

Conclusion

A review of the literature on the image of women in film reveals that the cinema generally fails to reflect or deal positively with the changes in sex-role perception and behaviour occurring in contemporary society. It is also apparent that continued research is necessary in the areas of film history, film criticism and film theory in order to enable an accurate appreciation of women's - and men's - roles in cinema, as well as the development of new approaches to the cinematic portrayal of women and men. The impact of the women's movement has aroused considerable academic and feminist interest in the treatment of women in film in North America and Western Europe. Research in other parts of the world, and in other types of society lags far behind. A third point of consensus among researchers is the need for better training and employment opportunities for women in the film industry. The lack of women scenarists and directors is perceived as a major source of the distorted film portrayal of women.

4. The Press

A. Images of women in newspapers

Newspaper portrayal of women has not been the focus of extensive research (Busby, 1975). The available research materials deal with the treatment of women in pictorial, textual and linguistic content of various newspaper sections. Of special interest to our survey are the studies of the newspapers sections aimed specifically at women. Although these have been criticized for perpetuating traditional perspectives, they represent an (at least potentially) important institutionalized vehicle for information about or relating to women (Merritt and Gross, 1977). The very existence of a separate newspaper section for the female reader is perceived as inherently sexist. It implies that all other news areas are exclusively male territory, and that men are

not interested in "women's issues" (Hole and Levine, 1971, 250). A second focal point of feminist criticism of newspapers is their coverage of the women's movement and feminist activities, which is claimed to be disproportionately sparse, trivializing and condescending in tone (Hole and Levine, 1971, 266-270). Most of the available documents are content-analyses. Effect studies have been largely neglected, mainly because of difficulty in isolating impact of the media on sex-role development from other socializing influences such as school, church, family etc. (Busby, 1975). In the area of research on the portrayal of women in newspapers, North America has been most productive. The majority of the studies conducted so far have a micro focus in the traditional fashion of America empirical research. In Europe, research in this field is still in its infancy with feminist awareness and growing interest becoming most articulate in the United Kingdom. Feminists in Australia are also starting to focus on the media image of women. Research material is still limited, but the need for systematic study has been acknowledged. Two papers presented to the Asian Consultation on Women and Media deal with the treatment of women in Japanese and Hongkong newspapers. Documents on other parts of Asia, as well as on the entire African continent were unavailable. Also currently unavailable are documents dealing with newspaper treatment of women in Central and Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. The 1977 seminar on "Mass Communication Media and Their Influence on the Image of Women" included a discussion of newspapers, as summarized in the resolution released by the Interamerican Commission of Women (CIM) of the OAS which sponsored the conference. It represents the only document available for examination of women's media roles in Latin America.

(a) North America

1. The treatment of women in newspapers

Three studies published in the 1970's analyse images of women in pictorial, linguistic and textual newspaper content.

Miller (1975) analysed the roles of women vs. men portrayed in news photos appearing in The Washington Post and The Los Angeles Times, selected because they were among the first newspapers to remodel coverage of contemporary lifestyles and roles. Miller motivates her choice of news photos as analytical units because previous research has primarily concentrated on roles of women in entertainment content. Photos, she argues, are among the first items to attract the readers' attention, and help establish the context in which they interpret the accompanying news story. The study showed that the overall photo coverage of both newspapers was similar. The differences noted were not attributable to editorial policy, but rather to the nature of

the communities served by the papers. Photos of men outnumbered photos of women in all sections except the lifestyle pages. As for female roles, women were primarily portrayed as spouses, socialites and entertainers. The photo coverage of women as sports figures, professionals, activists and politicians was negligible compared to their portrayal in the aforementioned roles. By contrast, men appeared in news photos overwhelmingly as politicians, professionals and sports figures. The lack of news photos of sportswomen is due to the newspapers' pre-occupation with "big money" professional sporting events. However, by excluding coverage of women's athletic events the newspapers perpetuate the relative unpopularity of these sports, Miller observes. News photos also seldom showed women in working roles, although the social and economic impact of female employment warrants news coverage. Miller concludes that the portrayal of women in news photos in both newspapers fails to reflect the roles women occupy in the Washington and Los Angeles communities. The photo coverage conforms to accepted, but increasingly irrelevant, journalistic formulas and concepts of newsworthiness.

A second research area which has been almost totally neglected is the manner in which language is manipulated by journalists (Ward, 1975). Awareness and criticism of discriminatory language are growing. Ward sees criticism verbalized in the "Letters to the Editor" section of newspapers as a relevant indicator of changing language attitudes. However, she does not systematically analyse these sections in a representative sample of print media. She only cites examples of critical commentary on the use of sexist language by journalists, quoting from a wide range of publications to illustrate feminist impact on public language. The merits of Ward's article lie mainly in drawing attention to a research gap rather than contributing to filling it. Her discussion of feminist language theories, as formulated by Miller and Swift (1976) and Lakoff (1976), and their implications for journalism practice and education is illuminating.

While Miller's study revealed differences in female vs. male portrayal in pictorial news, and the article by Ward focused on linguistic discrimination of women, Drew and Miller (1977) designed an experiment using students of journalism to examine the treatment of female vs. male news-makers in news stories. They hypothesized that student reporters would categorize a female news-maker on the basis of sex, and would seek out and include information to support that categorization. The students' assignment consisted in writing a news story about the appointment of a woman and a man to an administrative position in a public school, illustrating it and drawing up interview questions on the basis of supplied materials. An analysis of the stories showed that the reporters were more likely to mention the news-maker's qualifications for the job when he was male. Drew and Miller interpret this as an indication that reporters consider the

male more qualified for the job than the female.

More differences in treatment of female vs. male news-makers surfaced in the interview questions. Female newsmen were more likely to be questioned about sex-roles and problems associated with the combination of a career with family responsibilities. They were also more frequently asked factual questions about the job, which probed their responsibilities and limitations. The fact that such questions were less frequently addressed to the male appointee indicates that reporters are less aware of potential role conflicts in men. In general, the picture presented of the male news-maker was more likely to be well-rounded than the portrayal of the female newsmen. Although the blatant stereotyping predicted in the hypothesis was not confirmed, the reporting showed subtle bias based on the sex of the news-maker. Drew and Miller also predict that the more inconsistent a news-item is with the traditional female role, the more journalists will tend to emphasize this inconsistency in place of providing more substantive information. The effect of sex-role socialization and sex-role perceptions of communicators in their treatment of women and men in the news remains a largely unexplored area of study.

2. The "women's section"

Empirical studies of women's sections in newspapers are largely lacking. Merritt and Gross (1977) suggest that this lack of interest may reflect the section's low evaluation within the newspaper hierarchy, and the generally low status of, and as a result the low interest in, women-dominated occupations (cfr. *infra*, II, 4). Such neglect is indefensible, according to Merritt and Gross, in view of the current evolution in women's roles and the potential of women's pages as a mass forum for information about women.

The recent phenomenon of remodelling traditional women's pages into a general-interest section, designed to attract male as well as female readers, has generated research interest. Miller (1976) and Guenin (1975) analysed the content of the renamed "lifestyle" sections in samples of geographically diversified newspapers as compared with that of women's sections retaining their traditional format.

Guenin content-analysed the women's sections of 6 metropolitan newspapers, three of which had redesigned their section to suit contemporary needs, while the other three maintained the section in its traditional format. She found that traditional content was much higher in traditional than in contemporary sections. However, the updated sections did not meet the criteria suggested by critics. Only half or less of the suggested topics was covered in either broad-interest or traditional sections. The analysis further showed that entertainment stories were replacing traditional content in contemporary sections. The coverage of consumer news was

generally absent. Traditional papers on the other hand did not fail their readers as much as critics believe, since two of the three papers covered topics other than the traditional content at least as well as the upgraded sections, and had good feature content. According to criteria established by critics, the transition from a traditional format to a broad-interest section has not resulted in reporting which reflects the needs of contemporary newspaper readers, Guenin concluded.

The conclusion that the modernization of women's sections merely implies a shift in emphasis towards entertainment parallels Miller's findings. Her 1976 study of redesigned women's sections in major newspapers over a ten-year period also revealed a tendency to replace traditional content with entertainment. Actually coverage, especially of child-rearing and consumer information, had dropped, due to the combination of a change of the section's name and a reduction in the number of pages. The author observes that coverage of child care and consumerism is specifically relevant today, in view of the changing role of women and its effect on child care and domestic responsibilities of both men and women. While the re-styling of women's pages has produced no major changes in the coverage of lifestyles and consumption, Miller concludes that some of the changes have been for the worse.

These research results encouraged Merritt and Gross (1977) to make a further attempt at assessing whether and how women's sections could contribute to the improvement of women's news. They conducted a national survey of a random sample of editors of women's sections in large metropolitan newspapers. Questioned about their perceptions of the normative (what should be) and objective (what actually is) goal of the women's/lifestyle sections, most female and male editors chose the traditional focus, i. e. that related to domestic affairs and social events. The disparity between normative and objective goal perceptions was significantly greater for women than for men. Of those who did not opt for the traditional orientation, women were more likely to emphasize social change, while the male editors tended to choose entertainment as the main objective of the section. Women editors, especially those who believed that increasing the audience's awareness of social change should be the primary goal of the section, devoted more space to the women's movement than men. Since editorship of women's pages is a female-dominated occupation (80% women vs. 20% men in the sample), and considering their greater concern with coverage of the women's movement, Merritt and Gross suggest that their presence may ensure the audience's exposure to non-traditional perspectives of women, at least in the large metropolitan newspapers. They hesitate to conclude that the presence of male editors, who tend to focus more on entertainment and are more ambivalent about women's roles, automatically precludes such perspectives. Men's presence

may simply provide fewer opportunities for coverage of issues which increase the audience's awareness of alternative lifestyles and changing sex-roles. On the other hand, the predominance of tradition-oriented editors among women as well as men may overshadow the emphasis on social change or entertainment of the female or male editors who are non-traditional. This conclusion has implications for the feminist position on women's presence in the media. While women tend to be more concerned about women's issues, their presence alone does not automatically guarantee a less traditional orientation.

3. Newspaper coverage of the women's movement

Although the women's sections in newspapers discuss women's issues, coverage of women-related news and the women's movement is not exclusively limited to these pages. Morris (1973) conducted a quantitative study of the overall content of two Los Angeles and twelve British newspapers for their reporting on the women's movement in the early phase of its development. The author started from the hypothesis that one mechanism to control conflict generated by the emergence of a movement which threatens the established societal values is to withhold information about it from the general public in order to minimize its impact. Newspapers rather than other news media were selected for testing this hypothesis on the basis of a 1970 study which indicated that newspapers were the major source of information for the majority of the respondents. The generally sparse coverage of the women's movement in both American and British newspapers at a time when it was sufficiently large and active to warrant press coverage is interpreted by Morris as a confirmation of the hypothesis. Other studies which reveal the lack of coverage given to certain aspects of societal life that might present a threat to the maintenance of the status quo (e. g. poverty, racial minorities) support Morris' conclusion that keeping the public ignorant is a means of social control. Since withholding information in the establishment press did not prevent the movement from growing, Morris predicts that the press will resort to other tactics to limit its impact. On the basis of evidence presented elsewhere, she argues that when society co-opts some of the movement's aims, mass media increasingly present a "respectable" image of the movement by omitting its more radical aspects. This conclusion may seriously limit the potential of the movement to realize a radical restructuring of social relationships. It certainly implies that the establishment press is unlikely to co-operate in increasing the general public's awareness and support of the radical movement aims.

(b) Western Europe

Studies of the treatment of women in the European daily press are generally less systematic than those conducted in America. However, despite their tendency to describe and illustrate rather than analyse, they present a broader perspective than the limited scope of most American research permits.

1. The treatment of women in newspapers

The ISIS report on Women in the Daily Press (X, ISIS, 1976) is based on content-analysis of five newspapers and one news magazine published in Western Europe. The sampling and analysis methods used in the studies are far from uniform, as the report explicitly states. The report makes no claims about the scientific merits of its methodology, but contends that the uniformity of the results compensates for the methodological flaws.

The various publications examined appear to project similar stereotypes of women, who are most often portrayed as victims of natural or fabricated disasters. Their roles as mothers and wives are emphasized and given precedence over their occupational or professional activities. Women's physical appearance is often stressed, even when it bears no relevance to the subject of the news story. Women in the news are further perceived as belonging to a separate category, a different species. This is demonstrated by the existence of a separate woman's page in some publications. The "male-is-the-norm" attitude also surfaces in language practices which implicitly or explicitly exclude women. While the analysis revealed a general underrepresentation of female journalists, it also showed that women reporters were no less prejudiced than their male colleagues in their treatment of women. The survey conducted by Merritt and Gross (cf. supra, p. 60) also indicated that the mere presence of female journalists would not guarantee alternative perspectives of women.

The above conclusions apply to the different publications in varying degrees. Le Monde and The Times are commended for their straight and accurate reporting in the few articles dealing with women's issues, as well as for their non-sexist images and descriptions of women. La Tribune de Genève, while featuring a woman's page and generally ignoring female news-makers, provided good coverage of women's sports. The International Herald Tribune carried articles on prominent women and feminist events and had expanded its number of female by-lines. Newsweek has adopted the policy of referring to women by their last name only after the initial identification, a policy hitherto only applied to males. The Daily Mirror was the most inconsistent in its portrayal of women. Its main aim is to attract the reader's attention and provide easy reading. To accomplish this, it often resorts to the use of stereotypes. However, the paper is less sexist than a first glance at its

numerous pin-up photos would suggest. It occasionally dealt with issues of importance to women and defended individual women against a male-dominated establishment.

The main problem posed by the analysts is whether the newspapers' role is merely to reflect women's position in society, or whether they should influence the direction society is taking. If the newspaper's prime responsibility is to reflect the world as it is, researchers may well inquire if the few references to women found in most newspapers actually reflect women's limited contributions to social, cultural and political life, or whether newspapers and reporters are merely ignoring the contributions women are making. The use of exclusive language is interpreted as evidence in support of the latter view.

A 1977 descriptive study of British newspapers (Barr, 1977) also reveals the use of discriminatory language, implying that for journalists the norm of people seems to be male. While Barr notes that stereotypes of women are slowly being recognized as such by the daily press, they are not yet rejected as invalid and continue to be reinforced. Stereotyping is apparent from the emphasis on female appearance and the description of women, whatever their occupations are, in terms of their marital status and their domestic roles (cf. the ISIS conclusions supra, p. 61). Family and marital status are deemed irrelevant for the identification of men in British newspapers. As the ISIS report, Barr found no difference between female and male reporters in their treatment of women.

The use of a double standard in the depiction of women vs. men in the news was also revealed in a 1974 analysis of six British newspapers (X, University of Birmingham, 1974). The research team studied the representation of women in nine news categories. The analysis showed that fewer women than men appeared as politicians, professionals, criminals and sports figures. Women were also less likely than men to be perceived as extraordinary or to be assigned elite status. Females were most frequently portrayed as sex-objects and as supportive wives/mothers, i.e. as defined by their relationships to men. The prevalence of this criterion of newsworthiness applied to women reflects the reinforcement of the stereotyped image of women prevailing in society. Even when women are considered news by virtue of their political or professional activities, their newspaper images relate them to their roles as mothers, wives, or sexual beings. In the reporting of female crimes, traditionally feminine behaviour (such as crying in the court-room) is stressed. Women of elite-status are presented in newspapers by virtue of their romantic involvements or in terms of marriage and family. However, descriptions of actual married life are extremely rare and totally unglamorous. The depiction of women as victims of social circumstances or disasters exploits their vulnerability and their inability to act. For men

described in such news stories, passivity and inability to act are not emphasized.

On the basis of these findings, the analysts conclude that male and female spheres are strictly delineated in newspapers. Politics, professions and sports are considered male domains. Marital and domestic affairs are perceived as women's primary responsibilities. Only by stressing women's femininity, as defined by traditional standards, are women allowed to enter the male spheres of politics and sports. Furthermore, love, marriage and the family are often placed in a fantasy context, which presents the female roles of lover, wife and mother as the ultimate fulfillment. Women readers are encouraged to identify with these images, and to evaluate their roles accordingly. The fantasy depiction of motherhood and marriage in newspapers suggests that any less positive experiences female readers might encounter in everyday life are due to personal failure rather than to the inadequacy of the existing social structure. Thus the institutions of marriage and the family as well as traditional female roles are reinforced.

The above discussion attempts to identify the concept of sex-roles which underlies images of women and men in newspapers. The reinforcement of the established values and the existing social structure reflect the newspaper's role as preserver of the status quo (cfr. supra, p.61-Morris).

2. The "women's section"

The study of British newspapers conducted by Barr (1977) includes a discussion of women's pages, which continue to appear in most papers. Like American newspapers, many British daily papers are dropping the label "for women", although the renamed sections remain largely directed to them. While the author questions the implications of separate pages for women, she supports segregated coverage of subject matter of importance to contemporary women as a temporary measure (cfr. supra, p. 59-Merritt and Gross). However, re-labelling this section has not always been accompanied by a shift in orientation from the traditional food, fashion and household focus. On the other hand, female editors of women's sections in such newspapers as The Guardian, The Times, The Observer have provided a forum for the exchange of women's views and for support of feminist pursuits. On the basis of these data, the author concludes that to humanize the news and better serve the interests of both male and female readers, more women journalists are needed.

3. Newspaper coverage of the women's movement

The newspaper coverage of the movement for women's liberation reflects the unflattering and uninformed view that exists in the public mind, according to the study conducted by Barr (1977). The

description of feminist groups and their activities is biased. The term "women's liberation" itself is incorrectly used to refer to almost every female pursuit other than homemaking. On the positive side, the study showed that the coverage of issues related to women's position in society is steadily increasing. Unfortunately, the press exploits the growing popularity of the theme by creating movement and anti-movement stars. The press' ambivalence towards women's new consciousness is also demonstrated in the photographs it publishes: pictures of anti-liberationists were found to be generally flattering, while photos of leading feminists tend to be unflattering and aggressive. Such manipulative practices reinforce the stereotype of woman projected in the daily press; women are judged on the basis of their looks rather than their actions.

(c) Oceania

The September 1977 issue of the New Journalist devoted to the position and image of women in Australian media, as analysed and interpreted by the Women Media Workers, includes four articles on newspapers. Specific areas of concern are: the coverage of rape as an act of violence against women, the coverage of women's sports, and the alternative media's reflection of feminist concerns. The articles are reviewed primarily for their exposé value, which compensates for their methodological inaccuracy. Systematic research in this area is still at its infancy in Australia, as acknowledged throughout the issue.

1. The treatment of women in newspapers

One article examines the portrayal of women in the Sydney newspaper Sun (New Journalist, 1976, 5). Its conclusion that the reporting is sexist is supported by illustrative examples rather than systematic content-analysis. According to the unidentified author, the Sun trivializes women. It identifies food and fashion as their sole interests by excluding women from all other news, while neglecting serious coverage of women's issues. Stereotyped portrayal of women appears in sexist cartoons and headlines, in the description of women in terms of their roles as mothers, in the sensationalist coverage of rape, and in billing the consumer news columnist as "The Housewife's Friend". Sex discrimination in the Sun is attributed to the pre-eminence of the commercial interests of its editor over all other concerns. The lack of substantive documentation and the polemical tone of the article restricts however the conclusions that can be drawn.

The article focusing on the reporting of rape (New Journalist, 1976, 7-8) is also sparsely and randomly documented. In the same fashion as in the article discussed above, the anonymous author argues that the ambiguous and "mock horror" reporting of rape is used as a sensationalist attention-

getter to increase newspaper sales. By presenting the victim's shame following the attack as a natural reaction, newspapers reinforce the notion that rape is somehow provoked by the woman.

The analysis of the image of women in the coverage of the 1976 Olympic Games in three newspapers is somewhat more systematic. The composition of the survey sample as well as the monitoring period are indicated. Conclusions are based on practices in the treatment of sportswomen common to all three papers. Three general conclusions are drawn:

- women are treated only according to the narrowest stereotypes;
- the underlying assumption structuring sports reporting is that male precedes female in importance, and therefore pictorially and in copy space;
- sports reporters view "male" as the general norm. Women seem to fit some other second-ranking category (cfr. supra, p. 62-ISIS report).

Data in support of these generalizations include: the use of meaningless married names to identify sportswomen; the fact that professions are listed for male, but not for female athletes; the fact that in multiple item stories male events and results of male competitions are covered first; the practice of referring to female competitors as "girls", while sportsmen are never called "boys". A major factor contributing to the discriminatory treatment of women in sports news is the underrepresentation of female journalists in sports departments. This explanation is substantiated by a comparison of reports from male journalists with those written by the two sole female sports correspondents. The women reporters wrote from a markedly different point of view, which emphasized individuals' achievements. While the reportage of such an unusual and highly publicized event as the Olympic Games may not be representative for everyday sports reporting, it does provide data in support of the widely-held contention that sports reporting is heavily biased against women (cfr. supra, p. 57 - Miller).

2. Newspaper coverage of the women's movement

A fourth article in the New Journalist focuses on the alternative media, including the underground press. According to the author, the press is the most accessible to women among the alternative media in Australia. A gradual change in the underground press from a preoccupation with male issues to the reflection of feminist awareness and the integration of feminist goals into its revolutionary programme is noted. The author relates this evolution in the press to the development of the counter-culture movement. From its emergence, the underground movement was male-oriented and male-dominated. Women were relegated to traditional roles and excluded from policy-making. Gradually the underground media, and particularly the press, started responding to feminist consciousness and

demands by dealing with women's issues and by employing more women in all phases of production. The author argues that the alternative press is important to feminists, as it provides opportunities to exert influence outside the specifically feminist media. By focusing on the underground press, the article diverges from the dominant trend in media studies of women which generally concentrate on the establishment media. Although this emphasis may be justified on the basis of the mass appeal and the pervasive impact of the established press, the importance of the underground press, along with the feminist press, for the introduction and spread of feminist ideas warrants further research. A comparative analysis of women's movement coverage in the establishment vs. the underground newspapers, and an assessment of their audience and potential impact would be most productive.

(d) Asia

In view of the vastness of the Asian continent, the disparate levels of socio-economic development and literacy, the varying concepts of the press itself e.g. in communist vs. non-communist nations (cfr. X, World Communication, Unesco, 1975), an assessment of women's roles as reflected in the press is a complicated task (Kulkarni, 1976). At present, a comprehensive survey of sex-role portrayal in Asian newspapers is lacking from the available literature. Two papers presented to the Asian Consultation on Women and Media attempt to narrow the existing research gap. They focus respectively on images of women in Japanese and Hongkong newspapers.

1. The treatment of women in newspapers

The paper presented by Tokiko Fukao (1976) highlights part of the results of an analysis of Japanese newspapers. The conclusions pertain to the newspapers' view of women's role in child-rearing as reflected in news stories on child abandonment and infanticide, and to their concept of women as emerging from the coverage of women's activities. Neither the scope nor the methodology of the study is detailed here. However, the report documents the social conditions in Japan, particularly those related to child care, and the changing status of Japanese women. Against this background the treatment of women in newspapers is evaluated. The author concludes that newspapers reinforce traditional notions about women's roles and femininity, which are in sharp contrast with the redefinition of sex-roles occurring in contemporary Japan. The stereotyped images and descriptions of women reflect a male perspective, according to Fukao. In order to improve women's image, women themselves must exert more influence. Not only is there a need for more female journalists, but the female audience must take action by protesting against the depiction of women in the press and the lack of women

journalists. The treatment of women in the Japanese press thus appears to be no different from the practices prevailing in the press of Western industrialized countries.

2. The "women's section"

The paper presented by Kulkarni (1976) attempts to assess the social consciousness of women's roles as reflected in the Asian press on the basis of an analysis of the women's pages in the English-language newspapers of Hongkong. The survey sample is not claimed to be representative of the Asian media. Furthermore, Kulkarni observes that the English-language press is more elitist and more directed to the middle classes than the Asian-language press. On the other hand, the level of literacy is generally low in Asia. Newspaper reading is more common among the middle classes whose ethos can be assumed to be reflected in the English-language press. Finally, the author assumes that the basic mores of the educated middle class of Hongkong roughly correspond with those prevailing elsewhere in non-communist countries of Asia. The results of the content-analysis must be interpreted in view of the above limitations. The women's pages contain an overwhelming number of photographs, mostly of the Hongkong elite's social events and of fashions. The sections are dominated by fashion stories, usually include horoscopes, and regularly feature foods and recipes imported from the West. Ten out of 67 stories in the sample focused on medical or psychological issues, including two items on birth control. Only two of these articles were written by local journalists. About two-thirds of all the news stories in the sample came from outside syndicated services: written by Western journalists, directed to Western audiences and dealing with issues relevant to their societies rather than the Asian socio-cultural context. Since the newspapers in the sample are aimed at the educated middle class, the author argues that the content of their women's pages does not only reflect Asian journalists' prejudices about women's roles and interests, but also those of the audience they serve. Awareness of the aims of the women's movement exists mainly among the middle class, according to Kulkarni, although most literate Asian middle-class women are not activists. In fact, academic research reveals that educated women in Asia still maintain rather traditional concepts of sex-roles.

3. Newspaper coverage of the women's movement

Although leading Asian journalists seem to draw their inspiration from British and American media, they do not emulate the Western model with regard to the women's movement which, according to Kulkarni (1976), has made a serious impact on media in the West. Kulkarni's explanation of this unwillingness to focus on feminism is that "Asian

journalists, for reasons of their countries' feudal and colonial past, are products of unegalitarian values in society, and are uncomfortable with the onrush of the feminist movement which challenges the entrenched male positions" (Kulkarni, 1976, 7). As a result, the sparse coverage of the women's movement in Asian newspapers reflects a negative attitude. The Western press' reflection of the growing pains the movement is experiencing reinforces the (predominantly male) Asian editors' view of feminism as irrelevant to Asian conditions. According to the author, the movement to equalize women's status is important to Asia as an integral part of the overall socio-economic development. By concentrating on developmental aspects, with special emphasis on equality between the sexes, the press could play a significant role in the development process. However, Kulkarni is pessimistic about the prospect of the press meeting this challenge. Since the press all over the world has traditionally been at best a catalyst rather than an initiator of social change, the author believes that only a strong social movement will be able to pressure the "lethargic" Asian mass media into shifting their orientation towards these important issues.

(e) Latin America

The CIM Resolution (CIM, 1977) summarizes the portrayal of women in newspapers on the basis of evidence presented at the seminar on mass media and women's images in Santo Domingo. The treatment of women in newspapers falls into two categories.

- Newspapers present images of female newsmakers. These include extraordinary women, i.e. women who are active and successful in traditionally male fields, and women who are considered newsworthy because of the sensationalist nature of the story.
- Certain news stories are specifically aimed at women. Such items are often contained in a separate section labelled "for women", which implies a degree of lowered esteem for women.

The extension of the above conclusion to the entire body of research documents reviewed in the foregoing discussion provides a basic summary of the portrayal of women in newspapers in various continents, cultures and societies.

Conclusion

Newspaper images of woman define her in terms of her relationships to men. They emphasize her maternal and marital roles, and her function as a sexual object for male perusal. Women make news by virtue of their thus defined "femininity", or are assigned traditionally female traits when they appear in the news in non-traditional capacities, e.g. as politician, professional, activist, sports figure, etc. This same concept of female nature and

female roles is reflected in the news aimed specifically at women. The items dominating the women's pages are food, fashion, society news, and entertainment, which are perceived as women's primary interests in accordance with their primary roles. Traditional sex-role concepts and behaviour are thus reinforced. Changing lifestyles and the new roles of women and men emerging in contemporary society are insufficiently reflected in the press. The press' function as preserver of the status quo also appears from the scarcity and the trivializing, ambivalent or distorting tone of its coverage of the feminist movement and the issues it raises. Most research documents attribute the traditional outlook on women prevailing in newspapers to the predominance of men in the newsrooms. The newspaper perspective of women is fundamentally a male perspective. Although research indicates that the presence of women journalists does not automatically guarantee non-stereotyped treatment of women, it also suggests that increasing their number would at least provide more opportunities for new images of women to emerge.

B. Images of women in magazines

Women's magazines are distinguished from other media mainly by the fact that they are directed specifically to, and read primarily by, women. This factor explains feminist concern with the images projected in these publications, precisely because of their potential impact on women's consciousness and self-perceptions. Studies of female images in women's magazines tend to focus on advertising, because the vast majority of advertisements for consumer products are aimed at women. Women's magazines are therefore a highly valued advertising vehicle. The evolution of women's magazines from their original to their present formats historically coincided with the increasing industrialization and the growing economic importance of advertising, as Weibel (1977, 142-154) has demonstrated for the U.S.A. Dependence on advertising revenues has been indicated as one of the major factors determining female images presented in the women's periodical press. Therefore, advertising and editorial content are inextricably linked. Separation of the two in this survey is solely for purposes of analytical clarity. However, strict separation cannot always be maintained, especially in the discussion of European studies which tend to present an overall evaluation in contrast with the more narrowly delineated research focus of American analyses. North America and Western Europe have produced the largest quantity of research materials in this field, with other geographic areas lagging far behind. Thus, the existing research gap between the industrialized consumer societies and other types of society, particularly those in the developing stages, is widened.

(a) North America

1. Non-fiction content

Analysis of non-advertising content in women's magazines has concentrated primarily on fiction, "the weak spot in all mass magazines" (Ray, 1972, 41). In order to determine whether non-fiction suffers from the same cultural lag, Ray content-analysed four magazines directed to and/or read by women. The cultural lag projected by women's magazine fiction is defined as the discrepancy which exists between the cultural ideal, placing women's prime responsibilities in the home, and the reality of contemporary social conditions, which show an increasing employment of married women, mostly in traditionally female jobs and professions which tend to be the less skilled and the less rewarding occupations.

Three women's periodicals were selected for analysis, i.e. McCall's and The Ladies' Home Journal (LHJ) which occupy the leading position in terms of circulation among the family-oriented magazines, and Cosmopolitan, aimed at the 18-24 year-old career women. Playboy, the nation's best-selling men's magazine was also included, on the basis of research indicating that it is the most widely read publication among employed female readers. The study purported to examine which role models the magazines presented, how they reflected social reality, and what their positions were regarding the changing roles of women. Articles dealing with female employment reflect great disparity between McCall's and LHJ. McCall's is ambivalent towards working wives and ignores working mothers. It encourages volunteer work for married women as a culturally acceptable outlet, or suggests part-time work for mothers of grown-up children. The emphasis on traditional roles for women reflects the orientation of the magazine's audience, as appears from readers' correspondence. In contrast with these traditional views, McCall's presents profiles of successful women in a wide variety of fields, including non-traditional occupations. LHJ does not restrict women to their domestic roles. It condones employment, preferably part-time, for married women and mothers, although the majority of its audience was found to favour the role of home-maker. However, its profiles of women do not include the world of work, and vocational information is sparsely provided. Cosmo is a magazine for women, but about men. Its main focus is on how to get a man and keep him. Non-fiction content dealing with female employment focuses on men rather than careers. Work is presented as an opportunity to meet men, and job descriptions tend to be glamorized and romanticized. Occasionally, employment discrimination, job opportunities and successful career women are discussed. Playboy resembles Cosmo in its liberal attitudes towards sex. It also focuses on men, but is written by and for men.

Women appear as sex-objects in photos only. Non-fiction content reflects a general disinterest in women outside sexual relationships.

Male-female relations are a major topic in all four magazines. McCall's and LHJ reflect traditional views of occupational roles and sexual behaviour of women. McCall's supports outright the traditional moral standards with regard to pre- and extra-marital sex, while the majority of its readers are inclined to use a double standard in judging infidelity of men vs. women. LHJ does not encourage pre-marital sex either, but recognizes it as a fact of life, and judges according to the circumstances despite the conservatism of its readership in this respect. Cosmo differs from the two other women's magazines in the survey sample in that it openly advocates equality in sex, although its emphasis on female-male relationships and on marriage is at least equally strong. However, marriage is not seen as a total relationship, but presented as a maximization of sexual opportunity. By emphasizing marriage as the preferable mode of life, it reflects the status of women in American culture, which discriminates against single people. Extra-marital sex is only discussed in Cosmopolitan in terms of men and single women, thus reflecting the double standard at least with regard to married women vs. married men. Playboy, despite its pictorial treatment of women as sexual objects, emphasizes the individual and rejects the double standard in every respect. Pre-marital sex is openly advocated, extra-marital sex is not encouraged for either men or women. Marriage is taken seriously, though not stressed.

As for the position the various magazines take on the women's movement, Cosmopolitan gives precedence to the importance of men in women's lives, and to sexual freedom over psychological, social or political liberation. The "Cosmo-girl" is far from a liberated woman, according to Ray. McCall's has been the most consistent in emphasizing traditional roles for women at least until its new female editor, appointed in 1969, gradually changed its orientation towards support of feminist aims and issues. LHJ has been the most heavily criticized among the women's magazines. In defence of its tradition-oriented content and outlook, its male editor argues that the majority of its readers choose a home-centered life. Playboy is ambivalent towards the liberated women, but only reacts against the anti-male feminist faction. However, female liberation is appreciated primarily for the sexual freedom it implies.

On the basis of these findings, the author concludes that no magazine can yet be labelled feminist in orientation. However, McCall's is definitely moving in that direction, while both Playboy and Cosmopolitan partially reflect women's new sexual freedom. LHJ has responded to feminist criticism by issuing one feminist edition, but has since resumed its more or less traditional pattern. The general ambivalence or hesitant approaches, towards

feminism seem to reflect the view of the majority of American women, according to Ray. LHJ reader surveys have shown that the majority of women do not want to be liberated and do not accept other women's non-traditional concepts and behaviour. According to the author, a change in women's concepts of themselves and their roles is needed before changes in sex-roles will be reflected in the women's press.

While the above discussion suggests some deviation from the dominant traditional image of the home-centered and consumption-oriented housewife in Cosmopolitan, Weibel (1977, 135-173) observes that the sexy Cosmo is merely another version of the traditional, passive image of woman. The roots of the emergence of the contemporary Cosmo image are in the sexual revolution of the 1960's, when the advent of the birth-control pill offered new options to single and divorced women. Sex became a matter of personal choice. Woman's sexual freedom is part of her liberation, Weibel observes, but it remains the only link between feminism and Cosmopolitan. She indicates other alternatives emerging in the late sixties which represented more significant changes in women's image in the women's press. Essence, a magazine directed to the black professional and business-women, projects images of the self-confident, independent woman without the Cosmo emphasis on the all-importance of catching a man. Ms. magazine finally emerged from the women's liberation movement as a mass-circulation publication with a feminist viewpoint. However, Weibel does not expect the trend away from tradition to escalate. She predicts a partial return to the pre-1960 status and a renewed emphasis on more traditional images of woman.

Weibel's perspective on future developments in women's magazines' response to changing sex-roles may be overly pessimistic. A comparative study of role portrayals in Mademoiselle, Redbook and Ms. (Newkirk, 1977) showed that alternatives to the domestic images of women are being gradually incorporated into the traditional formats of the former two, and exclusively portrayed in Ms. magazine. However, a balanced portrayal of today's "total" woman is absent from all three publications, since even Ms. fails to portray accurately women's domestic roles, the author concludes.

The course of gradual reform women's magazines appear to pursue was briefly interrupted in the summer of 1976 by a highly unusual episode. Following the initiative of one editor, 39 magazines joined together to stimulate national debate on the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) issue (Farley, 1978 - Butler and Paisley, 1978). The length of coverage and the extent of support provided for passage of the ERA varied with editorial policy, circulation, and social class of readership. Magazines which frequently discussed controversial issues, had an average circulation of 2 1/2 million and a middle-class readership were more likely to

provide extensive coverage and strong support than publications with a lower circulation, working-class audience and infrequent coverage of controversial issues. However, amount of coverage did not consistently correlate positively with advocacy. All magazines advocated ERA to some extent, with fashion and romance magazines emerging as the strongest supporters. Treatment of various themes such as employment, heterosexual and homosexual marriage, rape, etc. generally expressed a strong pro-ERA position. Although magazine coverage of women's rights definitely rose to a peak in the mid-1970's as compared to previous decades, including the high level reached in the 1920's, the long-term trend in media coverage of issues centering around women is not necessarily encouraging, according to Butler and Paisley (1978).

2. Fictional content

Our discussion of fictional content in the American women's press is based on four studies. Three of these analyse fiction in the so-called "trade" magazines for women. The fourth focuses on romance magazines vs. adventure magazines, their male-oriented counterparts. The term "trade magazine" refers to a consumption-oriented publication which addresses a predominantly middle-class audience. Romance magazines are most widely read among working-class women and focus heavily on fictional entertainment.

The basis of the study conducted by Bailey (1969) is the criticism voiced by Betty Friedan (1963, 33-69), whose research revealed deplorable changes in women's magazine fiction. Friedan's analysis showed a sharp decrease in the number of career women featured in fiction from 1939 to 1949. By the end of the 1950's, career women had completely disappeared from women's magazine fiction, and hardly any female characters were employed. Working women were being replaced by younger housewife heroines, whose interests were home- and children-oriented. Bailey's study was designed to test these findings in fiction appearing in McCall's, The Ladies' Home Journal (LHJ) and Good Housekeeping (GH) of 1957 and 1967, and to examine whether the changes in women's status during that decade, such as increasing education and employment, were reflected in the portrayal of women in fiction. Bailey found the dominant image to be that of an attractive married woman, between 26 and 35 years old, with 1 or 2 children, a house in the city, a college education, housewifery as her main occupation, and love as her primary goal. Friedan's findings, which showed a trend towards younger heroines, were generally confirmed. The only exception was McCall's, which significantly increased its representation of older (36-45) women. The analysis further revealed a sharp decrease in the number of female characters with a career. Moreover, career women were mostly portrayed as unsympathetic, "unfeminine", and as threats to other

women's marriages. The happy housewife represented the dominant image of women in fiction, and marriage was depicted more frequently as bringing happiness in 1967 as compared to 1957. The only major change noted over the decade pertained to the problems female characters were faced with, which shifted from mostly romantic to predominantly psychological in 1967. Bailey interprets this as a trend towards more realism, although she observes that the problems dealt with in fiction stories were generally not of a serious nature. The author concludes that women's magazines, at least in their fictional content, seem to react against career women by emphasizing conservatism. She predicts that changes in women's lives will have to be more definite before they will be reflected in the fiction stories published in women's magazines (cfr. supra, p. 72 - Ray's conclusion with regard to non-fiction content).

Lugenbeel (1975) analysed a sample of short stories published in Good Housekeeping in 1972-1973. The analysis results support Bailey's findings for the previous decade. The typical heroine is still a young (25-35 years old) woman, whose goals are love-oriented, and whose problems are of a psychological nature. She is portrayed as a wife or mother, who falls victim to circumstances and sacrifices herself for someone else in a situation not of her own making. Lugenebeel suggests that fiction in women's magazines such as Good Housekeeping, which shows women as home- and family-oriented without offering any alternatives, could provoke guilt complexes in female readers who did not choose to sacrifice their careers for the housewife role.

Franzwa (1975) also selected Good Housekeeping, McCall's and The Ladies' Home Journal for her analysis. To indicate the relevance of such studies, she refers to research results which reveal the effect of media images on women's role perceptions. Several studies have demonstrated that:

- women's educational training and career aspirations are affected by their concepts of female roles, which are in turn related to their ideas of what men perceive as the ideal woman;
- the view women have of their roles in life are influenced by images presented in the mass media. Effect studies of children indicate that mass media are more influential in shaping their role concepts than parental examples.

The analysis covered a 25-year period (from 1945 to 1970 at 5-year intervals). It was revealed that women in fiction are generally portrayed as single and looking for a husband, as housewife/mother, as spinster, or as widowed/divorced and soon to remarry. The single factor defining women in each of these categories is their relationship to a man or the absence thereof. Forty-one percent of the female characters in the sample were employed at some time, mainly in low-status jobs.

However, it was made clear that young single women who were employed considered their jobs as temporary occupations until they got married. Few married women were shown as employed, but those who did work almost invariably experienced severe role conflicts. No working women appeared in fiction of the 1955, 1960, 1965 and 1970 samples. This finding tends to support Friedan's and Bailey's observations of a decline in the number of working women in contemporary women's magazine fiction - a trend exactly opposite to that actually taking place in the U.S.A. during the same period.

In comparison with the home-oriented magazines under examination, Franzwa refers to more career-oriented women's periodicals such as Glamour, Mademoiselle, and Cosmopolitan. She rejects Clarke and Esposito's criticism (1966) that the careers focused on in these magazines are esoteric, because they are inaccessible and the average woman does not aspire to them. According to Franzwa, broadening the perspective on female roles in any way is preferable to stressing housewifery and motherhood as women's only roles in life. This observation loses significance in view of Ray's and Weibel's conclusions discussed above (pp. 72-73), which showed Cosmopolitan as basically perpetuating traditional images of women. The only new element in the Cosmo image of woman is her sexual freedom, which is merely an additional female attribute for pleasing men, according to Weibel (1977). Ray's analysis (1972) revealed that Cosmopolitan's concern with careers is not based on any genuine interest in women's economic independence and social liberation. Female jobs are distortedly described in terms of their potential for encountering men, who are the protagonists in Cosmo women's lives.

A study conducted by Smith and Matre (1975) compares sex-roles and social norms reflected in romance magazines, aimed at women, with those in adventure magazines, directed to men. Both types of magazine are most popular among working-class people. The analysis showed significant differences between the two types of magazine in the reflection and support of a set of social norms, which sociological literature documents as being strongly adhered to by the American working class. Only the results pertaining to sex-role concepts and behaviour will be discussed. Men almost invariably featured in romance stories as important characters. Contrastingly, adventure stories often ignored women completely or portrayed them in a casual and temporary sexual relationship with the male hero. Romance stories tended to disapprove of pre- and extra-marital sex, thus adhering to the generally accepted norm, while adventure fiction was more likely to approve. Sexual encounters were only part of the adventure in male-oriented magazines, but were the adventure in romance stories for women. Marriage was a primary goal in life in most romance fiction, while adventure stories seldom dealt with it. Romance characters

tended to seek stability and security, while adventure heroes showed no such interests. Another interesting finding concerned the norm that working people tend to perceive themselves as living in a hostile environment. Romance heroines facing hostility experienced feelings of helplessness. By contrast, adventure heroes expected to encounter hostility, and usually succeeded in skillfully mastering the situation. This corresponds with an earlier finding revealed in a study of British newspapers (cfr. supra, p. 63-X, Birmingham, 1974), which showed women as helpless victims of social circumstances and disasters, while men in similar situations were never portrayed as passive or unable to act. The portrayal of sex-roles in both types of magazine tends to stereotype both women and men. Women generally appeared as domestic, passive, emotional and dependent. Male characters tended to be aggressive, strong, confident and protective. However, more adventure stories featured (sexually) aggressive women than romance stories. On the basis of these findings, the analysts conclude that romance stories show women as seeking and finding happiness in conventional roles, while depending for their identity on the men in their lives. Adventure stories portray an escapist world of male prowess, devoid of domestic and moral responsibilities. The normative expectations of males and females as reflected in fiction are thus markedly different and do not contribute to promoting mutually satisfactory male-female relationships between readers. The reinforcement of stereotypes and the depiction of male-female relationships in fiction are not conducive to effecting a better understanding between men and women, the authors conclude.

On the basis of the research results discussed above, it seems that fiction represents "the weak spot" in women's magazines in terms of perpetuating conventional role concepts. While the non-fiction content shows some signs of awareness of the changing position of women, it also remains largely tradition-oriented in depicting them and their roles in society.

(b) Western Europe

Types of content as a basis for classification of studies on women's magazines is a less efficient criterion when discussing research documents on European periodicals. Most documents tend to present an overall assessment, integrating various types of content, socio-demographic audience data and attempts to describe women's magazines in terms of the functions they perform for their readers. While this approach provides valuable sociological perspectives on the position of women's magazines among other media types, it is likely to suffer from methodological imperfections.

1. Fictional content

An analysis of fiction in a sample of British and American women's magazines from the 18th century to the present (Cecil, 1974) shows no major changes in the basic concerns of fiction heroines. Women in fiction have always been in search of romance and true love. The major change in current fiction, according to Cecil, is the introduction of sex as a common ingredient of romance in the new women's periodicals, which are mainly aimed at the young "liberated" woman. The older established women's magazines with middle-class readership have also made some adjustments to the traditional patterns in face of the competition, particularly from television. However, their fiction heroines remain essentially housewives, now faced with divorce and adultery, the latter always having a destructive effect. By incorporating themes like adultery and divorce, they are attempting to achieve a balance between realism and the traditional patterns of romance (cfr. the trend towards realism noted by Bailey (1969) - supra, p. 74). The typical heroines of the fiction of the 1960's appear in the new "liberated" magazines, which respond to the permissive morality of the time by updating old story patterns via the incorporation of sex. However, casual pre-marital sex is not condoned. Although marriage is not always a prerequisite, love is. While adultery, divorce and sex are dealt with in contemporary fiction, the happy-ending romantic story still prevails, Cecil observes. The predominance of traditional patterns leads Cecil to conclude that women's magazine fiction does not seem to be greatly affected by women's changing status, and that escapism remains its primary function.

Providing entertainment via escapist fiction is indicated as one of the basic functions women's periodicals perform for their readers (Wassenaar, 1976). The decline of romance magazines in the United Kingdom, which McClelland (1965) observed in the 1960's and which he attributed to the fierce competition of television, particularly in the area of entertainment, has since been reversed, according to White (1977). The 1970's actually witnessed a substantial increase in the demand for escapist fiction in the United Kingdom both in the general women's press and the specialized fiction periodicals (White, 1977). Wassenaar (1976) notes a recent trend towards realism in fiction appearing in the Netherlands women's press. The enormous success of Story, a new publication aimed at a predominantly female audience, suggests that the romantic formula is by no means losing ground. Story and other newly launched "spin-off" publications exclusively focus on the problemless dream world of romance. However, these magazines do not present a fictional fantasy world, but are dominated by romanticized accounts of the lives of royalty, stars and other news-makers. Love story magazines also continue to be popular with women in Italy (De Claricini, 1965) and France (Lainé, 1974).

Weibel (1977), however, observed that fiction, at least the purely romantic-escapist type, seemed to be decreasing in importance in the American trade magazines. She suggests the social class differences between the audiences of the trade press vs. the romance magazines as the key to explaining this phenomenon. According to Weibel, the TV-soap-opera has largely replaced magazine entertainment for middle-class women. For working-class women, who are the primary readers of romance periodicals, the soap-opera which portrays middle-class people and lifestyles is not competitive with their fiction magazines. According to White (1977), structural factors such as social class, age and income are today losing significance as a basis for social stratification in the United Kingdom. Attitudes, tastes and lifestyles are becoming the crucial factors which increasingly guide the communication strategies of the women's press. A recent analysis of the Dutch-language women's press in Belgium (De Kunst, 1978) also failed to provide evidence for the thesis formulated by Trommsdorff (1969) with respect to the women's periodicals in the Federal Republic of Germany, that the style and content of a particular publication are significantly related to the socio-economic status of its readership. The success formula of all women's magazines, regardless of socio-demographic audience variables, appears to be firmly based on a balance between two major ingredients, i.e. service and entertainment. The emphasis on either one of these elements varies in accordance with readership variables (De Kunst, 1978).

2. Non-fiction content

Content-analyses of women's magazines reveal that the dominant images of women are projected in the advertisements which all magazines contain in large quantities. The economic dependence of the women's press on advertising revenues determines their editorial as well as their advertising content. In fact, the distinction between both has been more and more obscured, and editorial content merely seems to support the household industry and its advertising for which the women's magazines with their homogeneous audience form an excellent vehicle (Wassenaar, 1976). The increasing overlapping of advertising and editorial content produces and promotes images of women which appeal to female readers as consumers in the interest of the profit-oriented established order. Women's magazines thus represent a conservative force. Women are predominantly depicted in domestic roles, i.e. as the major dispenser of the family income. A more recent development is the emergence of the seductive woman (cfr. supra in fiction), who is encouraged to buy beautifying products in order to attract and please men. What both images have in common, besides stimulating female consumption, is that they define women exclusively in terms of their

interactions with men: as their wives/housekeepers/mothers of their children, and as sexual objects. Images of independent or working women, and many other vital images of contemporary women are conspicuously absent (Faulder, 1977, 175).

Benoît (1973) analysed two mass-circulation magazines aimed at predominantly young, educated, middle-class women in France. Her evaluation of the portrayal of women and the image of femininity in Elle and Marie-Claire is based on an examination of the literature on the French women's press combined with content-analysis. The study does not purport to provide a systematized content description on the basis of statistical data, but rather indicates current trends as related to traditional concepts of women and female roles on the one hand, and the new feminist awareness on the other. An evolution from emphasis on conventional concepts of female roles (1945-1956) over an increasing objectification of women as esthetic objects of male pleasure (1958-1968) to finally a first attempt at redefining women's identity and role in life from a female perspective is noted in Elle. Benoît observes that the magazine has redesigned its content in recent years, combining new feminist themes such as sexual liberation and female employment with traditional concerns such as practical advice in moral, sentimental and domestic matters and the esthetic presentation and non-conformist style of its fashion photography. The combination of new female awareness with traditional femininity is a reflection of the ambivalence of its readers, according to Benoît. A 1971 survey is cited as an indication of sex-role concepts among French women. While the majority of the respondents supported the principle of equality between the sexes, marriage was still considered a primary goal in women's lives. Sexual liberation was situated within the husband-wife relationship. Marriage itself was not questioned, and the double standard still prevailed in the judgment of pre- and extra-marital sex. According to Benoît, Elle tends to support equality between the sexes in all spheres, with special emphasis on female employment as a form of liberation from the narrow and limiting domestic roles, and on the redefinition of female sexuality within the marital context. The emphasis on the married couple is stronger in Marie-Claire, which tends to reflect more traditional values. In comparison with Elle, the service and advice function - generally acknowledged as one of the major functions of women's magazines (cfr. Wassenaar, 1976, 80-82) - is stressed more in Marie-Claire. However, Marie-Claire also introduces the major feminist themes of female sexuality and employment. Both magazines have thus evolved into a format which combines the representation of traditional femininity with images reflecting the new female consciousness. The conflicts arising from the combination of domestic and professional roles are reflected in the magazines' growing concern with reforming the societal structure, and an emerging controversy around the marriage institution.

Benoît sees the positive aspect of these recent developments in the women's press primarily in the establishment of a communication link between feminist theorists and the female mass audience. However, a new female mass culture is emerging from the images presented in the women's press and mass media in general, which is producing new myths. These new myths define woman's biological specificity and traditional femininity against stereotyped masculinity. It is here that women's magazines, which are partly responsible for the female mass culture and its "new" mythology, cease to reflect the real concerns of feminism, Benoît concludes.

The study of French women's periodicals conducted by Dardigna (1975) also reveals the ambiguity of woman's image. The survey sample, the size and composition of which are not specified, includes, besides Elle and Marie-Claire, several other "middle-class" magazines such as Vogue, 20 ans, Votre Beauté. The analysis shows the emergence of a double image: woman defined exclusively by her roles of wife and mother vs. the sexually liberated woman. A balanced combination of these two aspects is presented as the female ideal as perceived by men. Male and female roles are strictly delineated: production is man's responsibility, reproduction that of woman. Women's magazines present the biologically determined female nature as opposed to the male nature as the basis for this strict role segregation (cfr. supra Benoît's conclusion). This conservative definition of the female role reflects the position of women in the male-dominated social structure, which rests on the institution of the nuclear family. It conflicts with the reality of (married) women's increasing participation in the labour force. Dardigna does not claim that women's magazines completely ignore the reality of female employment. However, the sole purpose of exposing the exploitation of working women is to encourage women to re-appraise their true role in life: that of housewife/mother. Women's marital and maternal roles are presented as essentially secondary and subservient to the needs of husband and children. Failure to find happiness in domesticity and subservience to man is attributed to the individual women, never to the shortcomings of the social structure (cfr. supra, p. 63 the conclusion of a study of newspaper images of women - X, Birmingham, 1974). Problems and conflicts are typically reduced to personal circumstances, while social conditions are never examined as their cause, according to the author. Women's magazines thus reflect and proscribe the traditional image of woman, which reinforces the established socio-economic-political system. To update this traditional image, some degree of liberation and feminist awareness is injected. The incorporation of "liberated" ideas varies according to the magazine's audience. Vogue and Votre Beauté reduce women's liberation to sexual freedom. Far from advocating equality between women

and men, they are in fact counter-revolutionary, and present equality as a threat to masculinity, which they consider an extremely undesirable effect. In Elle, Marie-Claire, 20 ans and Femme Pratique two trends emerge. First, social change is advocated in order to permit women to fulfill their biological destiny of motherhood. However, no attempts are made to question or redefine woman's place in society. The second trend is the emphasis on sexual freedom for women within marriage, but not sexual equality: different standards are applied in evaluating the male vs. the female sexual experience. While Dardigna's generalizations, based on a broader range of publications, show no deviation from the traditional patterns other than an integration of new themes into conventional sex-role concepts, Benoît interpreted the introduction of new themes in the two largest women's periodicals as a positive development. The apparent contradiction between these two interpretations is basically a matter of differing emphasis. Ultimately, Dardigna's interpretation seems to prevail, as demonstrated by Benoît's conclusion (cf. supra, p. 81), which diminishes the progressive value of the magazines under discussion.

Dardigna also examined two relatively new women's magazines: the French version of Cosmopolitan, and l'Amour, which are aimed at liberated middle-class women. However, instead of presenting new and improved images of women and their relationships with men, liberation is merely presented as an extension of male sexual privileges to women, including exploitation and oppression. These magazines portray both men and women as sexual objects. The main characteristic of the new woman is her seductiveness achieved through orgasmic potential and the consumption of products which increase her sex-appeal. Both sexual capacity and consumption of "sexy" products are cultivated for the pleasure of men. Woman's true nature is still submission to man, her real goal remains marriage, and the ultimate female fulfillment is to be found in motherhood. Despite attempts to modernize woman's image, mainly by co-opting feminist aims with regard to sexuality, the basic perspective has not changed: women are confirmed in their traditional roles of wife and mother, and the basic social institution of the family, and woman's place within it, are reinforced. Women's magazines preclude the liberation of women by defining female nature as sexual-social-economic passivity and subordination, Dardigna concludes.

Lainé (1974) is even firmer in rejecting the role of the women's press in the liberation of women. Because of the economic necessity of catering for the advertisers and the majority of their audience, who, he claims, are satisfied with the proposed models, the sole function of women's magazines is to perpetuate the dominant concept of woman, adapting it to the trends and fashions of the time. The dominant images of woman are those that determine her by her place in the home and

her relationship with men: i. e. the housewife/mother (instrument) and the seductive woman (object). To perform these roles efficiently, women have to purchase products to please men in either respect. The working woman is virtually absent, except in glamorized female jobs, although the majority of employed women in France work in factories, in clerical jobs or domestic service. According to Lainé, the emphasis on either of the major attributes of femininity, i. e. sexual attractiveness and efficient domesticity, varies according to the audience which the magazine addresses. Lainé also cites Elle as the most progressive, but observes that the sympathetic presentation of feminist ideas co-exists with the traditional themes of femininity, which remains dominant. The only major change he notes in the contemporary women's press is the integration of woman's sexual liberation into the dominant ideology of the consumer society: the women's press merely eroticizes the life of the woman consumer by enclosing her in the narrow field of objects, instruments and methods of seduction. Women's liberation is identified with sexual liberation as a new instrument to please men, to be attained by the consumption of sexy products (cf. supra, p. 82-Dardigna and p. 76-Weibel). Lainé's conclusion synthesizes the above discussion of the relation between women's magazines and women's liberation. The role of the women's press is basically of the economic order and no more is to be expected from it.

Wassenaar's study of Netherlands women's magazines (Wassenaar, 1976) reveals the same basic trends as indicated in the French analyses discussed above. Despite the changing position of women in Netherlands society, due to increased leisure and growing participation in the labour force, as well as the onrush of the feminist movement, women's magazines show no major changes. Wassenaar attributes the lack of interest in feminist aims and issues to the precedence of commercial interests, to which feminism and its new perspective on women present a threat. Women's dominant image is that of the housewife/mother. Unmarried women only appear in search for true happiness in marriage, particularly in fiction and advice columns. The married woman's primary role is to please man, the centre of her life. Working women are either absent or depicted in female jobs of the glamorous type. The portrayal of women in the women's press, both editorially and pictorially, thus reinforces a strict role segregation. Only by presupposing and reinforcing women's dependence and oppression are women's magazines able to maintain their position. According to Wassenaar, in a world where women and men participate as equal partners with the same opportunities for personal and social development, women's magazines would be obsolete.

That women's magazines fail to contribute to the liberation of women is also the conclusion of a

content-analysis of the Dutch-language women's press in Belgium (Lavaerts, 1975). The study was restricted to an analysis of editorial content dealing with female employment. None of the examined periodicals devoted more than an average of 2% of their editorial space to the discussion of this theme. The evaluation of the few articles focusing on woman's work was based on two criteria, which represent focal points of feminist media critique: the omission of the political implications of women's status and the reinforcement of traditional concepts of woman's role. In terms of these criteria, three of the four magazines examined (Libelle/Rosita, Mimo, and Ons Volk) could be described as more or less progressive. They exposed the discrimination against female workers, presented the division of work in female vs. male spheres as archaic, and pointed out the responsibilities of government to improve women's status. However, Libelle/Rosita was highly inconsistent, taking a progressive position in its editorials, while expressing a conservative and tradition-oriented viewpoint in its advice columns. Het Rijk der Vrouw, the fourth publication in the sample, was most conservative. It either ignored the issue or refused to take a firm position when the subject was introduced by readers. However, none of the magazines provided a thorough analysis of the issue, and feminist actions related to female employment were generally dismissed as ineffective. On the basis of these data, Lavaerts concludes that the lack of concern with women's roles demonstrated in women's magazines fails to reflect the changing position of contemporary women.

A description of Italian women's weeklies (De Claricini, 1965) confirms the general trends in the European and American women's press of the sixties and seventies. According to De Claricini, political information is virtually absent, which reflects a view of women as either not interested in, or incapable of understanding, politics, although women represent the vast majority of voters in Italy. De Claricini also believes that the link between advertising and the women's press precludes the reflection of issues and concerns of relevance to modern women. Women's magazines in Italy, as elsewhere in Western Europe and North America, merely constitute a prime vehicle for advertising messages directed to women in view of their purchasing power as housewives. Besides consumption, escape in a fantasy world of romance seems to delineate women's sphere as presented in the Italian women's press, De Claricini concludes.

In a recent survey of British women's magazines and their editors, White (1977) noted a slight change in the extent to which the acquisition of consumer goods was supported as a primary goal in life. Until 1970, the promotion of consumption and the presentation of a home-bound and family-oriented picture of woman represented the basic formula to which nearly all women's magazines subscribed, White observes. Today, family- and consumption-

oriented magazines remain the largest and most successful sub-group among women's periodicals. Attempts to update content in the early 1970's to suit the interests of the new woman - active, educated, and socially aware - have not been well-received. These developments have nevertheless succeeded in breaking the uniformity in content, according to White. However, despite a more critical attitude towards consumption and the expansion of feature content, contemporary women's magazines continue to purvey a distorted image of the world. Coverage of the world outside the home, the principal indicator of a magazine's position on the traditional-progressive continuum according to White, remains unsatisfactory, particularly with respect to the issues of education and employment. Commercial constraints and the threat of dropping circulations continue to curtail editorial freedom within women's magazine publishing in the United Kingdom, as elsewhere in Western Europe and North America.

(c) Central and Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R.

The women's press in the socialist countries of Europe does not suffer from the commercial constraints affecting its sister publications in Western Europe, according to Lewartowska (1975). As a result of their economic independence, women's periodicals of Eastern and Central Europe are able to concentrate on education. The author observes two dominant trends in the development of the women's press in Europe. The first is feminist-oriented and focuses on women's issues; the second emphasizes entertainment and incorporates large quantities of commercial messages. The latter trend predominated the evolution in Western Europe with romance magazines emerging as a sub-group aimed at a less educated audience. The feminist-oriented format, which Lewartowska claims all specialized women's periodicals adopted originally, remains until the present day the tradition of the socialist publications, which enjoy continued success in terms of number of titles, circulations and readership. The author links the economic problems women's magazines are faced with in the West and their decreasing circulations with the appearance of socialist periodicals.

Apart from the above summarized study of the development of women's periodicals in Western vs. Eastern/Central Europe, information on the structure, organization and readership, as well as on content and style of the women's press in Central/Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. is lacking. Women's periodicals nevertheless continue to flourish in many of these countries, including the U.S.S.R., where the number of magazines for women, particularly those working in industry and agriculture is steadily growing (X, World Communications, Unesco, 1975, 508). Lack of more detailed documentation obviously precludes a discussion of sex-role portrayal in the women's periodical press of Central and Eastern Europe at the present time.

(d) Asia

The seminar on "The Role of Mass Media in Changing Social Attitudes and Practices towards Women" (Press Institute of India, 1976) focused on the importance of women's magazines for communicating information to the female population of India. An analysis of Hindi periodicals over the past 30 years showed a steady decline in the discussion of women's issues. The educational function of the women's press was strongly stressed in view of the finding that the advent of new women's magazines in the late 1950's had resulted in a growing disinterest of the general press in the position of women. However, women's magazines in India focus almost exclusively on food, fashion and beauty, thus reinforcing the traditional roles of women. Information about relevant socio-economic issues, including the status of women, is largely lacking. The dependence on advertising, which is often blatantly sexist in its depiction of sex-roles, is indicated as one of the major reasons for the perpetuation of traditional female images. In this respect, women's magazines in India do not differ from those published in Western societies. Dependency on advertising support and the resulting consumption-oriented editorial policies are the key to explaining the strong resemblance between women's magazines in two such different types of culture and society. As in the West, Indian women's periodicals address women primarily in their capacity as consumers. In India, only upper and middle-class women, presumed to be primarily housewives, have easy access to both consumer products and the press which promotes the consumer-goods industry to women. As a result, the position of the majority of Indian women, who have always been economically active and increasingly work in unskilled labour, is ignored by the women's press. While the report defines the educational function of women's magazines as broadening their audience's horizon by exposing the social conditions of the mass of Indian women, it fails to indicate whether and how they can promote the education of the majority of the Indian female population, and particularly of the women living in rural areas where illiteracy rates are high.

(e) Latin America

The discussion of women's magazines in the CIM report (1977) of the Santo Domingo conference on women and media confirms the general consistency of the research results discussed above (excluding those pertaining to Eastern and Central Europe). Women as housekeepers, consumers and sexual objects are the dominant images projected. According to the report, the female images and the lifestyles and values women's magazines promote do

not correspond with the socio-economic realities of women's lives in most countries of Latin America. The women's press equally fails to reflect the significance of female contributions to the development of their respective nations.

Conclusion

The research documents analysing the portrayal of women in women's magazines, with the exception of those in socialist European countries, are highly consistent in their findings. Because of their economic dependence on advertising, women's magazines reflect and promote images of women which encourage them to conform to the norms of femininity proscribed by the established male-dominated socio-economic system. Domesticity and subservience are presented as the essence of woman's nature and role in society. The efficient performance of either one requires the consumption of products for the improvement of the home and the enhancement of woman's sexual appeal to man, the centre of her existence. The absence of images of independent women and employed women reinforces the strict delineation of women's vs. men's roles. Recent attempts to introduce new images inspired by the emerging changes in woman's identity and social status merely represent adaptations of the conventional concepts which remain fundamental and unquestioned. While studies of the press serving women of India, the U.S.A., various Western European and Latin American countries show no major differences in sex-role portrayals, they do differ in their evaluation of the role of the women's press in social development. In less developed countries, women's magazines are highly valued as important information media for and about women, which can contribute to the improvement of women's status, directly by educating women, and indirectly by highlighting their role in the development of their respective countries. Analysts of women's magazines appearing in the industrialized nations of the West perceive the women's press as a regressive force precluding the improvement of women's social status and their personal liberation, and reject its potential for contributing to such developments in any positive way.

The sole exceptions to the trends identified above are found in the women's press of the socialist countries of Eastern and Central Europe, which focuses on education rather than entertainment and consumption, and is independent of the commercial constraints determining the format of the women's press elsewhere. Due to insufficient evidence, no conclusions can be drawn at present as to how the absence of commercial influences and the emphasis on the educational function affect the portrayal of women in the female-oriented publications of these countries.

II. The professional status of women in mass media

The images of women in the media which have been documented in the foregoing chapter are productions of the people within the media organizations who conceive, create, produce and approve them. It is their ideas, attitudes, feelings and fantasies which ultimately determine how women appear in mass media content. Since there are strong indications that the representation of women in creative and decision-making positions within the media structures is severely imbalanced in relation to that of men, it is reasonable to assume that the perspective of women reflected in messages disseminated by mass media expresses male concepts of woman. Furthermore, as men are influenced in their thinking and acting by the cultural norms prevailing in their social environment, in which women are secondary to men, the chances that male concepts of woman are biased along these culturally defined lines are more than equally divided. To what extent men dominate media structures, and what the barriers are that hinder women's entrance at all levels are the questions which the following analysis attempts to elucidate.

1. The advertising industry

Although sex-role stereotyping is nowhere as consistent and pervasive as in advertising, and criticism of male bias abounds, studies of employment practices with respect to women in the advertising industry have been surprisingly scarce. The difficulty in determining the exact input of advertiser, agency and medium in the development of advertising messages most likely has some bearing on this research void. The central element in this triad is the advertising agency which mediates between the advertiser and the media.

Where are women inside this industry, which is heavily dependent upon the female market? According to statistics on the British situation, they are not to be found at the top. The number of females ranking high in the occupational hierarchy of the top agencies is actually declining (Faulder 1977). The ratio of women to men is somewhat

better in small agencies which offer women better opportunities for advancement. Scott (1976) provides other data indicative of the female employment status in advertising. The membership of the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising in the United Kingdom was estimated at 2/3 male vs. 1/3 female. The majority of the female members were employed in secretarial and administrative capacities. The marketing industry shows a similar pattern: few women at the top, most females in service occupations such as research. Given this unevenly divided male-female ratio, the question arises whether the advertising business is prejudiced against women. An analysis of research on (American) businessmen's attitudes towards women revealed several patterns of discrimination (Scott, 1976). Women in business are perceived and treated by their male colleagues as females first and employees second. In general, the business world is more concerned with a man's career than with a woman's professional advancement. Businessmen tend to be sceptical about women's abilities to balance work and family demands. Their ideas about women's physical and biological potential and its interference with their work capacities proved highly inaccurate. It appeared, however, that men who worked with female subordinates held less favourable attitudes towards women than men who worked with women on an equal footing. This finding suggests that mentality change will not come about until women and men interact on an equal level in the work environment.

When confronted with charges of sexual stereotyping, the advertising industry pleads innocence. Among the defence arguments most frequently brought forward are (Scott, 1976 - Faulder, 1977):

- advertisers' intentions to please the consumer. In this respect, market research is cited as a clear example of their genuine concern with the consumers' interests;
- the conservative role of advertising: advertising is a trend-follower, not a trend-setter. It caters for the commercially most interesting market segment, i.e. woman in her role as housewife,

which is observed as the role most women identify with;

- criticism of advertising is not widespread. Women who protest at sex-role images in advertising are dismissed as consumerists and "women's libbers", who are not representative of the average female consumer.

Whether female images in advertising reflect advertisers' rationalized view of the average female consumer, their conscious efforts to exploit or degrade women, or a subconscious projection of their own fantasies, they clearly reflect a male perspective, as women's status within the industry is devoid of power and influence. That this male perspective is also the culturally biased perspective of women as the inferior sex is sufficiently evidenced by the attitudes of male professionals towards working women and their view of housewifery as women's basic role. By consistently affirming these traditional concepts of woman, advertising reinforces and legitimizes both men's and women's perceptions of their own and each other's place in society.

While women are poorly represented at the decision-making level, they have a significant share in the acting roles in print and broadcast advertisements. Analysis of the interrelationship between the pattern of female role assignment in the production of advertisements and the female image they project provides an interesting and original approach to the employment status of women in the industry. This innovative perspective was introduced by the Screen Actors Guild-New York Branch Women's Conference Committee (X, SAG, 1974) with respect to the making of TV-commercials. The research team examined the status of principal actors, extras and off-camera voice-overs in terms of the financial rewards associated with each role category. The major difference between principal actors and extras is one of salary. Principals are not only paid a higher fee for the shooting of the commercial, but are also entitled to residuals for its airing. As extras do not receive these benefits, the difference in earning potential between these two categories may assume enormous proportions. Off-camera voice-over work is also rewarded with residual earnings, and is actually one of the most lucrative areas of employment in advertising. The fact that the actor remains visually anonymous greatly improves her/his employment opportunities. The content-analysis of a representative sample of commercials for a wide range of products revealed that males dominated both the principal and extra role categories in TV-commercials. Particularly voice-over work was overwhelmingly assigned to males. Since women are underrepresented in all role categories, but severely deprived of roles with the highest earning potential, the employment status and opportunities of women on, as well as behind, the production scene are considerably inferior to those of men.

Conclusion

Although research data on the professional status of women in the advertising industry are extremely limited with respect to both the occupational levels within the industry of a particular country and the geographical spectrum of the available sources, several trends with regard to the female employment situation emerge:

- women are numerically underrepresented, especially in influential, decision-making and financially rewarding positions;
- as men dominate the advertising business at the top levels, it is their view of women which determines female images in advertising;
- as these men have internalized the traditional concepts of sex-roles prevailing in their socio-cultural environment in general, and the male world of business in particular, female images in advertising reflect, reinforce and perpetuate conventional ideas about the respective roles of women and men.

The entry of more women into the advertising industry is frequently suggested as the obvious and simple solution. It is generally assumed that an increased female presence at all levels, including the top echelons, will automatically result in a more balanced portrayal of women in advertising. Changing the numerical imbalance would certainly be a positive step towards equalizing women's position in the industry. As to the predicted effect on female imagery, this will not come about unless the improved status of women in the industry is accompanied by significant changes in the structural and cultural conditions with respect to sex-role concepts and conduct in society at large. Advertising images of women, whether the creation of women or men, ultimately reflect the prevailing socio-cultural values and norms, to the conditioning influence of which women and men inside as well as outside the advertising industry are subjected. If the guidelines for legal provisions aimed at the elimination of dishonest and misleading advertising recently proposed by the Commission of European Communities may be interpreted as a reflection of the social climate in Europe, awareness of sexual discrimination perpetuated by advertising images is growing. Dishonesty in sex-role portrayal was defined as "a considerable violation of the principle of social, economic and cultural equality between the sexes". The inclusion of the term "considerable" however, reflects a lack of commitment to the strict enforcement of the proposal and severely mitigates its significance and practical value.

2. The broadcasting industry

A. Radio

That television has superseded radio becomes once again apparent when reviewing the literature on the professional status of women in broadcasting. As previously observed with respect to content studies, the position of women in radio has been a secondary consideration in comparison with television. Besides lacking in quantity, the documentation of female presence in sound broadcasting is confined to the North American and Western European socio-cultural contexts. This narrow research focus on the Western mass media structure to the neglect of other cultural regions, particularly the developing world, is deplorable, considering the anticipated potential of radio, rather than TV, for stimulating social development.

Specific areas of concern with regard to female participation in radio production include on-air presence both in information and entertainment programming, and representation in management. The virtual absence, or at best token presence, of women in management positions is regarded as one of the main causes of women's limited involvement in all aspects of radio work, as well as a major factor in perpetuating the male bias in radio programming.

(a) Women on the air

The article on radio included in the documentary sourcebook on British mass media compiled by the "Women in Media" group (Ross, 1977) pointed out that daytime radio voices were all male. According to the author, the fact that no female voices are heard during daytime broadcasts is rooted in broadcasters' belief that women, who largely make up daytime audiences, prefer listening to males. She attributes this misconception, which is responsible for keeping women off the air, to the influence of commercial radio. Because of the "lack of conviction of the female voice", advertisers believe that females are ineffectual in selling products to a female audience. The same argument has been used for years to exclude women from radio news reporting. Despite recent surveys which refute the belief that female voices are unacceptable to the audience (Stone, 1973 - Whittaker and Whittaker, 1976), broadcasters' prejudices against women persist (Marzolf, 1977).

As a result of staunch adherence to this philosophy, the on-air situation has been the hardest for women to break into. According to a recent Billboard article (X, Billboard, Nov. 12, 1977), women are currently crossing this last frontier.

All-music format radio in America grew up almost entirely womanless. Earlier attempts to put female disc-jockeys on the air failed, supposedly because the audience was not ready to accept women (X, Billboard, Nov. 12, 1977). This attitude has been changing since the late 1960's. As a result

an increasing number of women are making inroads into format radio. The hiring spree which recent years have witnessed is undoubtedly in no small measure owing to pressure from women's rights groups and to efforts to comply with the Equal Opportunities Act and Affirmative Action provisions. In the light of this motivation for hiring more women, the apprehension that change will not go beyond tokenism does not seem without foundation (Epstein, 1974). Nevertheless, broadcast executives claim that women owe their increasing breakthrough as air personalities exclusively to their talents and the readiness of audiences to accept them (X, Billboard, Nov. 12, 1977). While women disc-jockeys used to be locked into late nighttime slots on the assumption that late at night was the only time (male) listeners appreciated a female voice, they are now moving into morning and afternoon time slots as well. Women on the air appear to appeal to women and men equally, their audience being no different from that of their male counterparts.

The qualifications broadcasting requires in addition to the proper educational background and experience, i.e. the right "radio voice": low, steady and with an air of confidence, appeared to be a major obstacle to women's entry and advancement in radio news reporting (Bowman, 1974). Of the major American news media - newspapers, radio, TV, wire services - the severest exclusion of women from news departments occurred in radio. Less than 5% of the radio news staff were female. It appeared that opportunities for women in broadcasting were largely confined to television news in the larger markets. The inequity in the distribution of women and men in the media hierarchies was the largest in the broadcast sector. Nevertheless, while the broadcast media tended to discriminate more against women at the entry level than the print sector, the schemes of financial rewards were less discriminatory in broadcasting, at least at those levels where women had managed to break through. The position of women in radio and TV news was overall less equitable than in the print sector. Almost no women had risen above the lowest reportorial levels. They were further more likely to be writers and processors of news rather than reporters.

A 1974 study of Sweden's radio and television system cited by Marzolf (1977) also revealed that newscasts were heavily dominated by men. All anchors, commentators and nearly all reporters in the sampled period were male. The same prejudices, i.e. women being considered unsuitable for "hard news" reporting because they lack credibility, appear to have barred women from news-casting positions throughout Western Europe as well as in the U.S.A. (Marzolf, 1977, 284).

(b) Women in radio management

The general absence of women from higher management is considered highly detrimental to overall female representation in broadcasting for two major reasons: it is the top executives who do the hiring, and who are in a position to influence programming (Ross, 1977, 28). The national Radio Four in the United Kingdom has appointed a few women to management positions under pressure from "Women in Media". Apart from these token appointments, no progress has been made by either the BBC or Independent Radio in improving female representation at the policy-making level. Since the implementation of the Sex Discrimination Act in 1976, broadcasters are eager to admit that more women should be hired in order to make radio a truly egalitarian medium. However, as a result of BBC's and Independent Radio's neglect to provide opportunities for women, few are available with the proper training and sufficient experience to qualify for creative as well as executive positions. To some extent, the local radio stations, both BBC and commercial, have functioned as a training ground for female presenters, producers, disc-jockeys and newscasters. Station management however is also almost entirely male, Ross observes.

The virtually complete exclusion of women from news management in broadcasting was a striking conclusion of Bowman's 1974 survey of women journalists in the U.S.A. The differences between men's and women's positions in the occupational hierarchy of the news media, while considerable all-over, were most apparent in the broadcast sector. Women were almost completely absent from the managerial and supervisory levels. The inequity remained when the effects of experience and education were removed, which indicated that women were indeed discriminated against and were to be considered an occupational minority. It was concluded that journalism, and broadcast journalism in particular, constitutes a male-dominated and sex-typed occupation, which offered females less chances than males for entering the profession, for professional advancement and financial success. News media, including radio and TV, discriminate against women, Bowman suggests, because the concept of women as lacking the expected characteristics and possessing inappropriate "feminine" traits persists in the minds of the gatekeepers, despite their awareness that many qualified and committed women are available (Bowman, 1974, 213).

Conclusion

While radio remains a largely unexplored field in the study of women's employment status in the media, the limited body of available research materials seems to reveal - with respect to radio systems in Western societies - that:

- women remain severely underrepresented in on-air radio work as well as at the decision-making

level, despite recent attempts to hire more women in response to outside pressures.

- women's inferior position in radio is only partly owing to lack of education, training and experience;
- the major causes of discrimination are to be found in structural barriers hindering women's entry, training and advancement on an equal basis with men, and in the persistence of cultural myths about women's capacities in the minds of the men who control employment practices.

Increasing their number in management is considered a priority issue in the efforts to improve the overall representation of women in radio.

B. Television

Television functions as a major source of information and entertainment in societies where a well-developed infrastructure allows for the production, distribution and reception of TV-programmes on a wide scale. Full integration of women at all levels of TV-organizations and in all aspects of TV-operations, particularly in decision-making positions, is regarded as a prerequisite if the medium is to reflect the interests of its female audience. In countries where socio-economic conditions and technological development do not approximate those existing in the technically advanced societies, mass media, including television, are viewed as potentially powerful instruments for education and national development, of which the improvement of women's status is to be an integral part. The study of what the media can do for women in developing countries, and how women can contribute to the effective use of television and other mass media for social progress, has only just begun. As a result, documentation of the professional status of women in television is largely confined to the highly developed broadcasting systems operating in Western Europe and North America. Data on the representation of women in TV-systems of Eastern European countries and the U.S.S.R. are equally lacking, as is extensive research on the position of women in general, owing to the fact that a person's sex is not considered as significant a determinant of her/his social position as elsewhere.

The available literature emphasizes two areas of female presence in TV: the participation of women in the news gathering process, including on-air presentation of news, and female involvement in TV-production and management.

(a) The status of the female TV news staff

Bowman observed in 1974 that the status of women in American news media emerged as "an issue" only in recent years, due to the impact of feminist consciousness raising and to pressures for equal employment opportunities. Sources documenting the position of female journalists in America are in short supply in relation to the numerous

materials on journalism and professional journalists. A review of past research produced the following results (Bowman, 1974, 41-42):

- women represent a minority on the editorial staffs of radio and TV;
- they work at the lowest echelons of the occupational hierarchy within the broadcasting media;
- the majority of female news staff work in the so-called "soft beats", which are not considered relevant experience for advancement. Beat segregation however, is less prevalent in the broadcast sector than in the print media.

Bowman's survey of news personnel revealed that, as of April 1971, women constituted a 10.7% minority in TV and radio/TV-stations combined. This percentage was lower than the proportion of women working in the print news media, though higher than that of female news staff in radio stations (cfr. supra, p. 95). The concentration of women in news media located in smaller cities, which indicates the small size of both the market they serve and the organization that employs them, was evidenced with respect to the print media, but not for the broadcast sector. The highest proportion of women was found in the large cities/markets/organizations, which employed 52% of the women vs. only 18% of the men in the survey sample. Almost 35% of the women in television news departments worked in medium-sized markets. This leads Bowman to conclude that the opportunities for women in broadcasting are largely confined to television news in the larger and medium-sized markets. The presence of women in these major markets has become visible in recent years with an increasing number of female news correspondents appearing on network news programmes and covering a broad range of news topics, including the more prestigious beat assignments. Beat segregation, while still prevailing in the print sector, was found to be occurring less and less in television.

The hierarchical position of women in relation to men on the other hand was less favourable in radio and TV news departments than in the print media. The majority of women worked in low-level editorial jobs, mostly as writers and processors of news rather than reporters. Women were virtually absent from all managerial levels, particularly from high management. When examining educational background and experience, the two major qualification requirements for entry and advancement, women's educational profile was quite similar, though somewhat less favourable, to that of their male counterparts. They did lack experience, however. It is this deficiency which is most likely to have influenced the distributional differences between women and men within the occupational hierarchy of television news: more than 40% of the women interviewed for the survey had entered the news media within five years of the interview date. There were no women in the late stages of their career in the broadcast media, which indicates

that no women were allowed in radio and television newsrooms before 1950. However, even when the negative impact of education and experience was neutralized, the inequity remained. The differences between the positions of women and men in the media hierarchies were the largest in the broadcast sector.

Another important indicator of status which Bowman explored was salary. Major determinants of salary are years of experience, which works against women, and size of the market, which tends to benefit women. While at the lower editorial echelons women earned less than men, at the highest reportorial level the average salary of female star reporters was almost twice that of their male counterparts. However, comparison of male and female earnings at this level is irrelevant, since women were severely outnumbered by men (97% vs. 3%). While overall the status of women in TV news is to be viewed as that of an occupational minority with diminished chances for entry and advancement into professionally and financially higher status positions, opportunities for on-air newswomen seem to be improving, particularly in the high-visibility major markets. One such top market where the quantity and quality of broadcasters is relatively high is New York. A sample of 30 female reporters/correspondents working in New York local and network TV-news, along with male executives and news directors, was the subject of a survey conducted by Judith Gelfman in 1973 (Gelfman, 1976). By means of in-depth interviewing and observation of their daily work routine, Gelfman explored women's employment status in television news. With respect to qualifications required of TV-reporters, the majority of both female correspondents and male directors emphasized the importance of experience (cfr. supra Bowman), and preferred a Liberal Arts background. Journalism School was not a prerequisite, but appreciated by many male executives. All of the women in the survey sample had some college training with 87% holding an undergraduate college degree. Most had worked for television as trainees, secretaries, production assistants, or researchers, prior to entering news reporting. Others had moved in directly from jobs in radio or print journalism. Salary inequities between female and male reporters were minimal, owing to the base pay scale set by the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists. Some women were able to negotiate personal contracts for a higher salary. A factor of prime consideration in monetary negotiations is the reporter's viewer appeal. On-camera newswomen are regarded as "talent" by management. "Talent" or "viewer appeal" is a prerequisite in television news, in addition to the generally recognized journalistic skills acquired through training and experience. Television searches for "air personalities" who are able to develop a distinctive personal style which appeals to the audience, resulting in increased ratings and

revenues. Physical appearance is considered of crucial importance to the image projected by the on-air reporter. All of the New York newswomen, each one of them better-than-average looking and most of them young, acknowledged the emphasis on physical attractiveness, especially for females. While half of them admitted that being female had been a positive factor in hiring (tokenism), they felt that their male environment questioned their professional abilities until they proved that they were "better than men". Eighty percent of the male executives acknowledged the disadvantages of being female in the male-dominated television news world. Prejudices regarding women's professional capacities doubly affected reporters who were both female and members of a racial/ethnic minority, and faced the problem of being perceived as double tokens. Sex was generally not perceived as determining story assignments, although 50% of the male executives were concerned with women's safety on dangerous assignments. The experiences of these women generally support earlier findings:

- women constitute a minority in television news departments;
- opportunities for women to enter TV-news are better in large- than in small-sized markets;
- besides journalistic skills gained through education and especially experience, television requires its on-camera reporters to be "talented". "Talent" is a vaguely defined concept. Major ingredients are physical attractiveness and youth, particularly with respect to women, although the emphasis on physique has decreased in recent years;
- the financial reward scheme is based on the reporter's experience and her/his viewer appeal, not on sex;
- beat segregation, whereby women are channeled into "soft news beats" is less prevalent in TV-news than in print news media;
- the major barrier women are faced with is the prejudices of their male environment regarding women's professional capacities, which is reflective of sex-role concepts and behaviour prevailing in society. However, the increasing strength of the women's movement and FCC (Federal Communication Commission) pressure for equal employment opportunities are resulting in a growing awareness among TV-management of women's changing roles and are creating a more favourable social climate;
- while opportunities for women may be improving at the entry-level, the top jobs both in terms of prestige and money are still a male preserve, as is management. The strong resistance against women invading these last male strongholds was recently demonstrated when Barbara Walters' appointment to co-anchor of the ABC network news evoked scornful comments from the male journalistic establishment about her journalistic

credentials, her marketplace value, and her worthiness to take a place among the top four in broadcast journalism (Hennessee, 1976).

Despite the trend towards a greater acceptance of women as reporters, television news - and network news in particular - remains overwhelmingly dominated by males, who also tend to be white. A random sample of network news programmes aired during 1974-1975 revealed that white males accounted for 88.6% of the total correspondent appearances (X, U.S. Comm. on Civil Rights, 1977). Using the position of a story in the newscast as a measure of its newsworthiness, the most important beats were covered by white male reporters. Women and minority males and females, who were outnumbered 9 to 1 by white male correspondents, were mostly assigned stories pertinent to women and minorities. These findings suggest that beat segregation is by no means limited to the print news media. A study comparing the representation of women in local and network news programmes (WAC to KDKA-TV, 1975) indicated however, that the practice of reserving prestigious news beats for male reporters was less prevalent in local news than in network newscasts. Local TV also appeared to be more flexible in opening the high-status reportorial jobs to women: 4 out of the 10 anchors appearing on local newscasts were female, while network anchors were all male. The presentation of editorials remained exclusively male territory both in local and network news, indicating that no women had attained the high-level executive rank required of KDKA-TV commentators.

While women are still far from fully integrated in American television newsrooms, the picture presented by Western European television is even gloomier. As of November 1975, BBC news employed no female reporters and only one female newsreader (Koerber, 1977). The British commercial network had no female newscasters and only one rarely seen female reporter. Current affairs and documentary programming offered slightly better opportunities for women: 37% of the presenters/reporters of such programmes on ITV were female; 31% of the BBC presenter/reporter staff were female, but none of its editors were women. Directing and producing current affairs programmes remained largely a male preserve: women accounted for 14.7% of the personnel in this category at ITV, and for about 10% at the BBC.

In Belgium, women comprised only 7.3% of the news staff of the Dutch-language broadcasting system (Tielens, Vankeirsbilck and Ceulemans, 1978). Unlike in the U.S.A., where print media appear to be more accessible to women, in Belgium the female-male ratio was somewhat more favourable to women in broadcasting than in the print news media.

On German television (Federal Republic of

Germany), women were least visible in the news shows, the most popular programmes among all television content, particularly with male viewers. Only 3.1% of ZDF and 5.9% of ARD news correspondents were women. Female reporters were also overwhelmingly assigned to soft beats such as health, family, youth. Politics, the major topic of German TV news shows, is a male field both on television and in reality (X, Küchenhoff, 1975). The underrepresentation of women on the air, and beat segregation were also clearly established patterns in information and documentary programmes, although to a lesser extent than in news broadcasts. The low appearance frequency of female journalists on German TV is a reflection of their functional and distributional position within the structure of German broadcasting companies. An exploration into the status of female editorial staff employed at three selected ARD broadcasting companies (Freise and Drath, 1977) revealed that (1) women represented an occupational minority in broadcast journalism; (2) female editorial employees were concentrated in the lowest echelons of the employment hierarchy and in the lower-status (i. e. traditionally female) programming units; (3) administration, organization and processing of pre-prepared materials accounted for the bulk of their work routine, while functions of a more creative and essentially journalistic nature such as writing, reporting, interviewing were reduced to a minimum. While this study makes no pretence to being either representative of the entire ARD-system or exhaustive, it does support the findings resulting from programme monitoring: female journalists tend to be relegated to traditionally female areas; their primary professional activity does not concern on-air reporting and presentation.

Scandinavian broadcasting systems seem to have adopted a more positive attitude towards women, who receive equal pay and equal assignments to those of their male colleagues (Marzolf, 1977, 286-288). However, as elsewhere in Western Europe and the U.S.A., Scandinavian women are absent from TV-management.

(b) The representation of women in TV-production and management

The survey of American mass media - defined as the most ubiquitous, most insidious and most powerful force dedicated to the maintenance of the status quo - compiled by the Media Women's Association includes a descriptive article about the employment status of women on the nation's four television networks staffs (Strainchamps, 1974). Sexual division of work was a recurrent pattern in network organizations: women worked mostly as secretaries, researchers and assistants to men; production, writing, editing and management were male areas of employment. Sexual discrimination operated with respect to salary and promotion: women holding the same positions as men were paid less,

opportunities for advancement were limited. Due to the increased activity of newly organized women's groups within the companies, some progress has been made in recent years, which is nonetheless perceived as mere tokenism. Women have achieved some success in pressuring their employers into adopting affirmative action programmes. Female employees of NBC recently won a significant victory. As a result of a class action suit, NBC agreed to pay 2 million dollars in damages to present and former women employees.

One source of information about the status of women and minorities in broadcasting is the annual report broadcasting stations are required to file with the Federal Communications Commission under the Equal Employment Opportunities Rule. On the basis of the data contained in these reports, the Office of Communications of the United Church of Christ noted a significant increase from 1971 to 1975 in the proportion of women classified in the upper four job categories (as reported in X, U.S. Comm. on Civil Rights, 1977, 87). The percentage of minority employees in the top four categories had also risen, but less sharply than the proportion of female workers. The overall proportion of employees classified in these job categories (Officials and Managers/Professionals/Technicians/Sales people) had increased over the same period. These findings prompted the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1977) to examine whether broadcasters were reclassifying low-level employees in upper-level job categories while in fact retaining them at the same jobs and salaries. A sample of 40 TV-stations was drawn to explore the extent of employment discrimination against women and minorities. A comparison of 1971 and 1975 employment figures confirmed the earlier findings. Overall the number of white male employees decreased, while the proportion of white females, minority women and minority males rose. Changes were even more striking in the top four employment categories: the proportion of white males decreased, while the proportion of white females and of non-white males and females increased. According to the Commission's report, these data reflect that the employment categories were being used in such a way that three-quarters of all employees could be classified in the four top job categories. To determine to what extent women and minorities were represented at all levels within the broadcast organizations, an indepth analysis of employment at 8 TV-stations was conducted. This survey demonstrated that the true employment status of women and minority employees was seriously misrepresented. Females and members of ethnic/racial minority groups were virtually absent from the higher levels of management. Most of the crucial decision-making positions within each job category and within each department of the organization were occupied by white males. The integration of women and minorities at all levels of station management and operation, and particularly at the policy-making level,

is considered of crucial importance to guarantee a diversified and balanced TV-programming. The current FCC employment data forms fail to uncover deficiencies in TV-station's work force and allow for misrepresentation of women's and minorities' employment status. The fact that broadcasters utilize this opportunity to misrepresent the position of female and minority employees demonstrates their lack of commitment to providing equal employment opportunities. According to the Commission, the FCC is to blame for failing to enforce compliance with the EEO rule. The first step in remedying this situation was recently taken by a female FCC commissioner. Her proposal to re-evaluate the job descriptions in the broadcast industry was adopted, and preparations for revision are currently being made (X, Media Report to Women, Jan. 1978).

The discrimination against women in television which appeared from the 1975 employment figures persisted in 1976. The total percentage of employees classified in the top four job categories rose to 80% in 1976, 86% of whom were male at commercial TV-stations and 80% at non-commercial TV-stations (X, Media Report to Women, April 1977). Most of the TV-stations did not increase the proportion of either women or minorities working in the upper echelons of the organizations.

While the above data reveal the underrepresentation of women in television, particularly in management, they provide no insight into what kinds of barrier prevent women from participating at all levels of television production on an equal basis with men. One such investigation was conducted by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Task Force on the Status of Women (X, Women in the CBC, 1975). It was found that employment decisions, which keep the majority of jobs closed to women and generally deny female employees an equal share in the "corporate wealth" in terms of salary, training, advancement and decision-making power, were based on a set of assumptions which the Task Force demonstrated to be untrue for the majority of women. The fact that men, who constitute 75% of CBC staff and 93% of management personnel, held markedly different views about women to those of the female workers, and that it is these men who have the power over women's careers and working environment was identified as the basic cause of discrimination in the CBC and the resulting dissatisfaction and frustration of women workers.

In order to expose the operation of sexist employment practices in British television, the Association of Cinematograph and Television Technicians (ACTT) conducted a thorough analysis of the job structure in ITV, the British commercial television network (X, ACTT, 1975). Few data were available on the BBC, as the ACTT has no negotiating rights in the BBC and membership of the union is entirely optional for BBC employees. Television represents the largest branch in the union and the largest area of employment for women: 49% of the total ACTT

membership. Since 1969, the rate of growth of female membership has also been significantly higher than that of male membership. One-third of the female ACTT members, representing 14% of all ITV employees in ACTT grades, is permanently employed at ITV as compared to half of the male members. Another 1/6 of female, and 1/5 of male ACTT members, work full-time at the BBC. Most of the ITV women (70%) work for the five major television companies, where they are channeled into secretarial positions and excluded from the skilled technical jobs. The concentration of women in clerical jobs also applies to the BBC. Work at ITV is clearly divided along sexual lines. With regard to grades employing both males and females, excluding those of director and producer, 45% of the men vs. 24% of the women worked in senior grades. Only 8% of all directors and director/producers at ITV were women. Instances of blatant discrimination reported to the union are numerous. The complaints concerned both jobs which are closed to women because of their sex (e.g. director, editor, senior researcher, etc.) and jobs with a high concentration of females (e.g. production assistants typecast as glorified secretaries). Other major factors causing the maintenance of women's inferior status in the industry include:

The undervaluation of female jobs

More than 2/3 of the women in ITV work in jobs offering little or no opportunities for professional advancement and financial success.

Educational qualifications and social conditioning

The proportion of women with some sort of higher education, mostly secretarial, was much higher than that of male employees. However fewer women than men held a university degree or film/TV qualifications. The educational qualifications required by ITV are not very strict, since it relies primarily on experience and training provided by other industries where women are almost absent, and on a general technical background which few women are encouraged to develop. ITV does not provide sponsored training courses, except for engineers, although 80% of the men and 70% of the women expressed a desire to attend such a course. Since training opportunities within and outside of television are still largely closed to women, and jobs other than secretarial, for which almost exclusively women qualify, require extensive experience and training, women entering the industry have no other choice than to accept a secretarial position, probably to remain there indefinitely. The equation of authority with masculinity excludes women from upper-level jobs such as directing and floor management for which they qualify in every other respect.

The job structure

The grades most women work in (e.g. production assistant) are perceived as careers in themselves. Although most production grades have no clear career structure, in practice some grades function as stepping-stones for men, e.g. vision mixing and assembly. There are either no women working in these stepping-stone grades, or they are not promoted on the same basis and at the same pace as their male counterparts. Since the rapid expansion of television has come to a stop, advancement is no longer automatic for men either. However, in view of the limited range of "women's jobs", opportunities are even more limited for women.

Job insecurity and working relationships

In terms of prospects for permanent employment and the financial state of the television companies, work in television is more stable than in laboratories and film production, the two other union branches. The relatively greater job security of ITV employees as compared with the other branches has created more favourable attitudes towards women, who are less perceived as a potential threat. Management and male union members nevertheless responded negatively to the introduction of maternity leave and child care provisions. This suggests that their liberalism is conditional upon women's willingness to behave like men, and fails to acknowledge women's specific needs.

The right to work and rights of work

While at the BBC employees have a right to maternity leave, ITV grants unpaid maternity leave only as a private arrangement and under strong pressure from the individual woman. Childcare facilities are absent. In all but one of the television companies, women were eligible to join the existing pension plan at a later age than men. Sickness benefits are the most generous among the union branches. Continuity of service is required in order to be eligible. Women however "break" their service more often than men for promotional or pregnancy reasons, and are thus at a disadvantage.

The underrepresentation of women in the union

Few women are elected to union offices. The unwillingness to elect them is due to the fear that management, not members, will not take them seriously. Women's major problems are lack of familiarity and experience with union procedures and operations, and their isolation from other women working in the industry. Production assistants are among the most militant in organized fighting for equal pay, grade structure and training opportunities. Unfortunately, they have confined their demands to their own particular situation, excluding other women in the industry. Women themselves have been

reluctant to attribute their problems to discriminatory structures and employment practices. This reluctance is largely owing to the nature of women's work, including the geographical isolation, and to the fact that they consider their status a rather privileged one as compared with women outside the industry, whose opportunities are often even more limited. This attitude is changing though, and many production assistants have indicated their readiness for action. Organization to fight for change is more difficult among BBC employees, who fear victimization and reprimands from management. The BBC, a state-owned corporation, reacts negatively to radicalism among its employees with respect to political as well as women's rights issues. Women's demands for more power within the organization and for control over programming may therefore meet with greater resistance in the BBC than in ITV, the report concludes.

Conclusion

Education and experience are the formal qualifications giving access to employment in television. Women have little difficulty in meeting educational requirements, which are not a prime consideration in the industry. Greater emphasis is placed on experience, which is of crucial importance to advancement within the occupational hierarchy of the organization. The top-level positions in production, management, and the high-status reportorial functions are accessible only to those who are given the opportunity either to work their way up within the organization, or to acquire extensive training and experience outside the industry, and to those who possess the proper dose of authority and attractiveness. It is these qualifications which women are generally unable to develop:

- opportunities for advancement are more limited for women than for men. Women are prevented from moving upwards within the employment hierarchy, because upon their entry they are channeled into dead-end jobs with no career structure. Training facilities provided by the employer are limited and mostly inaccessible to women. The chances for obtaining the necessary experience in related fields outside of television are less favourable for women than for men;
- the equation of authority with masculinity hampers women's access to the top functions in directing, producing and management. In television news, the additional requirements of viewer appeal, attractiveness and personality give women equal chances with men to land an on-camera reporting job, as well as to obtain a successful financial arrangement. Being female has recently even become an asset in hiring, though not in promotion. As in other areas of TV-management, the higher-echelon position in news reporting and management largely remain a male preserve.

While women have made some progress in

certain areas of TV work (e.g. news reporting), other areas, particularly at the higher levels of production and management remain inaccessible to them, largely attributable to the persistence of male bias in both the employment structure and in management's view of women's professional capacities.

3. The film industry

Only in recent years have women begun to search for female and feminist footholds in the bastion of male influence which the film industry has been from the outset. This growing interest in cinema is manifested in the need women film critics and theorists are expressing for a feminist perspective on cinema and for a feminist film theory. Their attempts to formulate such a viewpoint have resulted in different approaches, ranging from impressionistic and subjective analyses of female portrayal in cinema to structuralist and psycho-analytical film theories (Kay and Peary, 1977). Which approach will prove most valuable to the understanding of women's role in cinema is a debatable issue, the discussion of which exceeds the intents of the present study. What concerns us here is the position of women in the film industry. The efforts of women film critics - and film criticism is one field where women rank among the most prominent and the most influential - to introduce new perspectives on cinema include, besides the assessment of female portrayal in film, the documentation of women's contributions to film-making in the past and the present. The startling observation that women are conspicuously absent from the chronicled history of film production served as an impetus to search for vestiges of female presence in all facets of film-making during the past decades (Smith, 1975). Current research reveals a much greater contribution of women in script-writing and directing than the existing body of documents revealed. In fact, more women were actively involved in film-making before the 1920's than at the present time (Rosen, 1973, 367). With respect to the American film industry, Rosen observes that the number of female scenarists and directors decreased steadily in the decades following the 1920's, when film became a big industry. In fact, only two women, Dorothy Arzner and Ida Lupino, seemed to have managed to secure a steady position as Hollywood directors during the past forty years. Whether and to what extent the films these women directed contributed to a raised consciousness of women's roles is the subject of an on-going debate (Johnston, 1975). The renewed interest in their work in recent years is yet another indication of the importance contemporary women attach to the presence of active women in the film industry. As for the present involvement of women in film-making, all interested in the subject join in deploring the limited opportunities commercial film offers for women directors, writers, actors, and in urging the entry of more

women in the creative and technical areas of film production. As to the insertion of feminism in cinema, British and American critics - who have been most productive in analysing the interrelationship between film, women, and feminism - hold very distinctive views of what a feminist approach to film should be (Kaplan, 1977, 393-395). American film critics intuitively blame the male monopoly in the film industry for reinforcing male superiority vs. female inferiority, while the British are more concerned with the theoretical study of how sexist ideology, which permeates society at all levels, is reproduced in cinema (Place and Burston, 1976). In keeping with the British point of view, the presence of women in cinema will not result in a more balanced portrayal of women unless the infusion of women in the film industry "is inspired in a workable feminist theory and part of a social movement which strives to restructure society on all levels" (Place and Burston, 1976, 62).

The analysis of women's portrayal in cinema, and the theoretical discussion of how female images in film should be interpreted have been the subject matter of publications far more often than the position of women in the film industry. Two studies published in 1975, and the April 1974 issue of the French journal Image et Son on Women and the Cinema have attempted to fill this void. Two of these identify the patterns of discrimination working against women in the British and the French film industries. The third document has a three-fold objective: (1) to present a world-wide overview of women involved in film-making since 1896; (2) to introduce the American women who are currently making movies outside of Hollywood; (3) to provide a directory of women film-makers throughout the U.S.A. (Smith, 1975). In the absence of additional sources, we are entirely dependent upon these three documents for information on this subject. A descriptive survey of women's presence in film production all over the world, largely borrowed from Smith (1975), will serve as a first approach to the issue. In a second section, we will take a closer look at the employment patterns in the film industry, with the French Image et Son (April 1974) and especially the thoroughly documented British situation (X, ACTT, 1975) as cases-in-point.

(a) Women film-makers: a world-wide overview

It has been repeatedly stated that women had their greatest impact in the pioneering years of film, when they were involved in every facet of film production except camera work. As the new industry began to prosper, the number of women actively involved in film production dropped drastically. It was not until the late 1960's that they began to reappear in significant numbers, in response to the new opportunities provided by the growing interest in a variety of cinematic forms (Smith, 1975).

Women involved in the big theatrical film productions are still few in numbers, but educational film, art film, documentary, experimental film and, to some extent, commercial cinema are creating new opportunities for women screen-writers, producers, directors, editors. While most of the successful female directors have not been particularly concerned with treating feminist themes, some have dealt with women's issues. Several feminists have also turned to film-making. The fact that their films have not achieved great commercial success does not diminish their significance. As Brayfield (1977) points out, the function of film has changed since the advent of television, and the size of its audience is no longer an accurate measure of its social impact.

Women all over the world are most actively involved in non-commercial productions.

In the U.S.A. and Canada, a new wave of young independent film-makers is emerging, many of whom are women involved in all aspects of production. If women are about to make their big breakthrough in Hollywood, a small vanguard of female directors and the increased number of women receiving production credits are paving the way.

On the Asian continent, female involvement in film production is extremely limited. Although Japan has the world's largest film production, only a few women film-makers have emerged since World War II. Among the leading film-makers Joan Mellen (1975) interviewed for her book on the Japanese cinema, not one film director was female. The book does highlight the careers of three successful women: a set designer, and actress and a woman who has earned a remarkable reputation internationally and a position of great influence in the national film industry through her work in the area of import and export of films. When Mellen wrote her second book on the Japanese cinema (Mellen, 1976), no women were working as directors in Japan. India is another Asian country with a highly developed film industry (Parrain, 1969 - X, World Communications, Unesco, 1975). Together with Hongkong, it stands among the top five countries in the world with the largest film production. In neither of these countries do women play a significant role. Despite the absence of legal and economic barriers in the People's Republic of China, few women have turned to film-making. According to Smith (1975), many women work in the lower echelon jobs, but the top creative positions are still monopolized by men.

In the Middle East, the Israeli film industry is offering the most promising prospects for women. Its most prominent person, head of the nation's oldest and largest film company, is a woman. Only one woman has so far succeeded in directing a feature film. Other areas in which women are active include screen-writing, camera work, production and editing.

The development of the film industry is slow in Africa, particularly South of the Sahara, owing to

the lack of commercial outlets, financing and equipment, and black audiences' preference for Western films. Only a few women are active mostly in the production of documentaries and film shorts, e.g. in Egypt, Cameroun, Tunisia and Ghana. Sarah Maldoror, born in Guadeloupe, is Africa's most outstanding woman film-maker who has gained international recognition.

European countries where women in more or less significant numbers have been involved in writing, directing and producing include the United Kingdom, France, Denmark, Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R. Nelly Kaplan and Agnes Varda in France, Lina Wertmüller and Liliana Cavani in Italy have emerged in recent years as film-makers of international repute. In Sweden, former actress Mai Zetterling ranks among the leading film-makers. In other European countries, as in the rest of the world (Oceania and Latin America), relatively few women are making films. Those who are work mostly in documentary, educational, experimental film or productions for television.

What appears from the above cross-country survey is:

- that women all over the world are making films;
- that their creative involvement is concentrated in non-commercial film production;
- that an increasing number of women, particularly in Canada and the U.S.A., are working outside the established film industry in all aspects of independent film-making.

The barriers which the film industry has erected to prevent women's entry on all levels will be examined on the basis of the ACTT report on the British film industry (X, ACTT, 1975).

(b) Patterns of discrimination in the film industry: a case-in-point: United Kingdom (with comparative data on the French industry)

Both male and female membership of the film production branch of the Association of Cinematograph and Television Technicians (ACTT) has been dropping in recent years. The number of female members shows a greater decline from 1969 to 1973 (18%) than that of males (9%). Whereas twenty years ago, women accounted for over 17% of the branch membership, the percentage had dropped to 12% in 1973-1974. The increasingly low representation of women in the union is attributed to:

- the decreasing job opportunities in the industry since 1969, prompting the union to place an embargo on new entrants;
- the fact that women workers are concentrated in low-paid and undervalued jobs, due to prejudices against females, particularly in the technical grades;
- the change in the film industry: studio-based production has declined in favour of location work and free-lance film production. This development had a particularly significant impact

on women's position. Many departments employing women no longer exist, and the inconveniences of irregular hours and filming on location are decided disadvantages for women with domestic commitments.

The division of labour in the British film industry is clearly patterned along sexual lines. Out of the 60 grades covered by ACTT agreements, 20 employ no women at all. Females in the industry work in a very narrow range of jobs: 1/3 are continuity girls (French equivalent: script-girl) or production assistants/secretaries, another 1/3 work as editors or assistant editors, the final 1/3 work in pre-production (e.g. casting) or post-production (cutting) grades. Hardly any women are involved in laboratory processing or in actually shooting and producing films. As for the technical grades, a handful of women are sound recordists and assistant camerapersons, none work in lighting.

That women are concentrated in lower-echelon jobs is clearly indicated by the share they have in producing and directing (6%) and in editing (less than 10%). The only senior production grade which is easily accessible to women is that of casting director.

The French motion picture industry shows a similar employment pattern (*Image et Son*, April 1974). Women are poorly represented in the higher echelons. They are concentrated in jobs traditionally reserved for women: the subordinate, sedentary and second-rate positions lacking status and responsibility. Authority, initiative and technical knowledge are irreconcilable with expected feminine behaviour. Positions requiring such qualities and skills are therefore largely occupied by males.

The inferior position of women in the British film industry is attributed to several factors; major causes, as detailed in the ACTT report, are the subject of the following discussion.

Blatant discrimination

Forms of blatant discrimination are hard to control by the union, since few cases are reported. Among those that are, sexual bias is particularly flagrant in editing. That open discrimination is operating throughout the industry appears from advertisements for job vacancies which specify the sex of the applicant. The industry generally denies the existence of discriminatory employment practices. When asked why there are no women in technical jobs, employers reply that women simply do not apply. While this may be in part true, since the conviction that they will be rejected discourages many women from even applying, several female applicants have reported employers' refusal to even consider their application, because being female disqualified them automatically.

The undervaluation of jobs predominated by women

Unlike skills required for male jobs, the qualities women are expected to possess for certain jobs are not financially rewarded. Many jobs that are primarily occupied by women require technical skills, but they are designated as secretarial positions, and remunerated as such.

Educational/social conditioning and lack of training facilities

High general educational or vocational qualifications are not necessary to work in the film industry. Training in film production has always been on the job. However, the opportunities to receive such training are dropping for men, and are practically non-existent for women. Few women or men employed in the film industry hold formal degrees. Women were on the whole, apart from schooling in film and technical education, better qualified than men. Many women do lack technical background, which the National Film School, with an increasing female enrolment, does not provide.

The job structure

The job structure in the film industry is one of the major barriers operating against women, for whom the British industry provides few training opportunities. In order to reach the top levels of directing and producing, women have to obtain the necessary experience outside of the industry. Women either enter the industry at a high level after gaining experience elsewhere or remain in their low-echelon jobs, but men can move up within the industry. Grades such as those of editor and assistant-director, which function as stepping-stones in the job structure, are less accessible to women than to men. Most women work as production secretaries and as continuity "girls". Although these jobs require knowledge of many areas of production, they are not regarded as relevant experience for anything else, except to some extent for the positions of production manager and casting director. Casting director is actually the only high-level job which is easily accessible to women. The grade of production manager, while involving considerable responsibilities, carries much less authority and creativity than that of producer or director. The job structure in the film industry is nevertheless much more flexible than in other branches for men, but not for women. A major factor working against women is the importance of contacts and reputations. Women are often excluded, because the images men have of the women they know, as well as of women in general, are often confined to the stereotypes of secretary and assistant.

Working relationships and job insecurity

Few women are given the opportunity to show their talents. The commercial system of film-making stresses toughness: it requires people to be able to endure extremely long working hours and to face long periods of unemployment. Women are not expected to stand up to such pressure and are perceived as incapable of meeting these demands. These are the prejudices women are confronted with on the part of both their employers and the male crew they work with. It is also generally considered more important for a man to be able to earn a living than for a woman, who is supposed to have a man to support her. As a result, there are more women than men unemployed for long periods of time. Women were on the average paid less than men and only in this respect can they be perceived as a potential threat to male employment in the free-lance market: employers are offering women less money. Unemployment figures indicate, however, that men are still given more chances to work. The highest unemployment rates among men were typically in those grades where there are no women.

The right to work

Unlike Eastern European and all EEC countries except Ireland, the United Kingdom does not enforce maternity leave. While the union can negotiate maternity leave for permanent employees, employment to free-lance film-making complicates the question. Child-care facilities are also lacking. Forty per cent of the women and 8% of the men surveyed were more likely to apply for work when child-care provisions were available. Sixteen per cent of the female free-lance workers mentioned domestic commitments as the reason for working on a free-lance basis.

Sick leave, like maternity leave, is dependent on continuous service. Women are absent slightly more often because of illness than men, but, according to the report, this is related to grade and earnings as much as to sex.

The underrepresentation of women in the union

Women appear to be strongly underrepresented at the top levels within the union. Much of the impetus to change women's position in the industry has come from female members working free-lance, probably because of the difficult working conditions which exist there, and the unavailability of work, particularly permanent employment. The report points out how difficult it is for women to organize in order to fight collectively for change, because of the irregularity of employment, women's isolation from other women in the industry, and the pressure they experience from their male work environment, which requires women to conform to male norms and considers "women's issues" irrelevant.

Conclusion

While current research on the position of women in the film industry leaves large areas unexplored, the scant data that are available substantiate the charges of sexual discrimination. First, it has been shown that film history has largely neglected to chronicle the substantial contributions women have made in all areas of film production during the first decades of film-making. Second, it can be noted that the present opportunities for women in film production are limited. As a result, women film-makers are either involved in non-commercial production, or - and increasingly so - working outside the establishment in independent film-making. Third, the causes of women's absence in the creative and technical areas of film production are to be sought in structural factors and socio-cultural conditions prevailing in the commercial system of film-making. As the structural barriers against participation of women on an equal level with men are essentially based in socio-culturally conditioned prejudices, no real progress will be made with respect to both the level of female involvement in the film industry and the quality of female portrayal in cinema until society has eliminated sexual bias at all levels.

4. Newspaper and magazine publishing

Research to date on the employment status of women in the print media has focused primarily on enterprises which gather and disperse news. Particularly the situation of North American women journalists has been fairly well documented. The growing influence of the feminist movement in calling public attention to the inequality in opportunities and treatment afforded American women has roused genuine concern with the status of working women. From its inception, the American movement for women's liberation has recognized the powerful influence mass media have in shaping social attitudes and behaviour. Equal access to the decision-making positions in mass media organizations has therefore been a prime concern in women's fight for equality. Although consciousness of women's diminished opportunities in employment and in other aspects of life is by no means confined to North America, the issue of female employment in mass media has nowhere else been accorded as much attention. Developing countries are becoming increasingly concerned with the impact of transposing Western media concepts and structures on their socio-cultural contexts, and with its interference with the optimal utilization of mass communication media for social progress, including the improvement of women's status (Coseteng, 1976). Directing mass communication education and research towards development objectives, and training both women and men in all areas are emphasized as the first steps in orienting mass media development towards social progress in general and the advancement of women's status in particular.

(a) The status of women in the newsroom:
North America

In Bowman's 1971 survey of female employment in the news media, the printed press emerged as the sector with the least resistance (Bowman, 1974). Nearly 90% of all the female journalists in his nationwide sample worked on daily/weekly newspapers or newsmagazines, with daily papers accounting for the largest share (62.5%). Women's share of editorial jobs in the print sector amounted to 23.7%, as compared to 7.7% in the broadcast sector. The figures reported by Lublin (1971) were more favourable: women represented nearly 1/3 of all editorial staffs of the sampled newspapers. A 1975 survey of the 106 daily newspapers published in Canada (Robinson, 1975) revealed a 3 to 1 distribution ratio of male vs. female journalists. This figure is somewhat higher than Bowman's data, but below the figure reported by Lublin. The latter, however, represented a smaller and less representative sample than that examined by both Bowman and Robinson. In relation to U.S. population figures, journalists are overrepresented in large and medium-sized markets (more than 50,000 inhabitants) and underrepresented in small markets (less than 50,000 residents) (Bowman, 1974). Print journalists, and particularly females, are concentrated in medium and small-sized markets. Almost half of all women journalists working in the print sector were located in small markets. In Canada, the situation was reversed with a higher representation of women in large cities, which offer better opportunities in terms of prestige, visibility and money (Robinson 1975). Both Robinson and Bowman used two measures to describe the positional distribution of women in the news organizations: areas of news coverage and hierarchical position. The area of news one covers, i.e. "news beat", determines to a large extent the journalist's opportunities for progress along the professional status track. Lublin (1971) noted the existence of sex-segregated beat structures in most organizations. Women were consistently assigned to cover "feminine" beats, i.e. the "soft news" such as features on personalities and in-depth coverage of non-political issues. Although Bowman's and Robinson's data revealed that women have moved into a wider spectrum of news responsibility, women were still excluded from more than half of the beats in the U.S.A. In Canada, female journalists had clear access to almost half, and were represented in another quarter of all beats. Opportunities for professional advancement are thus still limited for women, particularly in the U.S.A. Progress in the managerial sphere, the formal status structure, is inhibited as well. Female news staff were concentrated at the lower editorial echelons of the news organizations' hierarchies (Bowman, 1974 - Robinson, 1975). Only in the lowest managerial category were women relatively fairly (Canada) or overrepresented (U.S.A.), because it comprised the predominantly female

women's/lifestyle section editors. The upper reaches of news management are still closed to women, and more tightly so in Canada than in the U.S.A. Women's inferior position both within the professional prestige hierarchy and the managerial power structure suggests the existence of sex-linked barriers interfering with their advancement. According to Bowman, the status inequity between male and female news staff is not entirely attributable to differences in educational background and journalistic experience, but to differential treatment based on sex as well.

A further relevant indication of women's status in print journalism is the salaries they earn. Salary is the most tangible measure of a person's competence and recognition in any field. In journalism, women were consistently paid less than men situated at the same occupational level (with the sole exception of the higher managerial ranks in news magazines) (Bowman, 1974). In Canadian daily newspapers, female salaries within each job category were at the lower end of the pay scale, approximating those paid in small and medium-sized markets rather than those prevailing in large markets (Robinson, 1975). The size of the city appeared to be a major predictor of a journalist's salary, together with years of media experience and sex. Sex-linked mechanisms operating within the industry, which keep women out of larger markets, high-status positions and prestigious beats, severely curtail women's earning potential. The explanation researchers offer for the discrimination of women in journalism includes a structural factor, i.e. the fact that journalism is a male-dominated profession, and a psychological factor, i.e. the pervasiveness of sexual stereotypes of women's roles throughout society which affect men's attitudes and behaviour and results in a sexual division of labour (Bowman, 1974 - Robinson, 1975). The relationship Lublin (1971) found between male executives' concepts about women's capacities and the position of female journalists on their newspapers affirms the impact of the psychological factor.

As the above discussion demonstrated, a major factor preventing women from obtaining relevant experience to qualify for higher positions is the allocation of beat assignments on the basis of sex. Politics/government, sports and women's news figure among the most sex-stereotyped beats. The first two are traditionally male areas, the last is a conventionally female responsibility. Two studies examined the position of women working in respectively a "feminine" department, i.e. the women's section (Chang, 1975), and a "masculine" area of coverage, i.e. congressional reporting (Endres, 1976).

Among the sampled women's page editors employed by daily and weekly newspapers across the U.S.A., women outnumbered men 9 to 1. These figures support the finding that "feminine" news areas and departments represent a traditionally female responsibility. The proportion of males in

the sample was less than half the percentage reported by Merritt and Gross (1977), whose study was confined to large-circulation metropolitan newspapers. This discrepancy reflects the overall trend that women journalists tend to be concentrated in smaller markets (cfr. supra). Using salary as an objective measure of *de facto* discrimination, Chang found that male editors earned significantly more than their female counterparts. The observed disparity was not related to differences in educational background or years of media experience, except in the 1 to 5 and 16 to 20 years' experience categories. Women's section editors' perceptions of women's position in the newsroom provided a subjective measure of discriminatory treatment. The female editors' responses furnished some, though not extensive, evidence for the operation of discriminatory practices within the profession. Male women's page editors did not share their female counterparts' opinion that female journalists had been discriminated against for years, and were assigned to cover traditional women's page stories only. Both groups concurred that a person's qualifications should be the only consideration in hiring and that opportunities for women to enter the profession were currently improving.

The large difference in salaries earned by female vs. male journalists was also the most striking conclusion of a survey of accredited congressional correspondents (Endres, 1976). Women's average salary amounted to only 58% of that earned by male reporters. Endres attributes this discrepancy to two factors: the women interviewed lacked journalistic experience in relation to the male respondents, but were also hired at a lower salary. The latter finding indicates differential treatment on the basis of sex. Almost half of the surveyed females were not aware of discrimination in salary, advancement or employment. Women congressional correspondents did agree that entry into the field was more difficult for women than for men. The low proportion of women covering Congress (16.9% at the time of the survey) indicates indeed that this traditionally male field continues to be dominated by men. It was also the respondents' belief that they were able to compete with men on a fairly equal basis once differences in journalistic experience were erased. The existence of salary inequities at the entry level suggests however that neither educational nor experiential qualifications are accurate predictors of a journalist's earnings.

The research results discussed above prove conclusively that sexual discrimination pervades the North American press:

- women are denied equal entry into the profession;
- they are particularly excluded from the large prestigious organizations, as well as from the upper reaches of the hierarchical and professional status ladders;
- beat segregation persists;
- remuneration is partly based on sex;

- lack of media experience is a major factor interfering with women's career advancement. However, structural barriers and male-biased attitudes prevent women journalists from attaining the experience and training allowing them to compete on an equal basis with men.

Subjective measures of sex-based differential treatment are generally less successful in exposing discrimination. Women journalists perceive discrimination in a number of areas such as hiring, promotion, salary, news story assignment, but not as overwhelmingly and extensively as expected (Lublin, 1971 - Endres, 1976 - Chang, 1975). Bowman (1974) offers the fact that women journalists expect less from their work than their male colleagues in terms of recognition, prestige and money as one explanation for the paradoxical finding that female journalists are relatively satisfied with their jobs.

(b) The status of women in the newsroom:
Europe

Although the employment status of European women journalists is far from exhaustively documented, several patterns are observable which closely resemble those prevailing in the North American press:

- women represent a numerical minority in journalism. On the basis of union membership figures obtained for 7 Western European countries, Marzolf (1977) reports male-female ratios ranging from 9 to 1 (Norway, Denmark, Federal Republic of Germany) to 2 to 1 (Finland). Swedish women held 25% of the union memberships. In France and the United Kingdom about 20% of all professional journalists were female as of 1974. The editorial staffs of Dutch-language print and broadcast news media in Belgium comprise on the average about 7% female journalists (Tielens, Vankeirsbilck and Ceulemans, 1978). Full-time female reporters in the print media represented only 5.9%. The national average for Belgium appears to be somewhat higher with 9.8% professional women journalists (Boone). In The Netherlands, the proportion of women journalists was as low as 4.6% in the late 1960's (Muskens, 1968). Matejko (1970) reports a national average of about 25% women among journalists in Poland.
- wage surveys conducted in Sweden, Norway, Finland and the United Kingdom (reported by Marzolf, 1977, 292-294) revealed a discrepancy in the salaries earned by equally qualified male and female journalists, despite the principle of equal pay negotiated by the journalist unions.
- news management remains a male preserve. The above cited survey of the Belgian Dutch-language press (Tielens e.a., 1978) showed that women were concentrated in the rank-and-file reportorial categories and virtually absent from managerial ranks. An earlier survey of professional journalists in Belgium also indicated the low-level

hierarchical positions occupied by females (Maes, 1973). Similar findings have been reported for women journalists of the Federal Republic of Germany and France (Reumann and Schulz, 1971 - Frappat, 1970).

- women's news continues to be a traditional female assignment (Marzolf, 1977 - Tielens e.a., 1978). Although several Belgian newswomen refused to be channeled into this traditional female department, many considered this an opportunity to deal with issues of relevance to women.
- while women admit that they are underrepresented in the news media, especially at the decision-making levels, recognition of sexist practices was not widespread (Tielens e.a., 1978). They are generally aware of subtle manifestations of male bias, which they attribute to the impact of sexual stereotypes prevailing in society at large. Barr (1977) attributes the underrepresentation of women on British newspaper staffs to the absence of training opportunities, to tokenism and paternalistic attitudes of the news executives.

The above data suggest that European news media have erected structural barriers which inhibit female entry and career advancement in the male dominated newsrooms. A second cause of women's inferior status is the persistence of male-biased views. While the available evidence is insufficient to be conclusive, it clearly suggests the objective fact of sexual discrimination. Subjective perceptions of differential treatment proved to be unreliable indicators of *de facto* sexual discrimination (cfr. supra, p. 121).

(c) Women in women's magazine publishing

Magazine publishing was one of the four media sectors examined by the New York based feminist group Media Women's Association. Its 1974 publication edited by E. Strainchamps (1974) explored the way the media industry is structured and operates, particularly with respect to employment policies. The document is a compilation of personalized accounts by present or former employees of various representative publishing/broadcasting companies, most of them located in the New York area. Evaluations of women's position within each organization were based on personal experience and observation rather than systematic analysis. This method of data collection may detract from the objectivity of the results obtained.

Of the media sectors examined, newspapers and wire services emerged as the most enlightened in their employment policies with respect to women (cfr. Bowman, 1974). Metropolitan newspapers were less sexist than their suburban counterparts in terms of hiring, promotion, and attitudes towards female employees. Suburban newspapers do not abide by the Newspaper Guild terms enforced in city newspapers: there is no equal pay for equal work; women are channeled into positions traditionally seen as women's jobs, and assigned to sections

traditionally called women's news. The situation of New York newswomen is admittedly better than the national average, and is improving, partly owing to consciousness-raising efforts, criticism and organized action on the part of women workers.

Women, however, continue to be severely underrepresented in the newsrooms. The editorial staffs of women's magazines present an entirely different picture. These magazines employ a large and often predominantly female staff under male supervision and direction. Men occupy the crucial decision-making positions. Several of the publishing companies are accused of blatant discrimination against women in both employment and editorial policies. The Ladies' Home Journal is cited as the prototype of male dominance and male bias. Other publications, such as McCall's, demonstrate a definite positive orientation towards women (cfr. supra, p. 72). In recent years some progress has been made. Since women employees have started organizing, and in some instances have brought suit against their employers, affirmative action programmes have been established and efforts to recruit and promote female workers have increased. However, most of the authors contributing to this publication share the feeling that these measures are merely token gestures which do not reflect a genuine commitment to the improvement of women's employment status.

While in the U.S.A. women employees of all sectors of the publishing and broadcasting industries are organizing and initiating legal action to fight employment discrimination, female editorial employees in Europe have not yet reached this level of consciousness which leads to action. According to Faulder (1977), editorial staffs of British women's magazines are predominantly female, excepting the top echelons of management. This sexual division of labour, which relegates women to the low-level editorial jobs and elevates men to the crucial policy-making positions, prevails in the women's press of other Western European countries as well (Marzolf, 1977).

(d) Education and training in mass communication: opportunities for women in Africa and Asia

Educational qualifications and possession of special skills acquired through training and relevant experience are the formal requirements women must be able to meet, if they are to gain equal access to employment in all media sectors. Surveys of female employment in the media, particularly in journalism, have demonstrated that women are as qualified for media careers as men in terms of educational background. What women seem to lack most is relevant media experience which is a major factor in career advancement. It has been demonstrated throughout this report how structural and cultural barriers operating throughout the male-dominated world of the media keep women in the low-level and low-status

jobs they are channeled into upon entry. In the West, women working in the well-established and tradition-encrusted mass communication industry are increasingly voicing their grievances, and organizing to fight collectively for equal employment opportunities. Women in Asia and Africa are most concerned with avoiding the development of mass media devoid of woman power (X, Africom, March 1977 - Coseteng, 1976). In the existing structures women are not fully integrated, especially not at the policy-making levels (X, Africom, March 1977). To strengthen women's position and influence in the media, the creation of adequate education and training facilities is considered a first prerequisite. A close correlation appears to exist between the existence of fairly well-established media structures and the availability of academic mass communication programmes (Coseteng, 1976). In Asia, 70% of the institutions offering courses and/or degrees in mass communication are concentrated in just five countries: the Philippines, Taiwan, Republic of Korea, India and Japan (Coseteng, 1976). These are the nations which approximate Western countries in terms of socio-economic and technological development. Mass communication training schools significantly conglomerate in the large urban centres. The concentration of mass media and professional mass communicators in metropolitan areas is considered a potentially harmful situation in that urban middle-class values are projected onto rural areas where the vast majority of the population resides (X, Media Report to Women, Feb. 1978). At the Asian Consultation on Women and Media, held in 1976 in Hongkong, a participant from Thailand pointed out that women media professionals were reluctant to move out of the cities into the provinces, where trained media personnel is in demand (Terrawanji, 1976). Where mass communication has been established as an academic discipline, women wishing to pursue a media career have equal access opportunities. In the various schools and universities in Asia, whose mass communication programmes were discussed at the Hongkong consultation, female enrolment is high and often exceeds that of male students. However, female graduates are faced with discrimination when seeking employment. Qualified women are unable to compete on an equal basis with men for the limited number of media jobs that are available. As in Western media organizations, Asian women are confronted with traditional concepts and values conditioning male views of women's capacities. As a result, recruitment for media positions favours males; management and policy-making positions are almost inaccessible to women. Prejudices about

women's suitability to cover certain news areas or to cope with unsocial working hours curtail female journalists' chances of obtaining relevant experience. As in newsrooms all over the world, female editorial workers are relegated to the women's pages and the "soft news beats" traditionally assigned to women. The above described deficiencies in women's employment status reiterate patterns documented extensively with regard to Western media practices. Among the measures proposed to remedy this situation, the importance of education and training is stressed. Only when armed with professional skills and knowledge of communication theory and practice will women be able to assume a significant role in turning mass media into an effective instrument for national development.

Conclusion

The employment status of women in the print media compares favourably with that in other media sectors in terms of numerical representation only. With respect to work assignments, access to positions carrying prestige and power, and remuneration, opportunities for women are significantly inferior to those for men. Awareness of discriminatory employment practices has led women media workers to seize their right to protest and demand equality, particularly in the U.S.A. Organized action, frequently involving litigation, has produced some improvements. However, these modest successes are interpreted as merely token gestures which do not reflect a change in attitudes towards women. The male-dominated and male-oriented structure of the industry, and the prevalence of male-biased concepts of women's capacities and performances are identified as the major causes of continued sexual discrimination. Mechanisms interfering with equal participation of women are not confined to the highly developed media of the West. Similar barriers are hampering women's media careers in countries of Asia and Africa. Efforts to redress deficiencies in the mass media system located in the urban centres of a rural society and influenced by foreign models, and the diminished status of women within this media structure, envisage the re-orientation of the mass media towards national goals and the improvement of the employment status of women in the media.

III. Conclusions, implications, recommendations

The evidence presented in the currently available literature on women and media indicates that media images tend to define woman within the narrow confines of her traditional domestic roles and her sexual appeal to man. This two-dimensional image is insufficiently counteracted by viable alternative portrayals which reflect the numerous significant contributions of women in contemporary society. The feminist redefinition of sex-roles and the growing public awareness of women's diminished social position thus seem to have found little response in the mass media.

A closer look at the media professionals who are responsible for perpetuating these female stereotypes exposed the male-dominated, male-oriented and male-biased structure of the mass communication industry. Work in the advertising, broadcasting, film and publishing industries is generally divided along sexual lines, which channel and keep women in jobs devoid of status and power, while reserving most influential positions for men. The constraints which interfere with women's participation in all aspects and at all levels of media employment are firmly rooted in culturally conditioned concepts, which affect both women's and men's perception of, and expectations from, their work roles. Critics unanimously call for a greater involvement of women in the creative and decision-making aspects of the industry. However, it is also their belief that this will not effect the desired change in female media portrayals without a concurrent change in sex-role definitions in society at large. Research has demonstrated that women and men alike are affected by sex-role socialization (Orwant and Cantor, 1977). Female mass communicators however appear to be less influenced by sex-role stereotypes than their male counterparts (Orwant and Cantor, 1977), and are more concerned with changing sex-roles and lifestyles (Merritt and Gross, 1977). Thus it seems that augmenting their numbers in the media would at least enhance the chances for a more balanced and progressive depiction of women.

The implications of this report ensue from both the above summarized research results and the sources from which they are derived. In

overviewing our documentation, we are impressed by the disproportionate volume of research materials on the media image and status of Western, and particularly American women. To assume that the unfair treatment women seem to be afforded in the mass media is a phenomenon confined to Western societies would be a misinterpretation. The imbalance we have observed in the literature merely suggests that research to date has provided some insight into the ways in which mass media reflect and perpetuate outdated sex-role concepts persisting in Western cultures, while information on media content and organizational policies with regard to women prevailing elsewhere in the world is severely lacking. Implied in the above finding is the striking conclusion that our knowledge about the interrelationship between women and mass media is far exceeded, both quantitatively and qualitatively, by what remains unexplored. It further suggests that most of the conclusions we have presented in this report pertain, strictly speaking, only to the particular socio-cultural contexts, which we have indifferently termed "Western". However, since Western, and predominantly American, media materials are exported on a world-wide scale, their influence extends far beyond the geographical borders of the nations which produce them. The adverse effects of this Western media-dominance, both in terms of production and distribution channels, on developing nations is increasingly becoming a source of concern. Dependence on foreign programming and news services is seen as impeding these nations' efforts to create programming and disseminate information appropriate to the needs of the majority of the population in the vast rural regions, where illiteracy and the absence of a technological infrastructure hinder access to print and broadcast media. It has been pointed out that heavy reliance on imported media materials, and the concentration of media organizations and media professionals in the cities, widen the cultural gap between the educated and affluent urban elites and the rural population. While such criticism is undoubtedly justified, particularly

in view of the sexual stereotypes predominating Western-produced media content, it requires modification in two respects. First, dissatisfaction with stereotyped sex-role concepts as perpetuated by the mass media is mounting and increasingly being voiced, including via mass communication channels. Actions against media stereotypes of women are receiving some - as yet insufficient - coverage in the press. Activist groups and organizations, such as the National Organization for Women in the U.S.A., have effectively utilized the public media for national publicity campaigns which exposed demeaning female portrayals in advertisements. The need for objective evidence to corroborate sexist charges has greatly encouraged research efforts. To the extent that less developed countries derive media content from Western sources, some of the attacks on the sex-role concepts reflected in these materials filter through, which may eventually benefit research or inspire other forms of corrective action.

Second, transnational dissemination of information and other mass media materials, along with the socio-cultural concepts they reflect, in particular those pertaining to sex-roles, is by no means an exclusive prerogative of Western nations. Control over international communication channels is divided along the same political lines which have created distinct spheres of influence in the world. Our present understanding of the interrelationship between women and mass communication is largely confined to media content and organizational structures of Western countries. To the extent that these media materials and organizational concepts are transposed transnationally and cross-culturally, we can assess their potential impact with respect to the social status of women. As information about media content produced and disseminated by and in the socialist sphere of influence is largely lacking from the currently available and accessible literature, we have no measure of evaluating its effects, both intra- and cross-cultural. The question of the interrelationship between mass media and the status of women, and its implications for policy formulation on a national and international level, particularly with respect to the less developed nations, is ultimately one which must take into account political, cultural and ideological influences. One conclusion which can be drawn from the above observations regarding the situation of the developing world is that the establishment of a national communication policy, as well as the expansion of these nations' communication capacities are urgently needed in order to reduce dependency on foreign influences. In the formulation and implementation of such policies, and in the development of mass media, both new and traditional, the involvement of women must be insured in order to redress the current disparity. The utilization of mass media for the advancement of women must be integrated in an overall communication policy oriented towards national development.

The research evidence available combined with

the vast hiatus which remains in our present knowledge allows for the formulation of more specific suggestions which are applicable regardless of nation's developmental stage, political course, or socio-cultural specificity. With respect to two areas - research and policy development, we propose the following measures, many of which reiterate suggestions formulated by women and men in study and conference reports.

Proposals conducive to improving the scientific and practical value of research on women and mass communication should include:

Studies on communication systems, media-content and the role of women

- continued analysis of female portrayals in various media in relation to the reality of women's social position and women's self-perceptions; parallel research on the images of men;
- study of media images of women from a developmental or historical perspective to document changes in female portrayal over time in relation to the evolution of women's status and the structural/functional changes in the mass media within a specific socio-cultural context;
- content studies of feminist media vs. the establishment press;
- cross-cultural and multinational comparative studies of media content with respect to sex-roles;
- analysis of the values and images projected in media and media materials aimed at a female audience, including the traditional women's press in its various formats, TV-soap-operas, and women's programming on radio and television;
- development of a comprehensive theory of women's role within a specific social system, the function of mass media within this social system, and the interrelationship between both;
- review of educational textbooks of communication schools to modify sexually differentiating conceptualizations.

Audience research

- surveys of audience response to media programmes and materials, including specific questions about consumers' reactions to male and female role portrayals;
- investigation into the socio-economic conditions, educational level, information needs and level of understanding of media audiences in order to maximize the effectiveness of media materials aimed at specific target groups;
- study of media usage patterns of women including access to and consumption of mass media of rural vs. urban women in developing countries.

Communicator research

- multinational comparisons of the employment

- status of male vs. female media professionals;
- study of women media executives, their social background, career history, work performance, as well as the attitudes of their male colleagues towards them;
- study of women's access to, and representation in, educational institutions and training facilities providing theoretical and practical training in mass media;
- study of the participation of women media professionals in unions, professional organizations and women's action groups.

Effect studies

- research on the cross-cultural impact of mass media, particularly with respect to women's roles;
- study of the impact of media gatekeepers' perceptions of women on the selection, conception and production of media programmes and the images of women they project;
- study of the socializing influence of mass media on sex-role concepts and behaviour of male and female adults and children.

Recommendations for corrective measures to be implemented by the industry, for affirmative action to be taken on the local, national and international level on the part of official and private agencies, and for continued protest and pressure to be exerted by women media consumers and media workers include:

- developing mass media materials which portray women in a positive and constructive manner and in a wide variety of roles;
- the adoption of non-sexist guidelines by advertisers, broadcasters, film-makers, journalists and publishers such as those formulated by the National Union of Journalists in the United Kingdom, the Women Media Workers in Australia, the National Advertising Review Board in the U.S.A., to eliminate sexual stereotypes in the spoken, written and visual language;
- the redefinition of journalistic concepts of "news" and "newsworthiness" to include women as active participants and creative forces in society;
- directing print and broadcasting materials dealing with issues traditionally considered "feminine" to both female and male audiences;
- creating positive attitudes among mass communicators towards the integration of women in the mainstream of societal life, allowing for their increased commitment to bringing information for and about women to the public's attention;
- making those who control the media aware of the need for a balanced work force of both sexes, and insuring their commitment to the cause of women;
- the establishment of affirmative action programmes within the media organizations for the active recruitment of qualified women and the institution of promotional evaluation strictly on the basis of functional requirements;

- the expansion of media education, training, and employment opportunities for women to insure their adequate representation at all organizational levels and in all areas of employment, particularly in traditionally male-dominated areas such as media management and policy-making;
- the integration of all job categories and work assignments, and where possible, the elimination of job classifications allowing for differential treatment of women vs. men;
- the improvement by the media institutions and industry of paid parental leave, child-care facilities and flexible working patterns with a view to increase the job opportunities of women in the mass media;
- the publication of career and job information and the advertising of job vacancies with the specific statement that they are open to both male and female applicants;
- continued pressure from women within the industry for better opportunities, particularly in traditionally male-dominated areas, and for the enforcement of existing anti-discrimination laws through policing and litigation;
- support from professional associations, trade unions, and women's organizations, for women's fight for equality in hiring, promotion and pay;
- publicity campaigns sponsored by these organizations to expose discrimination against women in the media, to notify women about their legal rights, and to heighten the public's awareness of media images which are insulting and demeaning to women;
- the development of independent feminist media for the dissemination of information which contributes to a positive image of women;
- spontaneous as well as organized action on the part of consumers to protest against sex-stereotyped portrayals in mass media via letter-writing campaigns, product boycotts, etc.;
- the establishment of anti-discrimination legislation and of commissions empowered to regulate the advertising, broadcasting, film and publishing industries;
- the inclusion of the study of women's images projected in mass media in the curricula of communication schools;
- the establishment of national and international data banks on the status of women, and of international networks for the dissemination of such information to media specialists and to relevant government and private agencies to serve as a basis for policy-making and future research.

The development, implementation and enforcement of such anti-discrimination policies as we have proposed, and the continued documentation of the relationship between women and mass media through critical research of the kind we have suggested are important instruments for redressing the current media practices towards women in portrayal, status and employment. However, for such research and policy development to occur, those who consume,

control and regulate the public media, and those who sponsor the research, need to be sensitized to the issue of women's full integration and to establish the necessary equality between the sexes.

This will not happen unless society ceases to view and treat women as a segment of the population. Mass communication presents but one, though an immensely powerful, force in reflecting and stimulating this process of social change.

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