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**Reporting the Women's Movement: A cross-national comparison of
representations of second wave feminism and equal rights issues in the United
Kingdom and United States daily press, 1968-1982**

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Abstract

This study examines how the second-wave feminist movement, its members and their goals for equal rights were represented in two UK and two US newspapers (*The New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, *The Times*, and the *Daily Mirror*) between 1968 and 1982, a period which encompasses the movement's formation, peak and decline in both countries. Through the use of both quantitative content analysis and qualitative critical discourse analysis, this study reveals patterns of coverage, but more importantly, provides insights into how such coverage was constructed. One of my main findings was that, despite socio-political differences, both the US and the UK used a similar range of discourses when addressing both the women's movement and its goals for equal rights. Though the particular details of discourses varied to accommodate culture differences, my analysis indicates the prominence of both capitalist and patriarchal ideologies in the US and the UK, as well as the similarities in counter-discourses used to challenge them. Additionally, though overall, coverage of both topics can best be described as fragmented and contradictory, I argue that there was significantly more "positive" or supportive articles on the women's movement than previous scholars have noted. Such articles engaged with issues, reported the movement in a serious way, and used supportive voices to legitimise the movement. At the same time however, I contend that most of such stories were not as "positive" as it initially appeared. While on the surface they appeared to champion the women's movement, these news stories only rarely addressed the ways in which capitalism and patriarchy oppressed women as a group. Additionally, several such "positive" articles tended to de-legitimise certain aspects of the women's movement, often by "othering" those whom journalists deemed to have failed to adhere to feminine norms. The failure to challenge traditional gender roles helped turn feminism into a dirty word, by disassociating it from its political goals (particularly equal rights, which gained wide-spread acceptance), and de-legitimising the movement as a political collective. These problems are still associated with press reporting of feminism today.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	b
Table of Contents	d
Introduction	i
Introducing Women.....	i
Academic Trends.....	iii
Women’s Liberation.....	vi
The Second-Wave	vii
Third-Wave Feminism	xiii
Project Aims.....	xvi
Chapter One – A Review of Feminist Theories	1
Liberal Feminist Theory.....	2
Radical Feminism.....	6
Private vs. Public Spheres – Liberal and Radical Traditions	11
Liberal and Radical Insights into Feminist Media Studies.....	13
Ideology and Hegemony	17
Socialist Feminism – An Introduction.....	20
Representation of Women in the Non-News Media.....	31
Chapter Two – A Review of News and Social Movement Theories	42
News Theories.....	43
News Framing	52
Newspaper Categories, Audiences and Typification	63
Gender and the News	67
Social Movement Theory	79
Social Movements in the News	90
News Coverage of Women’s Lib	95
Chapter Three - Methodology	113
Feminist Methodology	114
Cross-National Research	118
Quantitative Analysis	137
Qualitative Analysis	145
Critical Discourse Analysis.....	152
Introduction to Findings.....	162
Chapter Four – News Coverage of the Women’s Movement and Feminists.....	165
Genre	167
Dates and News Pegs	174
Discourses over Time.....	182
Case Study 1 - <i>Daily Mirror</i> and Women’s “Natural” Role	197
Discourses of Legitimacy.....	209
Case Study 2 – Legitimacy in <i>The New York Times</i>	220
Contradictory Discourses - Legitimate Goals, Illegitimate Feminists	225

Summary	229
Chapter Five - News Coverage of Equal Rights	235
Genre	238
Articles over Time	242
Equal Rights – Supportive and Engaging Frames	248
Equal Rights, Women, Men, Family and Natural Gender Roles	265
Case Study 3 – Natural Gender Roles, “Real” women, and Equal Rights in the <i>Chicago Tribune</i>	267
Contradictory Discourses of Equal Rights	292
Case Study 4 – Women’s Equality Internationally in <i>The Times</i>	297
Summary	300
Chapter Six - Concluding Remarks	306
Limitations and Considerations for Future Studies:	331
Appendix 1 – Coding Sheet	338
Appendix 2 – Coding Key	339
Appendix 3 - Case Study 1	344
Appendix 4 - Case Study 1	345
Appendix 5 - Case Study 2	346
Appendix 6 - Case Study 3	347
Appendix 7- Case Study 4	348
<i>Bibliography</i>	349

Introduction

"I myself have never been able to find out precisely what feminism is; I only know that people call me a feminist whenever I express sentiments that differentiate me from a doormat." Rebecca West, 1913

"Feminists encourage women to leave their husbands, kill their children, practise witchcraft, become lesbians and destroy Capitalism," Pat Robertson, preacher and former US Presidential candidate

Introducing Women

As I write this introduction in the latter months of 2008, I have time to reflect upon women's roles in both the US and UK today. While on the one hand, women in these countries have never before had such great access to as many opportunities - whether it is in education, the workforce, travel, or sport. On the other hand, there is continued evidence that both patriarchal and capitalist structures still restrict women's lives in a number of ways. In early June 2008, US Senator Hillary Clinton was narrowly defeated in the primary elections for the Democratic Party Presidential candidate, and Republican Presidential nominee John McCain chose Alaskan Governor Sarah Palin as the first female running mate for the Republican Party. Turning to look at the situation in the UK, despite electing Margaret Thatcher as Prime Minister in 1979, women still represent only 19.6% of Members of Parliament (MPs).¹ Full time working women in the UK are paid 18% less than men and 39% less than men if working part-time. In the US, full-time women earn an average of 25% less than men. In both countries, a woman's right to abortion is still frequently challenged, male to female domestic violence continues to be a major social problem, and rape is still often blamed on the victim. As a woman growing up in a "post-feminist" society, where women are encouraged to demonstrate their "liberation" primarily through

¹ www.womenandequalityunit.gov.uk/public_life/parliament.htm

purchasing products that promise will help to enhance their sexual appeal to men, these facts raise questions not only about the current status of women, but also about how is it that patriarchal and capitalist ideologies, which were initially critiqued by second-wave feminists forty years ago, still oppress women today. In addition, considering that we know that the feminist revolution sought to challenge these ideologies, why has it not gained the widespread support that other social movements such as civil rights, the environmental or peace movements have enjoyed? While I do meet many women who define themselves as “feminists,” the vast majority (of men and women) cringe at this term, even though they value many “feminist” goals.

In my view, there is a backlash to feminism now which is quite pronounced in both the US and UK. It is easy to find books and articles discussing widespread changes in gender relations, outlining how feminism has supposedly emasculated men, and ruined housewives’ good deal, and broken up families (Faludi 1992; Superson and Cudd 2002). A column from the UK daily newspaper, the *Independent* (Orr 2003) notes that:

Feminism is blamed, completely erroneously, for everything - spiraling property prices (working couples), unemployment (women stealing men's jobs), teenage delinquency (feminists driving men to abandon their sons), reality television (the "feminization" of the culture) and increasing sexual violence (now that women don't defer to them, men have suffered a violent "identity crisis").

This dissertation enters the debates around feminism from an historical perspective because I believe one can only understand the present if one understands the past. As a result, my interest has been to examine representations of feminists, the women’s movement, and their goals for equal rights in the US and the UK during the movement’s most active political period (1968-1982). Four newspapers were chosen - one broadsheet and one tabloid newspaper from the UK (*The Times*, and the *Daily*

Mirror), and two broadsheet newspapers from the US (*The New York Times*, and the *Chicago Tribune*).² While the coverage was nuanced and by no means completely positive or, conversely, negative in its stance in relation to the women's movement, I argue that overall, news discourses in both countries served to undermine the movement and its goals, preventing both support and a critical understanding of the movement from developing in the public sphere.

Academic Trends

This study developed at a time when journalism and media studies departments are on the rise in the US and the UK, while women's studies departments are being phased out or transformed to "gender studies." This is particularly true in the UK³, and was the focus of a recent *Times Higher Education* (Oxford 2008). The article outlines several possible explanations as to why women's studies is in decline, including the idea that women's studies primarily appeals to the "hypersensitive and chronically offended," who want to view women as a "subordinate class" and men as "oppressors...students have come to associate feminism with women who are intellectually stilted and angry with men. Feminism has lost its force as a mainstream political movement." Gender studies tends to differ politically, methodologically, and theoretically from women's or feminist studies, where the former is not implicitly political, and the latter produced work that critically assessed women's role in society

² A more detailed discussion of the differences between tabloids, supermarket tabloids and broadsheet newspapers can be found in the methods chapter.

³ Lancaster University is a recent example of this shift from the Institute of Women's Studies, to the Centre for Gender and Women's Studies. In 2005, London Metropolitan stopped taking new students on its undergraduate women's studies degree. US examples include the Indiana University Bloomington, who made the switch in 1997.

and sought to improve it (Carter and Mendes 2007).⁴ With this in mind, I felt it was important to pursue a feminist analysis in order to contribute to women's scholarship and to de-construct how the news media have historically contributed to the (re)production of hierarchical, gendered ideologies.

The cross-national element of this dissertation is an important break from past studies, and makes its analysis unique. There are few comparative studies of the women's movement, and those that do tend to be descriptive, primarily listing major goals and achievements (Anderson 1991; Margolis 1993). Conversely, this study critically analyses the ways in which the movement has been represented, and provides the possibility of examining varying discourses which demonstrates how they operated and (re)produced ideologies. Though the specific discourses varied in each country, they drew from a shared set of patriarchal and capitalist ideologies, thereby trivialising the movement and its goals.

Though what is now often referred to as "second-wave feminism" greatly interests me, this is not an investigation of the movement, but rather a study examining media *representations* of it. This distinction is important to make early on because I am not going to a detailed background about the movement. Instead, I will only relate what is important in understanding the basic issues, campaigns and public debates it helped to generate in order to provide insights into why the news media might have covered it in the ways that they did. Though this project could have been approached from a variety of perspectives, I consciously chose a feminist stance in order to contribute to the field of feminist media studies. As Sue Curry Jansen (2002) writes, gender shapes

⁴ I do not wish to say that gender studies are not useful, only that they do necessarily challenge oppressive ideological constructs within society, specifically those that oppress women.

much of our life experience and should be a major consideration, not a variable if we are to understand “the multiple and multifaceted ways that gendered patterns of communication and gendered distribution of power are variously constructed and replicated by different social institutions and structures of knowledge” (p. 37).

By using a feminist lens, this project places gender at the centre of analysis, which I feel is important because, as other academics have noted, much of the current research in journalism and media studies tends to be ahistorical in that they look only to the current journalism trends, and rarely takes gender into account (Freeman 2001a; Robinson 2005). In this dissertation I address both those concerns. By outlining my feminist approach, I recognize that my position as a researcher is politically charged – however, I would like to argue that so is every other piece of research conducted, I just choose to lay bare my interests. Every question asked is based on a researcher’s subjective values, as they put forth questions they feel are important to answer. In this case, I posed questions I felt would reveal patterns and ideologies within news coverage. Though I am interested in exploring how the news media constructed, maintained or challenged gender ideologies, this does not mean I have placed blinders on the scope of my analysis. As a precaution however, my use of quantitative content analysis and qualitative discourse analysis act to establish both patterns and also in depth analysis that I might not have otherwise picked up by simply readings through individual news accounts. In the next section of this introductory chapter I will provide background information that will help to situate this dissertation in both historical and national contexts.

Women's Liberation

Before proceeding to outline the dissertation's particular conceptual and methodological frameworks, it is important to build an understanding of the context in which the women's movement emerged in each country. Additionally, it should be noted that before "second-wave feminism," and "third-wave feminism" there was indeed "first-wave feminism," which is commonly said to have begun in both countries in the 1840s, ending for all intents and purposes with the attainment of votes for women in the 1920s. That said, though we speak of "feminism" in three waves, "feminist" ideas existed far before the movements in both countries began, and their roots can be traced back to the medieval times (Bryson 2003). The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries also saw the publication of books and pamphlets on the topic.⁵ However, the news media only started to pay attention to feminism in the mid-1800s when the "first-wave" feminist movement began to develop.

Historians appear to agree the first-wave movement in the US began with the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention in New York state, and was the first ever women's rights convention where demands were made to improve women's daily lives everywhere (Bryson 2003). US feminists inspired the European movement, as books, pamphlets and even feminists crossed the Atlantic to spread the word. As women succeeded in many of their demands such as in the right to own or inherit property, keeping their own earnings, child custody and protection against physical abuse (Bryson 2003), suffrage became the dominant issue by the end of the nineteenth century, and was achieved in 1920 for women in the US and in 1928 for UK women.⁶ Similar to the

⁵ See John Stuart Mill, Mary Wollstonecraft, Harriett Miller

⁶ In 1918, single British women over the age of 30 were given suffrage, but it was not until 1928 that the right was extended to all women over the age of 21.

women who would take up the feminist cause in post-war society, first-wave feminists had to deal with disagreement over philosophies and tactics to achieve their goals, and it is impossible to define in one sentence what women wanted (Bouchier 1983; Bryson 2003). There have been limited studies examining how the media covered this first-wave movement (Burkhalter 1996; Freeman 2001b), but in order to get a clearer picture of how feminism evolved into what it is today, this study examines a more recent movement – the second-wave women’s movement.

The Second-Wave

This study takes place in the post-war era, in a time of “home dreams” (Parr 1995: 4), where it is claimed by some commentators that people craved a return to “normalcy” after the war. This notion of “normalcy” is a largely white, middle class construct, and included the ideal of being part of a nuclear family and living in suburbia. In the suburbs, mothers stayed home to take care of the house and children, while fathers went off to earn the living in the city. People attempted to find stability through narrowly defined gender roles because they appeared to promise a sense of personal security and control (Crabb 1997). At the same time, the US and the UK emerged from the Second World War on somewhat different footings. Though both countries were part of the winning side, the US economy boomed, while the UK suffered much damage from countless bombings and fires, and as a result was much slower to recover. Additionally, the UK suffered from class-conflict, inflation, higher unemployment, and public spending cuts. Continued rationing of clothes until 1949 and food until 1954 was partly due to having to pay of an enormous debt to the US government for wartime loans. Even as late as the 1970s, heavy industry was faltering in regions such as Wales, leading to increased unemployment among men. Because

large portions of the population were similarly affected, communities forged bonds with one another, and came together for support. A side effect of this however, was that during times of hardship, women's subservient roles were reinforced (Roth 2003: 52). In the meantime, the US had entered into the cold war with the USSR, and anti-communism became a central political discourse. It was widely believed that the first defence against communism - the "Red Menace" - was stable families, full-time mothers and the good effects they had on society (Strong-Boag 2002), all of which helped to entrench rigid gender roles.

As the post-war economies in both countries continued to recover, at different rates, by the 1960s consumer capitalism flourished, and many families had more disposable income than ever before. This new affluence and growing economies also meant an increase both in the numbers and types of jobs available. In addition, as the proliferation of consumer products swelled; families faced pressure to increase their consumption, which often meant a single-income was not enough. The post-war era brought a change in women's work patterns. In the pre-war days, many middle class women (as well as some women married to skilled working class men on good wages) worked from their mid-teens until their early twenties, when they married. By the 1970s however, a growing number of middle class and skilled working class women worked until mid-twenties, took time off to have children and returned to work in their thirties or forties (Coote and Campbell 1982). There was also an increase in married women in the workforce both because the average age of marriage dropped, and more couples were getting married than before (Lewis 1992). On an ideological level, the UK Conservative government in the late 1970s and 1980s reconstructed the family in popular ideology and blamed juvenile crime, divorces, family violence and

growing dependence of social services on married women working outside the home (Coote and Campbell 1982: 84).⁷ However, there were several reasons why married women worked in paid employment. While for many paid employment was an economic necessity, for others it was for personal enjoyment or fulfilment. Those from more affluent backgrounds might work for extra personal income and the sense of financial control that it gave them.

The post-war era was a time of changing sexual ideologies as well. Victorian notions of “sexual” men and “asexual” women began to decline. Alfred Kinsey’s book *The Sexuality of the Human Female* (1953) provided the scientific authority people needed to recognize that women of all classes were sexual beings.⁸ This was also a time characterized by a desire for progress through medicine and science (Crabb 1997). Psychiatry and psychology gained popularity and trust, and people began to think they could improve society through these methods (Crabb 1997). As this post-war society progressed economically and socially, a new term called “mental health” entered people’s vocabulary (Gleason 1997). Affluence made the lives of a growing number of women much easier in some senses; new home technologies were meant to reduce the amount of time that women spent cooking and cleaning their homes. However, with these supposed improvements came increasing instances of depression and anxiety. It was during this time that doctors increasingly began to prescribe tranquilizers such as Valium and other similar medications to women suffering with mental health issues (Crabb 1997). This is not the only example of how the 1950s were a time of affluence, conflict and paradox. While there was ongoing and progressive change in politics, the economy and society, there was upheaval in all

⁷Another example of how this ideology was entrenched is in their electoral campaign at the end of the 1970s, they described themselves as the “part of the family” (as cited in Coote and Campbell 1983: 85)

⁸ Whereas in the past, only working class and minority women were seen to be sexual.

these areas as well. Divorce rates were rising, juvenile delinquency was becoming more common, increasing numbers of women were entering the workforce, and there was a general anxiety about war and nuclear weapons (Gleason 1997). The post-war era also saw a shift in ideas as new social movements emerged: civil rights, gay liberation, anti-war protests, ecology movement, and second wave-feminism.

More specifically, feminist scholars point out that the second-wave women's movement emerged first in the US, spurred on, in part, by Betty Friedan's book *The Feminine Mystique* which discusses (mainly white, middle-class) women's unhappiness with their limited gender roles and sense of isolation in the suburban nuclear family. Many US second-wave feminists had been actively involved in the Civil Rights and student New Left movements, and quickly realised the hypocrisy in promising freedom to Black people, while withholding it from women (Bryson 1992: 182). It was not long after the movement took off in the US that it quickly spread to the UK, inspired by a combination of demands for equal pay and better educational and employment opportunities. As one former second-wave activist notes, the women's movement grew in the UK as a home-grown response to sexual politics, rather than as an off-shoot of the US movement (Fairbairns 2003). As Bouchier explains (1983: 3), "American society is sufficiently like the British to be immediately understandable, but sufficiently different to produce a distinct feminist response." It is also important to recognise that British women were not new to social activism either, as many were heavily involved in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) and anti-Vietnam movements, and would continue to be involved in peace activism long after the women's movement as such was in decline.

As I will further discuss further in Chapter One, there were significant ideological differences between the movements, which not only led to the establishment of different political goals, but also to organisational structures and tactics. The US movement, shaped predominantly by liberal feminism, became primarily defined around two issues: abortion and the proposed Equal Rights Amendment which guaranteed equality under the law regardless of gender. The latter issue will be a central focus of this study. It is important to note, however, that radical feminism was also a popular conceptual and political framework, and developed out of the New Left student movement (Bouchier 1983: 97). Nevertheless, the radical movement remained “half-hidden” in the US, shying away from and mainstream media attention and the large organisational bodies that liberal feminists produced. It is also worthwhile to note that in the US, many groups were organised around ethnic or racial lines, and the women’s movement there has been particularly criticised for excluding Black women (Collins 1990; Gluck et al. 1998; hooks 1982). Throughout the period of this dissertation’s study, feminism spread widely in the UK. Women’s understanding of power imbalances and class differences resulted in adopting radical and socialist frameworks (Bryson 2003; Whelehan 1995). Additionally, class, rather than “race” was often the dividing line for organising women’s interests (Ferree 2002). Europe’s legacy of socialist parties and trade unions, which facilitated Marxist thought into mainstream and political life, is one major reason for the UK movements differing ideological stance (Bryson 2003: 222). Though based on separate political traditions, movements in both countries campaigned for similar issues, including equal pay, 24-hour access to child care, and an end to physical and sexual violence.

Despite differing theoretical foundations, by 1969 equal rights was an international goal, particularly in other European countries such as Germany and France, who were fighting for equal pay, and end to job discrimination, abortion rights, and access to child care (Bouchier 1983: 3). Because equal rights were one of the main issues both the US and the UK were interested in, I feel justified in examining it as a focus point in this research. While other issues certainly were important (such as abortion, divorce, physical and sexual violence) they were not strictly “feminist” campaigns, and some firm victories had already been achieved before the movement began (for example, the Abortion Act of 1967, the Divorce Reform Act 1969, and the Domestic Violence and Matrimonial Proceedings Act of 1976) (Bouchier 1983: 39).⁹

Additionally, both liberal and socialist feminists campaigned for equal rights, though their reasons for doing so differed. While US liberal feminists tended to seek equal pay as a way to combat sexism and male power in society, UK Marxist and socialist feminists sought equal pay as a way of combating capitalist organisations’ exploitation of women first, and second, sexism and male power (Bouchier 1983: 58; Bryson 2003; Jaggar 1983).¹⁰

Another important difference between the movements in the two countries was that each established a very different relationship to the news media. While many US feminists had a sophisticated understanding of how journalism operates, and often worked within the media industry, the UK movement was rarely as concerned with creating a viable mainstream public image, nor was it initially comprised of many

⁹ My decision to focus on equal rights was also influenced by a preliminary scan of newspaper coverage of the issues, where many of these topics were not associated with the women’s movement, and instead were taken up by other groups including unions, religious groups, politicians, or individuals.

¹⁰ Socialist feminists shifted their tactics from collective housework and child-rearing to increased opportunities for employment opportunities, which would decrease their dependence on men, and thus combat patriarchy and capitalism (Bryson 2003: 203).

women with specific media skills (though many developed these throughout the movement with the creation of feminist alternative publications). A consequence of this was that the US movement produced several “media stars,” who acted as spokespeople for the movement (and reliable sources for journalists), where the UK movement tended to actively oppose this type hierarchical organisation, preferring instead to use a collective political structure (with no clear, reliable source to whom journalists could routinely turn for information). Additionally, the UK movement formed with little or no formal structure of effective communication tools outside of London (1983: 95), limiting its ability to connect with other groups, organising large events and attract media attention. These factors ensured that women’s liberation was not predominantly featured on the newsstands (1983: 103), though there was an incredible amount of feminist publishing taking place in UK alternative publications, from newspapers to journals to books. While these alternative publications would have been fruitful to examine, they would also have provided enough information for an entire PhD of its own.

Third-Wave Feminism

While this research examines representations of the “second-wave” women’s movement, it is also useful to point out that a “third-wave” movement began in the 1980s, and produced new discourses and paradigms for framing and understanding gender relations that grew out of inadequacies of second-wave feminist political theory (Mann and Huffman 2005: 57). It is important to note that similar to the two feminist waves that preceded it; third-wave feminism encompasses a diverse range of theories and practices, though they all centre around difference, deconstruction and de-centering (2005: 57). Third-wave feminism was largely inspired by post-modern

thought which challenged the existence of stable categories such as “woman,” “man,” “gender,” “race,” and instead focuses on how meaning and power are created through language (Bryson 2003: 220). Post-modern thought also suggests that there is no shared “reality,” and challenges the assumption that women (or men) of the same gender, “race” or class will experience the world in a similar manner. Rather, these theorists emphasise *subjectivity* and dismiss ideals of collective identities based on socially constructed categories (age, gender, class, and “race”).

These ideas first connected with black feminist theorists, the pioneers of this “third-wave” who criticised white, middle-class feminist theories for claiming to “speak” for all women’s experiences, when they really only applied to a select (privileged) group (Barrett and McIntosh 1985(2005); Bryson 2003; Collins 1990; hooks 1982).

Working-class women also embraced this theoretical development. Although most UK feminists were between the ages of 20-35, university graduates or students, and already active in politics, many were also active in supporting working class women, such as with the Night Cleaner’s Campaigns, and their cooperation with trade unions (Bouchier 1983: 56, 106-107).¹¹ This was particularly true for socialist feminists, who attempted to draw in as many working-class women and men as possible (Coote and Campbell 1982: 32), and as a result, were forced to re-evaluate their thinking.

Still, black feminist theorists maintained that mainstream (meaning white, middle-class) theories had two main problems. First, they treated multiple forms of oppression (race, class, gender, and so forth) as separate or distinct, and failed to identify how they interlocked with one another to produce new forms of oppression.

¹¹ The Night Cleaner’s Campaign was organized to help raise the pay and working conditions of night cleaners, who were mostly women. The campaign urged night cleaners, who were often isolated in their own areas to join a union in order to raise working conditions and wages.

This meant that black women were forced to choose between identifying themselves by “gender” or “race,” rather than combining the two. bell hooks succinctly summed this up by saying: “black women have felt forced to choose between a black movement that primarily serves the interests of black male patriarchs, and a white women’s movement which primarily serves the interests of racist white women” (1982: 9). Second, these theories treated oppression in a hierarchical manner, which labelled some categories as more oppressive than others (e.g. gender was more oppressive than race) (Mann and Huffman 2005: 59). Third-wave feminist corrected these oversights by arguing that oppression is interlocking, and as Hill Collins argues (cited in Bryson 2003: 230), paved the way for viewing age, physical ability, sexual orientation, and more as categories that should be scrutinised. Though it took time to filter its way in, second-wave activists have since re-thought feminist political theory to incorporate these criticisms (see Barrett and McIntosh 2005 (1985) for an example of theorists who revised their work to take these considerations into account, and Gillis et al. 2004 and Holmstrom 2002 for current examples). As a result, there is ample evidence of current feminist political thought (including that from the socialist camp), who conduct their work with these new theories in mind (see Holmstrom 2002). While third-wave feminism has been credited for challenging essentialist categories of “women,” “man,” “gender,” “class,” and so forth, it has also been criticised precisely because it *removes* any sense of coherence or identity within them, which is often used to combat oppression (Bryson 2003: 241). Nevertheless, many feel that the benefits provided by fluid identities outweigh the drawbacks of rigid ones.

Though my project looks at mediated representations of feminists and their goals during the second feminist wave, it is important to trace the rise and development of feminist theory and activism during all three feminist waves, as each has had an impact on the theories I use, as well as the movement's relationship to the mainstream media in which I will examine. Taking a broad look at the history, I argue that first wave feminism was responsible for the initial drives for basic rights for women, which second wave feminism picked up on. Third wave feminism too examined many of these issues, but was also important for addressing some theoretical oversights in feminist theory, and for developing new theory, which filled a gap left by existing ones. These oversights generally urged researchers to pay attention to other forms of oppression aside from class and gender such as age, "race," sexuality, physical ability and more. It is these insights that I hope to draw from and use throughout this dissertation. In the meantime however, I will turn next to examine the project's aims and structure.

Project Aims

This dissertation seeks to understand how the media *constructs* the news by asking questions about news production, journalistic practices as well as the ideological constructs in the text itself. How do news organizations and their imagined audiences shape news content? How do ideologies influence news texts and what do they say about the society in which they were produced? Are the messages contradictory or uniform? Do they change over time and space? Are the messages damaging or helpful for the participants involved? These questions shaped the theoretical and methodological perspectives of this project, and are issues that will be further discussed throughout the thesis. Because I am specifically interested in constructions

of the second-wave women's movement, its members, and their goals for equal rights, I begin this study outlining the important literature that theoretically grounds this project. Chapter One is the first of two literature review chapters, and opens with a discussion of three different feminist theories, but explains why one - socialist feminism - provides the most theoretically developed tools for feminist news media research in my view. Embedded in this section will be a discussion about gender/sex roles, and how different feminist theories conceptualise them, but why socialist feminist's concepts are the most useful for this analysis. This will then lead to a discussion about how capitalist and patriarchal ideologies helped to create the private/public binary that emerged and how taken together they contribute to the construction of certain hierarchical gender roles. Tied into this are examples of how the non-news media – or entertainment media – have covered/represented women, and how those images have been fractured and inconsistent over time and space.

Chapter Two reviews a second body of literature, examining theories on news, social movements and the women's movement, which are necessary in order to set the continuing framework for this dissertation. This chapter opens with a discussion of news theories, outlining the cultural use of news (Ericson et al. 1987), and introducing important concepts such as news framing (Gitlin 2003; Goffman 1974; Tuchman 1978b), objectivity (Gitlin 2003; Haraway 1988; Leff 1997; Lippmann 1922; Molotch and Lester 1974; Robinson 1978), newspaper formats (Franklin 1997; Harcup and O'Neill 2001; Sparks and Tulloch 2000), and newspaper audiences (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993; Halloran et al. 1970; Sparks 2000). News theories are important to examine and can help understand how the news can change, and why it is constructed in particular ways.

The chapter then examines studies analysing gender in the news, and joins a list of others who point out that gender is not often the centre (or even a major variable) of media analysis, and the result is an inadequate understanding of men's and women's experiences in journalism, gendered journalism practices, and gendered journalism outcomes (Carter et al. 1998; Chambers et al. 2004; de Bruin and Ross 2004a; Robinson 2005; Ross 2001, 2004a, 2005). Though the research is inconsistent in demonstrating what effect gender has on news production, studies looking at the use of female sources and journalists provide evidence that their voices are marginalised, rarely heard, and defined vis-à-vis men (Bridge 1993; Carter et al. 1998; Rakow and Kranich 1991; van Zoonen 1998; Zoch and Turk 1998). Next, the chapter introduces important social movement theories (Turner and Killian 1957), explaining how people unite over a collective sense of injustice (Morris 2000), and how movements change over time and shift their goals depending on public, social and cultural attitudes (Zald and Ash 1966). The section also discusses how social movements are accepted or rejected (Einwohner et al. 2000; Morris 1973; Turner and Killian 1957), and attempt to use the media to build their public image (Barker-Plummer 2000; Baylor 1996; Gitlin 2003; Rhode 1995; van Zoonen 1992). Carrying on from this is a detailed discussion of how the news has represented social movements generally, but with a specific focus on the women's movement (Barker-Plummer 2000; Camauer 2000; Pingree and Hawkins 1978; Rhode 1995; Tuchman 1978d; van Zoonen 1992).

This theoretical foundation paves the way for Chapter Three, my methodology chapter, which begins by outlining feminist methodology, its strengths, weaknesses and past uses. By feminist methodology, I am specifically referring to the particular

ways feminist researchers have approached, organised and conducted their studies in a manner that attempts to include women's voices, reject notions of "objectivity" in favour of subjective perspectives, and is not afraid to be political in its demand for change. I next spend time discussing its strictly politicised nature, and how this makes it different from other methodologies (Berger 1992; Elder 1976). I then go on to discuss cross-national research, arguing that it is an underused and under-theorised methodology, particularly for feminists, who in the past have been (rightly) concerned about ethnocentrism – or valuing particular (namely Western and middle-class) culture's social practices over others (mainly Third-World and minorities), and ignoring real differences between women. Despite its past neglect, I reason that, if used with care, cross-national comparisons can bring forth important insights when coupled with feminist methodology, such as how patriarchal and capitalist ideologies operate in each country, and what interpretive frameworks are provided by the media in order to make sense of the movement, its members and their goals. The chapter next moves on to review the particular methods or tools used for this project – content analysis and critical discourse analysis – first providing an explanation for each method, its past uses, its benefits, drawbacks, and then outlining particular reasons for using them in this study. Throughout this chapter, I include discussions of how I employed these methods, chose my search terms, dates, and publications, outlined my tactics when gathering texts, and discuss the implications of my choices. In total, I collected 807 articles, garnered from a wide range of search terms related to the women's movement, feminists, feminism and equal rights. Because of social and cultural differences in the US and the UK, as well as differences between the movements themselves, I discuss how flexibility was important when choosing search

terms, as the labels used to describe the movement and its goals evolved over time and differed between the countries.

My results are broken up into two chapters. The first, Chapter Four, deals with all articles discussing the women's movement, while Chapter Five, analyses all articles on equal rights. Because many news stories discussed both the women's movements and equal rights, they were used in both Chapters Four and Five if applicable. If trying to examine the breakdown of articles visually then by chapter, my sample can be visually represented in a Venn diagram (see Figure 1). A Venn diagram consists of two, overlapping circles, each representing a category (for example, A for equal rights and B for the women's movement). The news stories that appear in the overlapping area represents information or data that fits into both A or B (or chapters Four and Five), as opposed to either A (chapter 4) or B (chapter 5) exclusively. The presentation of data in such a manner therefore not only reflects the nature of coverage, which sometimes addressed both issues, but also ensured that articles were not artificially divided into samples if their content was relevant to both.

Figure 1 - Venn Diagram



Finally, this thesis concludes with Chapter Six, which provides an overview of the study, reflecting on the selection and power of the theoretical and methodological frameworks employed, highlighting insights and gaps from previous research. It then goes on to summarise the key findings from the content analysis and the critical discourse analysis, analysing not only the prevalence of certain types of coverage, but

how they were constructed through the use of particular ideologies. I then assessed the impact of such ideology, and made statements on what it revealed about society at the time. Therefore, my analysis was not only capable of presenting how the movement and equal rights were reported, but also made judgements on *why* they were presented in manner they were. Finally, the dissertation concludes with a reflection on the research process undertaken here, and makes recommendations for future studies.

Chapter One – A Review of Feminist Theories

It is fitting to begin my literature review with an overview of widely used Western feminist theories because it provides the theoretical foundation on which this thesis is built. While feminist theory goes back to at least the medieval times when women began to express their voices in public (Bryson 2003)¹², this chapter will not trace it to its earliest roots because doing so would mean spending less time on important theoretical developments from my sample period (1966 to 1982), to those from the present day. Though the women's movement began and ended in different times in the US and UK, this sample period was chosen because it is roughly the period when both movements were active, and where issue of equal rights were alive. It is also useful to note the difficulty in presenting clear-cut feminist typologies, not only because certain theories influenced and draw upon others, but also because they have changed over time and between countries. In addition, as the "second wave" women's liberation movement developed in the Western world, and specifically in the US and the UK, so too did theories which did not fit easily into any existing typology, such as black and lesbian feminism amongst others (van Zoonen 1994). Therefore, while I recognise that my literature review omits certain feminist theories, I am going to discuss three key approaches that have been used in feminist media studies, but argue why only one – socialist feminism – provides the best framework for the feminist media studies project that I have undertaken.

I will begin with liberal feminism's framework, then move on to radical feminism, touching on concepts such as the private and public sphere, stereotypes and images,

¹² Records show that the earliest public debates were conducted only by men, but women's voices were beginning to be heard by end of 15th century (Bryson 1992: 11).

explaining why these are inadequate concepts for this project. Despite their shortcomings however, I will finish by explaining the contributions liberal and radical theory has made to feminist media studies. Finally, I will introduce socialist feminism with an explanation of the notions of ideology and hegemony, moving to a discussion about the concepts of the private and public spheres. This chapter will end with an exploration of studies on women's representation in non-news media such as magazines, television, advertisements, and film, where I will discuss highlights and shortcomings of this research, making note of gaps in the literature, and how my study fits in and advances the field. This review of past work can be useful, as it can create a sense of what I might be able to expect when it comes to looking at representation of women in the news media.

Liberal Feminist Theory

Liberal feminism was derived from a much older tradition of liberal theory that relies on the core assumption that all humans, regardless of being born a man or a woman, are rational beings, and that their unique capacity to reason constitutes human essence.¹³ Liberal theory has always had much stronger support in the US than in the UK, where assumptions about people's "natural" rights which governments may not intrude upon was the ideological basis of documents such as the US Declaration of Independence (1776) (Donovan 1985). Following from this then, liberal feminism states that women, like men, are rational beings, and are therefore entitled to basic human rights and equal opportunities (Bryson 2003). Liberals believe that individuality exists prior to birth and is a universal phenomenon, implying that sex,

¹³ Genevieve Lloyd shows how the definition of 'reason' has historically been defined by excluding traits associated with women and femaleness, thereby disadvantaging women automatically. (Nicholson, L. 1997. *Feminism and Marx* In: Nicholson, L. ed. *The Second Wave: A Reader in Feminist Theory*. New York, London Routledge, pp. 131-145.)

gender, race, class and so forth, is irrelevant to one's development in society. Because of these beliefs, liberal feminists do not want to revolutionise society by changing the economic, judicial, educational, or social systems in place, but to instead redistribute existing social and economic rewards along more egalitarian lines (Bouchier 1983). As a result, they try to work within the system to attain sex equality through reforming the legal system and introducing equal rights legislation, coalition building, single-issue campaigns, direct intervention and influencing public opinion, especially through educational means (1983).

Liberal feminist theory has many flaws that inhibit its use for this project. First, it is an individualistic theory, which identifies singular problems, and does not connect these to society at large. Their reformist rather than revolutionary aims can partly explain this, as it is much easier for one person to change their own discriminating behaviour than to restructure society. Though this theory recognises inequalities in society, it leaves masculine values intact, such as aggression, power, strength, objectivity, ambition, toughness, emotionless, and competitiveness, and does not provide a comprehensive explanation, in biological terms, why it is women and not men who are oppressed, disadvantaged and marginalised in most known societies. Liberal theory is also incapable of developing an analysis of women's pervasive objectification, and of violence towards women (Cirksena and Cuklanz 1992: 23). Liberals would argue either that men's violence is natural, or that it is individual men who are violent toward women, and there is nothing in society that makes this violence possible or probable. Liberal feminism's key term is "sexism" – discrimination based on sex, and is a concept they see as describing an interference by society (including men, women and the state) with women's self-development,

personal initiative and free-will (MacKinnon 1997). Though liberal feminists might view society as sexist, they believe sexist attitudes are an individual, not a collective problem. This links back to the reformist and individualistic nature of the theory.

Liberal Feminist Theory and Sex Roles

Historically, the liberal feminist concern with sexism has led its proponents to seek to understand “sex roles” – or the false belief that women and men are innately different, and that men are naturally dominant, aggressive, whereas women are naturally subordinate, passive, nurturing and compassionate. The difference between sex and gender is that sex is based on biology, and is therefore seen as natural, whereas gender is based more on sexuality and socialisation, and seen as socially constructed. While liberals recognise physical differences between men and women, they would argue that they are irrelevant to political theory, and imply that there is no “male” or “female” human nature, only one which is sexless (Jaggar 1983). Some scholars have pointed out the paradox in this claim – that sex differences are irrelevant for equal rights - but at the same time they acknowledge that women’s domestic and reproductive responsibilities create unequal outcomes because it prevents, or makes it difficult, for them to compete on the same footing as men (Bryson 2003; Pateman 1988). If we ignore this argument and say that women and men are theoretically equal in potential, liberals have over the years argued that it is unfair for the media to show women only in a limited number of roles, most of which are subordinate to men, such as a housewife, or an employee (never the boss). Liberals complain that sexist media images do not reflect most women’s realities, implying that there is one universal reality for all women (Friedan 1963), and ignores differences such as age, class, race, sexuality, and how these factors affect women’s lives.

So what do liberal feminists want? Because they believe that women and men are equal, they want to eliminate sex roles, and suggest this can be achieved by giving women an equal opportunity to participate in educational, social, political and economic activities. Perhaps one of the most well known liberal feminist critiques that elaborated on this assumption is Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963).

Friedan complains that US women were unhappy because they had failed to adapt to their assigned sex roles within society – the domesticated, stay-at-home wife/mother. Friedan describes the “problem that has no name” as women’s lack of opportunity to be independent or to improve their lives through fulfilling careers. What Friedan, and most liberal feminists advocate, are individual solutions, “taking scant account of the extent to which patriarchal capitalism sustains women’s oppression” (Code 1997: 38). Friedan also explicitly rejects any criticism of family life, which radical feminists pinpoint as a major factor in women’s oppression. In terms of women’s reproductive roles, Friedan argues that these obstacles could be overcome with adequate childcare and maternity leave.

Where liberal feminism in general and Friedan in particular have been criticised, is their white, middle-class, college educated point-of-view, assuming that *all* women can work because they want to, not because they have to.¹⁴ Working class and minority women suggest oppression lies not only in sex, but in gender, race, class, age, ethnicity and sexuality as well. To view humans as individuals, rather than as men or women, implies that once women of all backgrounds have equal opportunities with men, sex and gender difference will disappear. What liberal feminism ignores is

¹⁴ Friedan has also been criticized for developing a theory less about women’s oppression, and more about human rights (Code 1993).

that the capitalist and patriarchal system favours white, middle-class men, and instead focuses on the assumption that all humans are equal in their potential and opportunity. This theory underestimates the role capitalism and patriarchy play in society, and therefore leaves liberal theory as an ahistorical account that ignores the social realities of humans' everyday lives and how they negotiate their roles in that society. That liberals see sex roles as superficial implies that their analysis will also be on a superficial level. Rather than pinpointing the theoretical reasons for these roles, they assume that if given the chance of equal opportunity, these roles will disappear. Liberal feminism ignores the fact that humans are shaped by society, and vice versa. As a feminist media project, this theory would only be capable of a shallow understanding of *how* women are portrayed, but not necessarily *why*. Radical feminism takes this analysis one step ahead because it understands that women's media portrayal is affected by a deep-rooted ideology that guides relations and hierarchical divisions between the sexes – patriarchy.

Radical Feminism

Radical feminism developed as a conceptual framework and a particular form of political activism during the women's liberation movement in the late 1960s, by mainly white, middle-class, college-educated US women (Jaggar 1983). Radical feminism in the UK did not really take off until the late 70s when the Revolutionary Feminists, a radical women's group, targeted men as the enemy and spoke out against sexual violence, rape, and pornography (Collective 1981). Unlike liberal feminism, which is based on a previously existing theory, the radicals created their own. Because of its relative recent development (in the latter part of the twentieth century), and the diversity of voices contributing to it, it is especially difficult to talk about a

singular radical feminist theory. I will try to point out directions some radical feminists have headed, but due to space constraints, this thesis cannot devote a discussion for every difference. What all branches of radical feminism share however, is the view that women's oppression is *the* fundamental political oppression, and is the root of all other forms of oppression (Mitchell 1971), which is more or less constant over time and place (Reid and Stratta 1989: 21).

Shulamith Firestone writes in *The Dialectic of Sex* (1970), that gender distinctions based on sex structure affects almost all aspects of women's lives, but that they are so deeply embedded in society they are hardly recognised. Following this, one of radical feminisms' main goals is to politicise aspects of women's lives that had previously been naturalised.¹⁵ "Patriarchy" is the key term for radical feminism, which was developed by Kate Millett in *Sexual Politics* (1971), amongst others (Brownmiller 1975; Firestone 1970; French 1985; Hartmann 1997). Millett adapted the term from its original meaning of "rule of the father," to describe men's power over women – a power imbalance that exists in all known societies, and is essential for that society to function. Millett explains that patriarchy is maintained because of social conditioning, and is ideologically embedded in institutions such as education, religion, media, the state and literature. Economist Heidi Hartmann argues that patriarchy is maintained through a system of hierarchy, and while men of differing class, race, and ethnicity have varying places within that hierarchy, they are all united – and rely on each other - in their dominance over women (1997). She also adds, "*Patriarchy is not simply hierarchical organisation, but hierarchy in which particular people fill particular*

¹⁵ This is a crucial insight, and one that influenced socialist feminist thought.

places. It is in studying patriarchy that we learn why it is women who are dominated and how (pp. 103 *Italics in original*).

Radical feminist theory is useful because it makes visible women's oppression, and places biological sex at the centre of analysis. One drawback however, is that its insistence that all women share the same oppression ignores very real differences between women (class, age, sexuality, ethnicity, race), and the fact that women can oppress each other (Bryson 2003; Cirksena and Cuklanz 1992).¹⁶ In addition, black feminists have criticised radical feminism for ignoring how society is also structured by racism, and argue that a theory focusing on how men oppress women does not adequately explain their oppression (Amos and Parmar 1984: 9). Because biological sex plays such a large role in radical feminism, it is important to examine it before moving on to a discussion about sex roles.

Radical Feminist Theory and Sex Roles

In some ways, radical feminism is similar to liberal feminism. Both challenge the belief that women's "natural" role is in the home. Both also agree that humans have a biological sex, which is defined by reproductive physiology. Though liberal feminists discussed sexual politics long before radicals such as Kate Millett¹⁷, it was radical feminists who examined the sexual division of labour in relation to *sexuality* and *reproduction*, and claimed these too counted as "politics" (Jaggar 1983). Radicals argue that patriarchy is maintained through the sexual division of labour – an oppressive system of sex-role differentiation (Bartky 1990; Eisenstein 1979). Their

¹⁶ In light of third-wave feminist critiques, recent radical feminists acknowledge forms of discrimination other than sex, but still maintain that it is the key site of oppression (Bartky 1990).

¹⁷ Early liberal feminists such as Mary Wollstonecraft, Harriet Taylor Mill, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and John Stuart Mill realised men were powerful, and that society was separated into separate spheres, though they had yet to develop an analysis of why this was so.

slogan was “the personal is political,” signalling a call to break down the barriers between the private and public sphere, and had far reaching consequences of redefining “politics” to include the female experience (Ring 1987: 771). By aiming the spotlight for the first time on the private sphere, radicals have been able to analyse how socially created sex roles limit women’s activities, work, desires and aspirations. Radical feminism has helped make visible aspects of women’s lives that were once overlooked because they were thought to be natural and ahistorical, including reproduction, childrearing, housework, and particularly, violence against women and misogyny (Cirksena and Cuklanz 1992: 30). I will discuss this concept further below in relation to the private and public sphere.

Translating a radical feminist analysis then to media would involve analysing the different media roles women were assigned, whether as fictional characters or their producers. Radicals would then examine how women’s roles served primarily to reinforce and perpetuate particular ideologies that served men’s interest at the expense of women (relegating them to lower social status and position in the economic ladder, whether this being lower paid jobs, or free labourers at home – housewives).

One problem with radical feminists’ theory on sex is that it is easy to fall into the trap of biological determinism – the assumption that masculinity and femininity come from our physical differences as males and females – a theory that says that women’s oppression lies in their biology.¹⁸ Many radicals believe that there is something about being a woman that allows only their sex to be feminists, or to possess “feminine” qualities such as compassion, nurturance, passivity, and so forth. Another problem

¹⁸ Many feminists since the 1970s have started to move away from biological determinism, and it would be wrong to assume that all radical feminists fall into this camp.

with this theory is that it accepts how society “imposes a social assessment on a biological difference” by valuing male characteristics over female ones (Eisenstein 1979).

However, a second view, promoted mainly by French radical feminists, argues that “woman” and “man” are political and economic categories, which therefore are not eternal (Wittig 1979), but are maintained by men for their own benefit. Because these categories were artificially created, radical feminists argue that deconstructing the patriarchal ideals behind them can lead to a gender-free society. Their point is that patriarchy creates men and women, not just masculine and feminine (Jaggar 1983)¹⁹. This insight was an important contribution to the field of feminist studies because it encouraged research to examine not only the roles women are typically assigned in society, but also to examine how their construction benefits males. A limitation of this theory, which contemporary socialist feminists have since corrected, was a lack of analysis of how society’s class organisation affects and is affected by sexual divisions, and how the combination subordinates women. While radical feminism’s non-biological determinist view of sex and gender roles is accurate, it does not go as far as to say *how* these roles were produced in a historic, materialist sense. These problems would be carried over into a radical feminist media studies project. This does not mean to imply that radical feminism does not offer any insights that could be useful for a feminist media studies project. Before moving into this however, it is first important to discuss liberal and radical thoughts on an oppositional dualism that has been a central organizing principles for much of western thought – the private and public spheres (Arendt 1978; Elshtain 1981; Wilshire 1986). These concepts are

¹⁹ This is a point that has been picked up by some post-modern feminist as well, and will be discussed more in my section regarding socialist feminism and gender roles.

important because they have often been used as an excuse to prevent women equal rights and opportunities, and were therefore challenged by the second-wave women's movement.

Private vs. Public Spheres – Liberal and Radical Traditions

Liberal feminist theorists were the first to point out that the modern capitalist society was split into a private and a public sphere, organised according to gender²⁰. Liberals veered toward a radical feminist position, arguing that men and patriarchal - or male serving systems of education and social organization - oppressed women. This led them to criticise the domestic sphere, the home and marriage, but liberals believed that legal changes such as married woman's property acts would fix these problems, and did not go so far as to suggest a radical change in society (Donovan 1985: 27).

The concept of dualism includes hierarchical relationships between terms, valuing one and devaluing the other (Cirksena and Cuklanz 1992). Some authors explain that these assumptions are built into language as unspoken cultural agreements about the "good" or "real" unchangeable or inevitable (Donovan 1985; Ortner 1974). Scholars also note that this dualism has created the public sphere as inherently "masculine," and the private as intrinsically "feminine" (Macdonald 1995)²¹, and is not the only dualism to do so.²² This binary has important ideological roots within liberal theory

²⁰ The relegation of sexes to each sphere and the ideology which keeps each in their place was tested during the industrial revolution, when many women and children worked outside the home in factories. However, despite these large numbers, bourgeois ideologies of the family and femininity allowed each sphere to retain their distinction. It is also important to note that many bourgeois women found ways of escaping the private sphere without penalisation – philanthropy, religion, and finding a husband (MacDonald 1995).

²¹ Some scholars have noted that consumerism and the advertisement industry did bring some value to women's domestic roles and thus the private sphere. Its discourse turned housewives into 'technologically sophisticated craft-workers with special competencies and skills.' (MacDonald 1995: 86)

²² Specifically oppressing for women are the dualisms of reason/emotion, public/private, nature/culture, subject/object, mind/body (Cirksena and Cuklanz 1992: 20)

itself, as liberals agreed that the state was allowed to govern the public sphere, but until feminism, was prohibited and only marginally allowed to govern the private sphere (Jaggar 1983)²³.

It was at this point that radical theory stepped in and attempted to re-conceptualise the spheres. Rather than presenting women's responsibility for the home and their sex roles as "an unfortunate accident that could be fixed by obliging husbands" (Bryson 2003: 176), radicals pointed out that patriarchy was responsible for the sexual division of labour, which is disguised as seemingly natural (Jaggar 1983). Radical feminism went further than liberal analysis, and has been useful in penetrating this boundary between private and public spheres, calling for personal, private relations to be renamed as public political questions (Petchesky 1981). Radicals have made political (and therefore public) areas that were previously "private," such as reproduction, pornography, domestic violence, heterosexuality and domestic labour (Bryson 2003). Pre-second-wave feminism, these practices were protected by the liberal ideology of sanctity and privacy, maintaining an invisibility of women's domestic, sexual and childrearing labour (Code 1997). Therefore, radical feminists have succeeded in broadening the issues that could be discussed in the public sphere, and forced society to question the division between the spheres. While both of these insights were crucial to the development of socialist feminism's analysis on the private and public sphere (particularly radical identification of ideologies in play), both theories fail to analyse the roles class and capitalism play in the separation of spheres. Socialist feminism offers a deeper analysis of the operating ideologies, and therefore, provides a richer analysis of society and women's oppression, but before moving on, we must first

²³ Socialist feminists have argued that this idea rationalises women's exploitation and denies the need to protect women and children in the home (Jaggar 1983: 144).

discuss other useful insights both liberal and radical feminism have contributed to feminist media studies.

Liberal and Radical Insights into Feminist Media Studies

While both liberal and radical feminist theory provide an inadequate framework for a comprehensive media studies project, it would be unwise to brush aside all of their insights. Traditionally then, liberal and radical feminist media studies projects have been concerned about stereotypes and images.²⁴ For example, they are interested in “an extremely simplified mental model which fails to see individual features, only the values that are believed to be appropriate to the type” (van Dijk 1988: 92). Sociologist Gaye Tuchman writes that sex role stereotypes are “set portrayals of sex-appropriate appearance, interest, skills, behaviours, and perceptions” (1978c: 5). Though typically unrepresentative of reality, stereotypes survive by changing when necessary, and claiming to have a kernel of truth, masking their own values (Macdonald 1995). Media scholar Myra MacDonald (1995) suggests that the media have an important part to play in creating stereotypes and promoting a limited number of role models. For these reasons, and because of the strong liberal feminist presence in the US,²⁵ many US studies have focused on the presence or absence of women in the media, the stereotypes used, as well as evaluating how women are devalued (Douglas 1994; Meyerowitz 1993; Rhode 1995; Steeves 1997; Tuchman et al. 1978). Liberals demand

²⁴ I will devote more space in my next chapter for these concepts, specifically in relation to media studies that have already been carried out.

²⁵ The liberal feminist presence is strong in the US because it is derived from the even stronger presence of liberal democracy, which is the foundation and guiding principles of US society. In the UK, as much of Europe, socialist attitudes are incorporated into the political systems (particularly the UK, with the Labour government), and here you see a much stronger tradition of socialist and Marxist theory, and therefore socialist and Marxist feminist analysis.

that social roles based on biology be replaced by “real” women as they are or have the potential to be (Currie 1999).

As I have already mentioned, Friedan’s book *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), was a pioneering feminist text highlighting how women’s traditionally feminine and domesticated roles were reinforced by examining stereotypes and images in the popular media (especially women’s magazines), a method many feminists have since used. For instance, Judith Hole and Ellen Levine (1971), found that the “media created woman is (1) wife, mother and housekeeper for men, (2) a sex object used to sell products to men, (3) a person trying to be beautiful for men.” Others however note different results. Joanne Meyerowitz’s (1993) re-examined post-war middle-class popular literature on women, and argues that magazine messages were contradictory, and sometimes advocated domesticity and non-domesticity in the same sentence. Contrary to Friedan’s findings, other research between 1950 and 1980 showed increasingly more images of women in advertisements who worked outside of the home, though these figures never exceeded 25 per cent (van Zoonen 1994).

There are several problems with examining images and stereotypes. First of all, whatever the findings, liberal feminists blame specific mediums, articles, advertisements, movies, or television shows for their sexist or unrepresentative views. It boils down to an individual problem that does not structurally explain or understand the power relationships that are involved in creating and maintaining those images (van Zoonen 1994). Van Zoonen (1994) highlights another problem when she argues that simply complaining that media images are not representative of women’s experiences assumes that there is one, or several experiences common to all women.

Though it is legitimate to claim that many women's experiences are not reflected in the media, some women can relate to the domesticated settings often portrayed in the media. Because women (and men) are so diverse, there will never be a perfect balance of "real" experiences corresponding to those shown in the media.²⁶ Though suffering from some of the same problems as liberal feminism, radical feminism takes this analysis one step ahead.

Radical feminism has contributed to feminist media studies by focusing mainly on advertisements, films, and pornography, arguing that the media, operating in a patriarchal society, sexually objectify women and suppresses their experiences (Dworkin 1974). Pornography, says Andrea Dworkin (1974) and Catharine MacKinnon (1987), represents this extreme objectification and constitutes one of the most popular representations of women. Bartky (1990: 26) defines sexual objectification as having a woman's: "sexual parts or sexual functions...separated from the rest of her personality and reduced to the status of mere instruments or else regarded as if they were capable of representing her." Radical feminism's views on sex roles are more nuanced than liberal feminism's views, because it understands that the roles are ideologically embedded, and exist to promote masculine values and ideas (MacKinnon 1997). Radicals also argue that men use the media to control sexuality – the primary sphere of male power - giving them definitional control. Good examples of this approach can be found in feminist film studies. For example, Mulvey (1975) Kaplan (1983), and Kuhn (1982), use Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysis of films to demonstrate that female characters were filmed from a male point of view in a way emphasising their "to-be-looked-at-ness," enticing women to enjoy male pleasures

²⁶ This does not mean that liberal critiques have not been useful. The National Organisation for Women (NOW) demanded changes in media's portrayal of women and contributed to a shift in consciousness on women's issues (Bryson 2003).

from a masculine point of view. Others examine portrayals of sexuality and feminine beauty in women's magazines. For instance, Naomi Wolf (1991) views magazines as a backlash against the gains of feminism maintaining that they reinforce patriarchal relations through their promotion of restrictive beauty standards. These standards are oppressive because they encourage women to identify their self-worth with attractiveness in the eyes of men (Bartky 1990). The problem, once again, is that though radical feminism examines portrayals of women, it is in relation *only* to patriarchal structures or their sexuality, and does not extend as far as looking at how women are exploited for capitalist purposes. On the other hand, socialist feminism incorporates these factors into its analysis, and it is now time to move on to this theory.

Before I can turn to a discussion about socialist feminism, it is important to first address the theoretical underpinnings that are fundamental to this theory – ideology and hegemony – concepts which have been mentioned previously in this project, but which merit a deeper discussion. These concepts, but especially the former, are essential to socialist feminist theory, and this particular media studies project, because they reveal hidden power relations, and explain why certain discourses emerge, who they benefit, and what they say about the societies in which they exist. It is only when ideology is understood that we can really begin to discuss gender roles, how they are created, and how they differ from sex roles. Similarly, ideology is crucial to understanding how *representation* differs from *stereotypes* or *images*, and offers a deeper level of analysis. This study poses many questions, but those I will address in this section include: How do ideology and hegemony operate in society? How do they relate to socialist feminism and its conceptions of gender roles and representation?

How is ideology responsible for the public and private sphere binary, and women's social position? How have ideology and hegemony become useful and important to media studies projects? Finally, how have women been represented in the non-news media? What this section also tries to make clear is that the concepts of ideology and hegemony provide a crucial theoretical divide between socialist, liberal, and radical feminism, where only socialist feminism fully explores their implications. With this in mind, it is now time to turn to ideology and hegemony.

Ideology and Hegemony

Ideology as we understand it today comes from a Marxist tradition of examining class and power relations.²⁷ Many theorists have also contributed to understanding ideology in the 19th century – Karl Marx said ideology was a system of the ideas and representations that dominate the mind of a man or a social group (as quoted in Althusser 1971: 149). He also contended that those owning the means of production control the means of mental production as well. In the mid-20th century, Althusser (1971) expanded Marxist thought, claiming that ideology is always an expression of a class position. The ruling class maintains and (re)produces dominant ideologies. Around the same time, semioticians Saussure (1960) and Lévi-Strauss (1967) sought to understand how meaning was made and understood. Saussure was influential because he was the first to propose that signs are arbitrary, and that there is no connection between the sign and its meaning. As such, signs are sites for ideology. Saussure's ideas opened up space for multiple interpretations of the same texts because its meaning was not permanently fixed. Lévi-Strauss examined how meaning

²⁷ Before Marx, ideology was thought to be a free floating set of ideas, unaffected by society's productive practices.

is produced and reproduced within a culture through various practices, which in turn were affected and influenced by ideology.

Others have devoted much theorising to the process of signification, and said meaning is not embedded in the reality of how things are, but rather in how things are signified (Hall 1982; 1997). Stuart Hall (1982) contends that nothing exists except that which exists in and for language or discourse. He also maintains that language and symbols are the tools society uses to produce meaning: “The world has to be *made to mean*” (1982: 67). Rather than producing new knowledge, Hall states ideology moves in a closed circle, (re)producing things we already know (1982). Because language differs between cultures, meaning is therefore culturally and socially specific. In addition, because meaning is socially produced, the same object or event could produce many different meanings for different people.²⁸ Hall (1982) notes that in order for one meaning to gain credibility and prominence, alternative constructions must be marginalised, downgraded or de-legitimised. Signification then, is where meaning’s battle is fought. Ideology is not a given, but is “a site of struggle (between competing definitions) and a stake – a prize to be won – in the conduct of particular struggles” (1982: 70). Ideology is crucial for explaining how power is monopolised, and in the spread of consent (1982).

Expanding on these ideas, it is true to say that certain ideologies become hegemonic (internalised, consented to) in society. As Marx famously stated, “The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas. The class which is the ruling material

²⁸ Class, gender, education, culture, and socio-economic position also play a role in signifying meaning, because ‘cultural capital’ is not equally distributed throughout society (Hall 1982).

force of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force” (1976:59).²⁹ From this perspective, it is reasonable to argue that capitalist and (mostly) white-males were the ruling material (and therefore intellectual) force in the UK and the US during my sample period. That is to say, ideologies that persisted during this time would be capitalist and patriarchal in nature, benefit men over women, the upper and middle-classes over the working and lower classes, white people over black people, and heterosexuals over homosexuals. Italian philosopher and politician Antonio Gramsci in his influential *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (1971) writes that hegemony enters our lives through ways of thinking we are already comfortable with and which we may already see as important truths in our lives. He also argues hegemony occurs when a class or class faction are able to secure a moral, cultural, intellectual (and therefore political) leadership in society through an ongoing process of ideological struggle and compromise (1971: 161).

There has been much discussion on how hegemony is maintained. Althusser (1971) explains that it is done through what he labelled ideological state apparatuses (ISAs), which included religion, media, politics, education, law, family, trade-unionism, and culture, all of which he argued, will favour the dominant ideology. According to Marx, hegemony could be maintained if it appeared to be grounded in history, and if “thinkers” or “philosophers” could be made to represent the “ideological concept” (1976:62). An important aspect of hegemony is that it is maintained without force (Lears 1985). Gramsci (1971) maintains that hegemony is sustained by winning the active consent of the classes and groups who are subordinated within that hegemony. Ruling groups never get complete consent, because, as Gramsci notes it is not always

²⁹ It is important to note that the notion of hegemony was originally used by Gramsci and others when examining class, but others, such as feminists, found it a useful concept and soon adopted it to analyse gender relations in society.

easily given, and is a “complex mental state which varies from person to person because some are more socialised than others” (as quoted in Lears 1985: 570).

However, if ruling groups want to achieve hegemony, they must find views appealing to a wide range of groups, as well as selectively accommodating those views of some subordinate or marginalised groups (Lears 1985). This means that hegemonic ideas can and do change if those in power wish to retain their position. These insights have been picked up by many socialist feminists, who argue it is patriarchy and capitalism’s ability to adapt to change that has kept them around for so long.

It was imperative to discuss ideology and hegemony before discussing socialist feminist theory, because these concepts are central to socialist feminism’s understanding of how society operates and is ordered – from gender roles, to division of labour, to representations in the media, and why people do not revolt against their oppression (van Zoonen 1994: 23). Without this understanding, socialist feminist theory is useless in analysing women’s position in society.

Socialist Feminism – An Introduction

Socialist feminism was a product of the women’s liberation movement from the late 1960s onward, and, like radical feminism, developed its own theory, in part, because it felt existing ones were largely incapable of dealing with women’s oppression. The result is a theory that seeks to develop the best of Marxist and radical political thought in a new conceptual framework (Jaggar 1983). Whereas radical feminism was born in the US and never gained a strong following in the UK, the opposite is true for socialist feminism, which began in Britain as a challenge to radical feminism (Coote

and Campbell 1982; Eisenstein 1979)³⁰. Marxist theory of how ideology and hegemony operate in society to create power relations influenced socialist feminist theory. The main difference was that while Marxist analysis looks at class (comprised of men and women), the socialist feminist challenge is based on the assumption that women are a class fighting within a capitalist class *and* a patriarchal system. In this sense, socialists combine radical and Marxist theory to create what they considered a more nuanced approach capable of explaining how and why women are oppressed within the home, work and society as well. Similar to liberal and radical theorists, socialist feminist political theory has been affected by third-wave feminism. Since the 1980s, there has been a shift from prioritising class, gender and production at the expense differences in race, sexual preference, age, physical abilities and so forth (Whelehan 1995: 61; see Holmstrom 2002 for recent examples). Unlike liberal feminists who argue that women are *discriminated* against, socialist feminists say women are *exploited*, both by men and capitalism. Alison Jaggar (1983: 124) put it best when she explained:

³⁰ It is also important to note that the lines between Marxist and socialist feminism are blurry at best. Some theorists use the terms interchangeably for any theory that uses a historical and materialist approach (Bryson 2001), while others use the term Marxist when discussing class based issues only. Marx's theory revolved around the concept of *praxis*, or conscious physical labour, as it was used to transform the material world to satisfy human needs. Marxists say this is the essential human activity (Marx 1976). Marx believed that humans created their own nature through praxis – that the need to satisfy basic needs such as food, shelter, and clothing were met through a mode of production. Once those needs were met, new ones were created and so were methods of satisfying them. The importance of this theory is two-fold. First, it implies that humans can control their own destiny, unlike liberal theory that assumes a predetermined abstract individualism that is unshaped by society. Second, it says that biology and society make up part of human nature and are inseparable because they constitute each other (Jaggar 1983). The Marxist struggle is between the bourgeoisie, or those owning capital, and the proletariat, or the workers. Traditional Marxism argued that a struggle to end women's oppression should not interfere with the class struggle (1983). A problem with Marxist theory is that women are seen only as their role as a worker, not as a gendered being. Marxism also ignores women's procreative and domestic labour and is not seen as production in a capitalist society (1983). For Marxism, the 'woman question' is about the relation of women to the economic system. What Marxism is not able to do is explain why it is that women fill in the roles that they do. This is where socialist feminism is needed.

Socialist feminists claim that a full understanding of the capitalist system requires a recognition of the way in which it is structured by male dominance, and conversely, that a full understanding of contemporary male dominance requires a recognition of the way it is organised by the capitalist division of labour.

Sharing and expanding the Marxist conception of human nature that is constituted by society and praxis, socialist feminists, unlike Marxists, believe that society is separated by more than the traditional classes of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Rather, socialist feminists believe humans belong to a range of other classes, including age, “race,” sexuality, ethnicity, and so forth. It is important to note that since the emergence of “third-wave feminism” in the early 1990s, socialist feminist theory is not alone in using this analysis of interlocking oppression. However, because its analyses operate on several axes (capitalism and patriarchy), and operates at a deeper level of interpretation, I feel it is more capable than either radical or liberal feminist theories to address women’s oppression. In addition, socialist feminism does not treat women’s oppression as an individual problem. Instead, it takes into account the many differences between human beings, and understands human nature, biology, and society in a historical way. More so than liberal or radical theory, socialist feminism recognises that biology and society change, which is especially useful in a cross-cultural comparison because it understands that humans, and the way they organised their society, is not a universal certainty. This means that I am not going to assume UK and US newspapers held the same views on gender roles, organised production gathered the news and so forth, in a similar manner. Socialist feminists also believe that men oppress women, not because of biological maleness, but because of structural social and economic relations with women (Coote and Campbell 1982). This then leads us to a discussion about an important insight that explains how men maintain their superior place in the world – ideology surrounding gender roles.

Socialist Feminism and Gender Roles

From very early on, socialist feminists wanted to make clear the distinction between sex and gender roles, the latter of which they view as social constructs, maintained through the presence of an underlying ideology³¹. Gayle Rubin describes gender as, “a socially imposed division of the sexes” (Rubin 1997: 40), meaning that neither “masculine” nor “feminine” are natural - merely that they exist because society created them. Moreover as Rakow and Kranich argue, a culture’s division of labour helps to create certain gender norms (1991: 10). While post-modern feminism has brought to light how “woman” and “man” have been socially constructed, this essay will focus more on socialist feminist contributions to gender role analysis. Psychoanalysis deserves mention as a popular method used by many socialists (and radicals) to understand how humans are socialised into the appropriate masculine male, or feminine female roles, and to explain why people do not rebel against them. In addition, feminist psychoanalysts such as Nancy Chodorow (1995), use their work to emphasise weariness of universalising claims about gender, which often reduce it to a few defining features. Chodorow highlights the individual’s role in creating “gender,” unique to each person and dependent on their personal history (1995). Psychoanalysis, however, has been criticised because of its tendency to associate identity formation and subconscious as part of human nature, rather than specific to Western culture. In fact, scholars note that and there is little evidence that these characteristics are universal (Cirksena and Cuklanz 1992: 32). Though there is much

³¹ Post-modern feminists have since shown that our human biological differences were, and still are, modified to specific forms of human social life, which lead to continually evolving sex differences (Jaggar 1983).

more that could be said about psychoanalysis, due to space constraints, this thesis cannot devote much space to it³².

In opening up a discussion surrounding gender, this thesis then requires a dialogue around masculinity, and particularly femininity. Margaret Mead's anthropological study *Sex Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (1935) is of note because she found three societies with different gender patterns. The Arapesh of both sexes exhibited maternal qualities; the Mundugumor were hostile and neither sex showed maternal/paternal qualities; and the Tchambuli's sexes showed opposite gender patterns from western cultures, where assertive, business-minded women were complemented by "gossipy" male house-wives (Mead 1935). Mead's study shows the cross-cultural fluidity of gender roles and thus highlights the importance of socialisation in gender forming identities – a factor that is often taken for granted in western cultures.

The focus on gender construction in socialist feminist research is therefore useful for this project, particularly because feminists often posed a challenge to many traditional gender roles through speaking out for themselves, demanding equal rights, and moving into the public sphere. Therefore, through analysing newspapers' response and framing of these women (and their views), I will be able to identify how ideology operated. For instance, data analysis will reveal which discourses were employed to either support or reject the feminists, and what do these indicate about society? How

³² Freud deserves mention here as the father of 'psychoanalysis,' and while he has been criticised for misogynist views on women, and his belief that 'anatomy is destiny,' his work has been an area of intense feminist discussion. His emphasis on sexuality's importance for human development has opened up the grounds for women to examine their sexual identity, and make distinctions between sex and gender. For more information, see Juliet Mitchell's (1974) *Psychoanalysis and feminism*, and Nancy Chodorow's (1978) *Psychoanalysis and the reproduction of mothering: psychoanalysis and the reproduction of gender*.

effective were feminist arguments in challenging patriarchal and capitalist ideologies? How were “negative” constructions upheld, and what ideologies did “positive” constructions draw upon to negotiate their place such patriarchal and capitalist worlds? Because the private and public spheres are also gendered, (how) did the feminist movement cause this binary to shift, and if so, how and to what? The development of such binaries, from a socialist feminist perspective, will be explored next.

The Private and Public Sphere

Both radical and socialist feminists recognise that men benefit from women’s subservience through sexual hierarchy and free domestic labour (carried out in the domain of the private sphere). As a result, they argue that the private/public dichotomy is merely an *ideologically* division that obscures the fact that women’s subordination is part of society’s economic foundation (Jaggar 1983). Socialist feminism has picked up on these useful points to theorize the private domain, making it a legitimate topic for political and social analysis (Cirksena and Cuklanz 1992: 26). The private/public division has also had material consequences for women in that it suppressed their pay, and restricted issues such as domestic violence to being considered private matters (Macdonald 1995).

While different from liberals because they understand that ideological roots are at the base of the dichotomy, and different from the radicals because they emphasised an economic component in their analysis, socialist feminists such as MacDonald explain, “Public and private spheres are an example of how a material source of power meshed with a conceptual pressure have combined to create this gender mythology” (1995:

47)³³. This “gender mythology” began to develop in the late eighteenth century alongside a growing industrial revolution, particularly advanced in the UK but also occurring the in US and other Western countries. Men (and some women) were moving out of the homes as a place of work, and into the public world of salaried employment. As bourgeois and working class men’s power increased, the public world became associated with that power, and the private became associated with moral values and support (Macdonald 1995). Bourgeois discourse split gendered attributes, and men and women were thought to “naturally” take their place in each sphere (Macdonald 1995). The family wage ideology then developed, and played a vital role in shaping the labour market, largely classifying women as unskilled or semiskilled workers, who were sectioned off into lower paying jobs (Cirksena and Cuklanz 1992; Coote and Campbell 1982; Rakow 1992)³⁴.

Socialist feminist Juliet Mitchell suggests that partly because of women’s smaller size and strength in relation to most men, they tend to be labelled less useful member of the work-force (1971). Not only were many women kept from obtaining paid employment, but, when allowed, they were restricted to only certain types – types that were suited to their “natural” abilities (Mitchell 1971). Because employers could pay women less than men, they, and children, were often recruited for industrial type work where machines replaced the physical burden and barriers of heavy lifting (Mitchell 1971). Michele Barrett (1997) contends the sexual division of labour was not a

³³ All societies have means of organising food and object production and a means of organising sexuality and childcare, but only in capitalism is the former set labelled ‘economic’ and takes a certain priority. See Strong-Boag (2002) for more information.

³⁴ MacDonald (1995) noted that people only worried about the private sphere when its aberrations filter into the public arena. Women were always the first to be blamed for any act of delinquency, especially if the perpetrator’s mother worked outside of the home. Many popular and academic sources during this time said collective happiness and well-being were most likely when women’s energies were focused on the home.

capitalist creation, though it was refined in it, and was based on ideologically embedded notions of gender, the private, and public spheres. Before World War II, most women in the labour force were unmarried, single, or widowed. Afterwards, it also became more acceptable for married women to work outside of the home. This change coincided with a rise in consumerism, especially in the US. When there was debate over whether married women should work, it was conducted in an ideological arena that assumed extra money brought into the home would be used for “frivolous” things, new gadgets and technology. Few examined economic reasons why many married women might have to work (Freeman 2001a), as perhaps this type of debate was too threatening to dominant patriarchal ideologies of the time.

Though the post-war public sphere was no longer totally male, it was still very much male controlled, as women continued to be segregated to the lowest paying jobs, with little status and power (Jaggar 1983; Rhode 1995). Socialist feminists recognised that the division of labour was founded on the basis of hierarchical and sexual difference, and, as such was unjust and unfair (Jaggar 1983; Turner and Killian 1957). While at one point, socialist and Marxists wanted to overthrow the capitalist system, they soon realised this was not possible, and it would be easier to work *within* the system to bring about changes (Bryson 2003: 222). One result of this was to work within trade unions and lobby the government for equal pay, equal rights and equal opportunities, which could be used to challenge the capitalist patriarchal systems oppressing them (Bryson 2003: 222). While criticised by radical feminists for working with men to bring about these changes, socialists argued that patriarchal structures could never be eliminated while they still suited men – therefore it was better to involve women in their campaigns (Whelehan 1995: 62). As Jaggar (1983: 328) notes, “When women

workers achieve a living wage, they are not just workers winning a concession from capitalism, they are also women winning economic dependence from men.”

While building on the radical feminist argument that sexuality and reproduction were forces behind women’s oppression (Bartky 1990; MacKinnon 1997), socialists added the insight that both were part of society’s economic foundation, and used this to challenge the distinction between public/private life (Jaggar 1983). Part of this challenge for socialist feminists was to redefine what was considered “production.”

While traditional Marxists said it only took place in the public sphere, socialist feminists pointed out that reproduction, and women’s unpaid labour in the home was important, and overlooked aspects of production. A socialist feminist tactic that was particularly well debated in the UK was the campaign for wages for housework. The significance of this was to show that not all of society’s production occurs outside of the home. It was an attempt to recognise ideology’s role in shaping the labour market and classifying women as unskilled workers, thus maintaining notions of public and private spheres, and the importance (or lack of it) associated with each (Coote and Campbell 1982).³⁵

The rise of the mass media too, had implications for the private/public spheres - through radio, television, books, magazines, movies, and so forth, it brought “public” ideas and events into the “private” homes of millions of people daily. However, despite bridging the two spheres, the original dichotomy engrained itself in media formats, and when “women’s issues” were finally included, they were relegated to separate magazines, newspaper sections, television and radio programmes, genres,

³⁵ Black feminist theorists such as Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1983) argue that socialist feminist theory needs to take into account ethnicity as well, which they argue shapes gender roles in both the private and public sphere.

and so forth. So, when the media developed, and the division between spheres were firmly in place, female voices were rarely initially included, and then were only used because of commercial pressures (both the need to sell products to women, and the effective use of female body in advertisements) that later developed. Even then though, ideologies were so firmly set that when women did make inroads in children's programs, women's pages or magazines, these advances still placed them within "private" matters that concerned the home and family life, and only served to legitimise the dichotomy (Macdonald 1995).

Specifically then, the private/public dichotomy plays an important role in this study about news (which is divided into "hard" and "soft" news, and will be further discussed below), in understanding how the media explained women's entry into more and more areas of the public sphere, and dealt with their challenge to widen notions of what these constituted. It is important to make the connection between the public/private and the masculine/feminine construct. Even when women entered the public sphere, they were forced to perform a balancing act, retaining their feminine virtues, yet labelled "butch," a "lesbian," or "unwomanly" if they exhibit too many "masculine" qualities. In order to "make it" in a "man's world," women were told they must choose between retaining their femininity and remaining at a low-level positions, or face ridicule if they were successful. This thesis argues that how these women were talked about will be wrapped up in notions of ideology surrounding the public/private sphere, which is linked to notions about the family, femininity and sexuality. The media provide places where these ideologies are disseminated, and will be discussed in relation to sociality feminism and ideology.

Socialist Feminism, Ideology, and the Media

While both ideology and hegemony are not new concepts, the last thirty years or so has witnessed a reformulation of their original conceptions to fit with media studies – or “critical” media studies as it is known (Hall 1982; van Zoonen 1994). Ideology theories state that the media are hegemonic institutions presenting capitalist and patriarchal order as “normal” and translating it to “common sense,” thus making both invisible (van Zoonen 1994: 27). Others argue that the media has a strong ideological role and invite us to use specific discourses to talk about reality in ways that are already regarded as normal and acceptable (Hole 1971; Macdonald 1995). A hegemonic approach to mass media also notes that hegemony is maintained in the news by opposing, suppressing, or presenting alternative views as deviant to de-legitimise them (Ballinger 1993). This however, does not mean that hegemonic views remain stagnant – on the contrary – others noted that if those in power wish to rule with consent and legitimacy, they must align their interests with those of the majority, which changes over time, or incorporate some aspects of minority protest to defuse the challenge (Ferguson 1983; Hall 1982).

Some forms of feminist research have incorporated the notions of ideology and hegemony into their analytical frameworks by using the notion of ideological power relations to analyse other forms of identity besides class, such as gender, sex, race, ethnicity, age, and sexuality. “Power” in this context includes the cultural, economic, and political aspects that draw the lines between what is “common sense,” and what is deviant (Lears 1985: 572). Feminist media research then would combine studies examining how the media contributes to, and is governed by, hegemonic ideologies, specifically in gendered terms.

Representation of Women in the Non-News Media

While images and stereotypes offer important analyses, some critics have argued that it is better to explore hidden structures and uncover ideologies – in other words, to look at representation (Macdonald 1995). Hall (1997: 15-17) writes that representation connects meaning and language to culture, and is the production of meanings through language of the concepts in our minds. It is important to keep in mind, particularly for my study which examines the past, that how women are represented in a specific historic juncture is a function of the political, social, cultural and economic climate at the time (Meyers 1999: 10). Studies of gender representation are grounded in the assumption that the mass media contribute to systems of representation that make up ideological processes in society. While socialist feminists have conducted many other studies about women's representations, this thesis is concerned with those that examine representation in relation to the print news media. Before delving into these studies however, it is first important to get a sense of how women were represented in the non-news media, or popular culture. When examining representation, qualitative or quantitative analysis are often used to uncover and expose ideologies such as patriarchal myths, beliefs and stereotypes underlying media texts, in hope of changing media content and social structure (Meyers 1999: 11). Most of this research shows that the media do not represent the actual number of women in the world (51 per cent), or their contributions to the labour force (van Zoonen 1994: 69), implying that women are less important than men (Pingree and Hawkins 1978: 125). Because scholars recognised that this was a one-dimensional side of representation, they are now conducting more complex analysis concerned with

nuances and subtleties that are carried in various meanings, and now use various theoretical and methodological perspectives.

Meyers (1999) suggests that the diversity in approaches have allowed for the possibility of many interpretations of the fractured nature of gendered images (1999: 11). This is very different from Tuchman et al.'s book *Hearth and Home* (1978), which was amongst the first to look at women's representation in mediated popular culture. The book concludes that the media were strong enough to "symbolically annihilate" women, who were unevenly represented in the media (Tuchman 1978c: 3). Thirty years later, much has changed. Meyers (1999:12) contends that Tuchman's finding of symbolic annihilation is no longer an appropriate blanket term for media portrayal of women, but rather, "current images are fractured, inconsistent, contradictory, torn between misogynistic notions about women and their roles, and feminist ideals of equality."

Women's Magazines

Aside from seeing *how* women are presented in the media, scholars have felt it was important to examine *what* the texts said. In her examination of women's magazines, Marjorie Ferguson (1983: 2) explains that these texts "tell women what to think and do about themselves, their lovers, husbands, parents, children, colleagues, neighbours or bosses. It is this, the scope of their normative direction, rather than the fact of its existence, which is truly remarkable." Others find that the media often tell women that consumption is the road to self-fulfilment (Budgeon and Currie 1995; van Zoonen 1995; Wolf 1991). Wolf's study (1991) details how this message, which she terms "the beauty myth," has even gone as far as to erode many of the gains the women's

movement achieved because it redirects their attention from political gains, to purchasing products to maintain appropriate levels of femininity. Studies looking at representation also state that the media are bearers of women's gendered ideology (Ballaster et al. 1991; Macdonald 1995; McRobbie 1989, 1996). Ferguson's study (1983: 39) highlights how gendered scripts in women's magazines created a "cult of femininity," which, at a more sophisticated level "provides charters or codes that legitimise attitudes, beliefs, behaviour and institutions within the female world."

Angela McRobbie's study of the British girls' magazine *Jackie* (1989) argues it is a system of messages, and a signifying bearer of "femininity" ideology and culture for teens. In a later study, McRobbie (1996) suggests that women's magazines were possibly the most concentrated and uninterrupted media-scape for normative femininity (1996: 172). Alternatively, Macdonald (1995) contends that manageable myths of femininity and the feminine were created because women's diversity potentially challenged male authority, and these ideals were used to displace women's threat (1995: 2). This focus on femininity and beauty is apparent in other research as well (McCracken 1993; Pierce 1990), and is quite significant because it demonstrates the ways ideologies adapt to suppress potentially threatening counter-discourses.

Marian Meyers's edited book *Mediated Women* (1999) uses textual analysis to analyse how women's roles in contemporary US society were mediated in films, television, news, magazines, music videos and advertisements. Importantly, this book examines how the media negotiated tension between cultural constraints and social changes in women's portrayals (Meyers 1999), noting that women's representation in the mediated popular culture are fractured, giving many, and often contradictory

images. Mediated women were both hypersexual and asexual, passive and aggressive, nurturing and sadistic, independent and dependent, domestic and career-oriented, silent and shrill, conforming and deviant, racist and not (1999: 12). This was significant for feminist research because it was further proof that women's representations in popular culture were socially constructed, and therefore changeable. These contradictory representations have been corroborated by other studies of women's magazines, which argue that, despite the presence of alternatives, readers were still directed to traditional notions of womanhood, and continued to define femininity in narrow terms (Alexander 1999; Anderson 1999; Ballaster et al. 1991; Budgeon and Currie 1995; Durham 1996; Ferguson 1983; Meyers 1999; Ticknell et al. 2003).

Studies of women's magazines have shown a shift in focus in these publications over the years from love and romance to sexuality (Durham 1996; Gill 2007; Gough-Yates 2003; Machin and Thornborrow 2003; McRobbie 1996). McRobbie for example, uses UK magazines to show an increased focus on sexual representations and more complex sexual identities which assume an equal partnership between men and women (McRobbie 1996: 192). Ros Gill (2007) on the other hand, credits the feminist movement with the inclusion of more confident, sexually assertive women. US feminist scholar Gigi Durham (1996) also examines sexuality. In her work, she traces themes around which women's sexuality is constructed, including a presumed heterosexuality; goal of marriage or heterosexual monogamy; tension between free sexual expression and the need to submit to men's desires; and male centred construction of women's desire as an insatiable lack, or a passion in need of strict control (1996: 26). Durham suggests that these findings make sense in patriarchal

cultures such as ours, where men were the ones who constructed female sexuality (1996: 20).

For many feminist scholars, media texts were considered problematic for women, and for feminism, because they reinforced traditional gender differences and inequalities. As a result, such media representations were seen to be a key site where oppressive feminine identities were constructed and disseminated (Durham 1996; Gough-Yates 2003). Some, such as Friedan (1963) and Tuchman et al. (1978) wrote about how magazine texts were powerful forces constructing and legitimizing gender inequalities. When viewed in this light, they were not seen as a site of innocent pleasure, but an arena that undermined women's "real" identities. These views on texts were common during the time, when some feminist scholars (McRobbie 1989; Winship 1987) were influenced by Althusser and ideology, believing that texts were more than just "positive" or "negative," and that women would recognize themselves in terms of the ideological frameworks generated in the texts (Glazer 1980; Gough-Yates 2003: 8). Though many put this view forth, not all scholars agreed with this overly pessimistic view of reader's relationship with magazine texts. Those influenced by Gramsci's notion of civil society allowed people to view magazines as an arena of political contest, not just ideological manipulation (Gough-Yates 2003; Hebron 1983; Hermes 1995; Winship 1987). The Gramscian framework made magazines a site where women's oppression was debated and negotiated, not just reinforced (Gough-Yates 2003: 10). Several studies found visible areas of ideological negotiation, particularly after the second-wave feminist movement, where magazine texts incorporated many "feminist" (Hebron 1983; McRobbie 1996; Winship 1987).

Additionally, as a response to the idea that magazine texts were “bad” for women, third-wave feminists and more recently, feminist cultural scholars have sought to reclaim women’s magazines and other cultural texts as legitimate arenas of pleasure. Researchers have found that while messages tend to promote notions of traditional womanhood and femininity, they can still be a source of pleasure for women (even feminists). Meanings are polysemic, unstable, subject to subversive interpretations, even if they were incapable of urging women to change the wider society or even the magazine itself (Ballaster et al. 1991; Currie 1999; Durham 1996; Hermes 1995; McCracken 1993; Meyerowitz 1993; Winship 1987). However, while I agree that these studies are useful for easing the guilt many women felt for enjoying such texts, the ideological messages embedded within them still merit scrutiny, as does the question of why such texts and ideologies persist.

Television and Film

While women’s magazines have been a very popular focus of feminist study, television and film have also been thoroughly also analysed. For example, Julie D’Acci (1994) examined the popular 1980s police show *Cagney and Lacey*, and writes that while traditional images of femininity were present, the programme also portrays women in caring roles other than as mothers and wives. Christine Cagney and Mary-Beth Lacey were New York City police detectives, who in addition to solving crime, dealt with issues such as rape, breast cancer, abortion, balancing a family, being career women, and more. While changes to the show were made to keep it “feminine,” including replacing the actress who played Cagney because she was too “aggressive,” it was groundbreaking in its representations of the lives women could lead. This show could be seen to support Jane Arthurs’ (2004) assertion that the

women's movement was responsible for raising issues of sexual equality to the cultural political agenda. Many genres of film have also been analysed in terms of women's representations, including film noir (Kaplan 1998; Wager 1999; Paglia 1994; Silver et al. 2004), horror (Carter and Weaver 2003; Clover 1993), and sexual violence (Molitor and Sapolsky 1993). When it came to "women's films," Macdonald (1995) writes that women tend to be placed within the hearth and home, where conflicts shift between a dilemma of emotion and duty, or between two men.

Advertising and Art

Advertisements have been a particularly strong focus of feminist scholars because they are viewed as potentially debilitating, demeaning, and inaccurate (Lazier and Kendrick 1993: 200). In addition, gender ideologies have traditionally been advertisers' biggest resource, and are used to market products to specific audiences. One of the problems with this is that advertisements, in using gender ideologies, often limit the acceptable notions of identity in terms of race, class, age, sexuality, and of course, gender. Initial feminist studies tended to examine women's sex roles, and document countless images of submissive wives and mothers, who were located within domestic settings (Goffman 1979). Other studies examine power imbalances between men and women, and demonstrate how advertisements depicted a parent-child relationship between them, where women symbolized the child, have less power, and are shown as smaller to men, and more submissive (Goffman 1979). One early study, conducted by Belkaoui and Belkaoui (1976), tested whether feminist complaints about women's stereotyped roles in advertisements were true. Within previous studies, there was never an attempt to place findings within a historical context, and in order to correct this oversight, they examined eight general periodicals

for one week in January 1958, 1970, and 1972 (*Life, Look, Newsweek, The New Yorker, Reader's Digest, Saturday Review, Time, U.S. News, and the World Report*). The authors note a shift in representations over time, from women in family roles, to more decorative roles, which portray them as non-active adults, included merely for aesthetic display (p. 171). They therefore conclude that advertisements had not kept up with advances in women's lives, and continued to portray them in a limited variety of roles (p. 172). Later studies demonstrate contradictory representation of women in advertisements. While some advertisers in the 1980s were keen to use ideas of feminism to sell products for the "independent" woman, others completely ignored it and reproduced images of good wives and mothers (Macdonald 1995: 88-89). Still, scholars do note improvements in advertisements in recent years. Lazier and Kendrick (1993) for example, state that the '90s has witnessed the emergence of non-stereotypical, pro-female advertisements (p. 207). This is perhaps unsurprising, as women continue to find themselves in centralised roles in an ever-increasing commodity culture (Negra 2009; Wolf 1991).

Though perhaps advertisements are becoming more "pro-female," this has occurred in tandem with one of the largest shifts in the media in general – from women as *passive* sexual objects to *active* sexual subjects (Gill 2007). This increased *sexualisation* of the media presents a new theoretical development from discussion of *objectification*, and is more difficult to criticise because women are actively placing themselves in these sexual roles. This shift was perpetuated because of a new ideology which states that femininity, which used to be associated with psychological characteristics such as passivity, is now associated with *physical* attributes such as sexuality.

While advertisements have been the focus of many studies, others examine different forms of popular culture, such as John Berger's, *Ways of Seeing* (1972). This study looks at representation of women through art, and argues that women are depicted quite differently from men, not because of innate differences between masculinity and femininity, but because "the 'ideal' spectator is always assumed to be male and the image of the woman is designed to flatter him" (p. 64). Berger also notes that women in Western cultures are trained to look at themselves from a masculine perspective, and are represented through symbols. This relates to Laura Mulvey's work (1975) which is important because she was one of the first feminist scholars to say that women's function was semiotic – that they act as signs. Following from this revelation, another key study contends:

Men often appear as themselves, as individuals, but women attest the identity and value of someone or something else...Meanings of all kinds flow through the figures of women, and they do not include who she herself is (Warner 1987: 331).

Minority Women

While most of the studies listed above focused on white women, some have taken an interest in minority women. In August 1977, the US Commission on Civil Rights released a report focused on women and minority's employment with local broadcasters and television representations. The report states that minorities and women were under-represented on network dramatic television programs and network news, and notes that when they were included in television, it was either in token or stereotypical roles. Carmen Gillespie (1999) studied the television show *Showgirls*, to see how African-American women were portrayed. She writes that *Showgirls* reinforces traditional racial and gender-based hierarchies, where African-American women are depicted as faithful companions to white women, and sometimes, men

(1999: 90). These women were also shown as guardians, who spent all of their energy protecting the moral and physical health of the white children in their care. Gillespie concludes that these stereotypes serve to validate the economic subjugation of real black women who are forced to find servile jobs (1999: 90). Black women have also long been portrayed as the “mammy” in the US media, and have been pressured to conform to white ideals of beauty (Macdonald 1995: 137, 198). These studies highlight the fact that minority women in popular culture are not only un- or misrepresented, but that they obtain meaning only through relationships with others or their environment. While the above research demonstrates that studies on minority women do exist, some scholars point out that there has been no substantial research into stereotypical portrayals of beauty agendas for women of colour or older women (Lazier and Kendrick 1993: 216).

As with minority women in Western media, international studies demonstrate that not all women are represented equally. Regarding cross-cultural and international studies of advertisements, Gallagher (1981) reports that images of women were capitalist and consumerist, mostly because of the Western agencies that created the advertisements. Other studies of the international mainstream media explain that non-Western women are grossly underrepresented, partly because most media content use US exports, meaning that non-Western women rarely get the chance to participate in advertisements (Steeves 1993: 41). In addition, when non-Western women are shown, they are often depicted as exotic or as the “other.” In fact, no country with available data had more than 20 per cent of news about women, and of this, most news was trivial and related to family status or their appearance, indicating that women’s important activities were both undermined and demeaned (Gallagher 1981:p. 77).

Though the above studies are by no means an exhaustive list, they do provide a sense of the type of research conducted on women in the media. While the results of such research has changed over time, reflecting differing conceptual and methodological approaches to research, differing mediums and genres, and a shift in the socio-political landscape, a consistent finding is that “*men act and women appear*” (Berger 1972: 47). While some of the research, particularly the earlier studies employ liberal frameworks examining surface-level analyses of women in the media, there is evidence of a large body of research that examines deeper levels of representations of women and how they were *constructed*. So how do these observations about women change when applied to representation of women in the news media, where women were active participants, openly demanding less restrictive representations of themselves? In order to answer this question, we must begin a new chapter with a broad discussion about news organization theories, which will explore news theories, ideas about objectivity and balance, news framing, newsworthiness, newspaper sections, tabloid and broadsheet papers, and gendered aspects of the news including women’s representation in the news media, and how it has all changed over time. The next section will explore theories on social movements, including ideas of how they begin, gather support, and use resources such as the media to promote their ideas. This is followed by a discussion about how social movements in general have been covered by the press, which is important in order to recognise journalistic conventions that might also be evident when I then examine how the women’s movement was covered by the press. This section will have a specific focus on studies examining representations of women involved in the movement, which will be the last section of the chapter.

Chapter Two – A Review of News and Social Movement Theories

Similar to the previous chapter, this one aims to ground my study in research necessary to put my study into context. In doing so, this chapter aims to provide readers with a focused understanding of theories about news, social movements, social movements in the news, second-wave feminism in the news, and cross-cultural studies, as each element relates to my project. In some instances, this chapter builds upon ideas that were previously laid out (the use of ideology), and in others, it provides concrete examples of how socialist feminist theory has been used, and provides examples of studies employing this framework. Each theory addressed in this chapter provides insight into a particular area of importance for this study. News theories discuss how features such as format, style, journalistic conventions, rules, regulations, social uses, and target audience shape news stories as well as a newspaper's overall content and shape. Additionally, it is only through unfolding and exploring the nuances of news production in general that newspapers' constraints and conventions can be analysed and compared across time and space and if these. Only a greater understanding of these will help to situate and explain why my publications (*The New York Times*, *The Times*, the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Daily Mirror*) represented the movement, its members and their goals in the manner they did, and what similarities or differences in coverage reveal about the nature of the press or each country.

Regarding social movements, of particular interest and importance to this study is the way they interact with the media and the ideological struggle that ensues over the women's movements' public definition. It is useful to identify the tools, ideologies

and conventions that the UK and US news media used with other social movements in garnering or discouraging public support, and see if or how these same features apply to the women's movement. Because many social movements such as women's liberation challenged societal norms and values, the media's response says quite a lot of the dominant ideological structures at the time, and how they responded to such challenges. Cross-national studies are important in this regard, because there has been relatively little work that looks at representation of the women's movement in the news media, particularly research that is both historical and nationally comparative. By exploring the benefits and drawbacks sides of cross-national studies, as well as mapping out areas already researched, this project can act as a marker for future studies, and highlight the utility of this much underused approach to media studies.

News Theories

The last thirty years has seen the explosion of media studies. The news media have been no exception to this, as it is seen as having an essential role in creating active citizens in democratic nations. For this reason, the news media are a worthwhile research subject. Studies have examined the news media's influence over people's behaviours, opinions, interpretations, and reactions, as academics have argued that the press is increasingly responsible for supplying the information and images through which we understand our lives (Gitlin 2003). This project borrows from sociology, the belief that journalists *make* or manufacture, and not simply act as mirrors reflecting "reality" through the news. It is widely accepted that the news media are not neutral unselective recorders of events (Oliver and Maney 2000: 464). In the mid-1970s, sociologist Gaye Tuchman stated: "to say that a news report is a story, no more, but no less, is not to demean the news, not to accuse it of being fictitious. Rather, it alerts

us that news, like all public documents, is a constructed reality possessing its own internal validity” (1976: 97). In order to understand how the media construct, or frame events, it is important to recognize that news stories are the result of interacting forces – with news media’s structural organization, political economy and influences on one hand, and sources, groups, organizations, or social movements on the other, all interacting in ways to produce the outcome – news (Barker-Plummer 2000).

Though this thesis could have focused on films, music, or many other media, I chose newspapers because their daily publication and wide circulation give them potential for quickly disseminating timely information about the women’s movement to millions each day. In addition, newspapers present a forum for many types of styles – news, features, editorials, comment, letters to the editor, advertisements, and cartoons – all in the same publication, facilitating the opportunity for diverse discussion about the movement. As media scholar Claire Wardle (2004: 7) writes, newspapers do not just include the voice of the reporter:

They also they include voices of the authorities, voices of those most closely involved with the events, and voices of readers who want to share their views via the letters pages. Newspapers therefore reflect the available discourses...from those directly involved to the reaction of wider society.

In addition, the different newspaper formats (broadsheet, middlebrow and tabloid) present varying journalistic styles that when analysed across time and space can show nuances both in a national and cross-cultural context. Tracking the news over time and space allows us to map changing ideologies and journalistic practices that could otherwise be thought of as permanent, unchanged, or unchangeable (Sparks 2000). Additionally, Schudson (1989) suggests that comparative work is important in making visible journalistic patterns and conventions that researchers and journalists take for

granted, particularly when the practices from one country have become the focus of most research, such as with the US (Wardle 2004: 13). In addition to differing journalistic styles, the different ways societies use the news is also worth examining, and will be discussed next.

Cultural Uses of News

While it is unquestioned that the news media play a vital role in society – keeping people informed, acting as boundary markers for acceptable behaviour by encouraging certain practices/beliefs while discouraging others - many studies have come to examine how cultures interpret, use, negotiate, accept, and reject meanings and ideas garnered from the media. This has mainly been done through audience or reception studies, which acknowledges that a text's meaning lies somewhere between the producer and the reader (Hall 1973). This is a long way from early media effects theories, which compared the mass media to a hypodermic needle, injecting its content and ideas into an unquestioning audience. Though scholars now realise the over-simplicity of this model, this thesis examines news because it operates under the presumption that:

News discourse is one of the important means by which society comes to know itself, because studying the ways in which journalists make sense of the world is a significant way to understand society (Ericson et al. 1987: 15).

News, therefore, is seen as partial knowledge, because it gives preferred readings to certain ideologies, while omitting others, preferring particular ways of looking at the world (Ericson et al. 1987). For this reason, it is important to understand how journalists operate within specific news organisations, adhering to specific news structures and conventions. Only by examining the cultural, historical, and

professional dimensions of the news will one be able to recognise the ideologies at play in constructing news stories.

News as Boundary Makers

The news media serve as a cultural marker in society. Hall et al. (1978) argues that for most people, the news media define what is significant and how to interpret these events. Ericson et al. (1987: 3) write that journalists are “a kind of ‘deviance-defining elite,’ using the news media to provide an ongoing articulation of the proper bounds to behaviour in all organized spheres of life.” These researchers also claim that journalists are central to reproducing social order, because deviance refers to behaviour that strays from the “normal”, and thus is one of the defining characteristics of what journalists find newsworthy (1987: 3-4). Newspapers mark cultural boundaries of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour when covering stories, and suggest appropriate responses to deviance (Wardle 2004). In case of social movements, this can often include rejecting it, certain behaviours, or certain members.

Besides deviance, it is important to find out what other “news values” journalists look for, and to see if or how these have changed over time and space. Because news values shape the type of news sought after, and the hierarchy of how it is presented, examining stories for their news values helps to reveal the constructed nature of news and ideologies surrounding it. While some scholars point out that news making rules are largely un-written (Hall 1973), others state that journalists pick stories because of quick, intuitive judgements (Gans 1979; Schultz 2007). Leon Sigal argues that no one knows what news is or means, and can only define it operationally – it is what the

news media publish or broadcast (1978: 109). To this point, Hall (1973: 181)

explains:

'News values' are one of the most opaque structures of meaning in modern society. All 'true journalists' are supposed to possess it: few can or are willing to identify and define it. Journalists speak of 'the news' as if events select themselves. Further, they speak as if which is the 'most significant' news story, and which 'news angles' are most salient are divinely inspired. Yet of the millions of events which occur every day in the world, only a tiny portion ever become visible as 'potential news stories': and of this proportion, only a small fraction are actually produced as the day's news in the news media. We appear to be dealing, then, with a 'deep structure' whose function as a selective device is un-transparent even to those who professionally most know how to operate it.

I agree with Hall, and others (Shoemaker et al. 2007: 231), who believe that ideology underlies how news is created, and view "newsworthiness" as a subjective judgement, governed by those ideologies. Examining theoretical developments surrounding news selection and production has generally been developed along two lines. On the one hand, news selection has been seen to be a result of decisions by individuals (Tunstall 1993; White 1950), while on the other hand, it can be seen to be influenced by organisational structures. Supporting the latter position, Golding and Elliott (1979: 207) claim: "news changes very little when the individuals who make it are changed". Even the term "gatekeeper" has shifted from its original conception of a person making news decisions, to today's conceptualisation which extends to news organisations' routines, where events are filtered through a set of news gates, both official (story selection, length, page placement), and unofficial (news values, norms and rules) (Lester 1980: 985).³⁶

While the sociology of news production can be crudely defined in to theories stating individual choice or organisational factors, some have combined the two perspectives.

³⁶ For an excellent overview of the emergence of gatekeeping theories, and studies in the last 50 years, see Shoemaker (1996).

Shoemaker and Reece (1991) argue that gatekeeping is actually conducted on five levels: 1) individual (what topics journalists like), 2) routines of communication work (pre-established work patterns such as beats, notions of newsworthiness), 3) organisational (owners have the ability to hire or fire gatekeepers), 4) social and institutional (sources, audiences, advertisers, markets, government, or other media), and 5) societal. So, in answering the question: “to what extent can social actors (i.e. journalists), shape the environment in which they interact, and to what extent is their capacity to choose and act delimited by social structures and institutional practices?” some contend that the answer depends on what organisation is under study who are the journalists involved (Manning 2001: 53). Continuing on with integrated explanations, some scholars associate news production to economic logic – that journalism operates in a supply and demand environment – where certain elite members of society (gatekeepers) pick and choose which stories are printed, and that there are always more stories than space in any medium (Gans 1979)³⁷. These news gathering routines therefore affect what gets reported (McCarthy et al. 1996: 480), and as Gitlin argues, “The routines of journalism, set within the economic and political interests of the news organisations, normally and regularly combine to select certain versions of reality over others. Day by day, *normal* organisational procedures define ‘the story’” (2003: 4). Moreover, Sigal (1973) suggests that these include routines reporters follow for getting information (the beat system, sources, placement and credibility), and the division of labour within a news organization (conflict between reporters and editors, bureaus, beats, and types of editors).

³⁷ Except perhaps Internet sources, but even online newspapers generally have guidelines for article length, because they understand that people are not always willing to read lengthy articles.

While gatekeeping encompasses one theory of how news is selected, the study of “news values” has been popularised since the days when Galtung and Ruge (1965) analysed international news stories, and identified 12 factors that helped journalists decide which stories were “newsworthy”.³⁸ Since then, many scholars have examined the social production of news (see Cottle 2003 for an overview of the ethnographic practices). News values change over time and space (Harcup and O’Neill 2001; Schultz 2007), yet certain values such as political elites, powerful people, sex, crime, law and order are consistent around the world (Manning 2001: 63). While it is important to examine news values in order to shed light on the routines and practices of journalism, more recent studies note that in addition to being culturally specific, they are also largely affected by media genre and target audience, suggesting that future studies take these nuances into consideration (Cottle 2003; Matthews 2003, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2009). This means that rather than arguing for a general set of news values which can be broadly applied, the specific publication, format and target audience will affect not only the types of news stories published, but also their frame, length, style and so forth.

In recent years, more and more scholars have taken these ideas up. For example, recent research on children’s programmes have found that news values are largely based on producer and editor’s understanding of child audiences, the type of stories children prefer, their viewing habits, and gender differences – all of which are factors unique to children’s programmes (Buckingham 2002; Matthews 2003, 2005, 2007, 2008; Singleton-Turner 1994; Wartella 1994). Gender can be considered to have a similar effect, where newspapers have been seen to include more “soft” news stories

³⁸ These values included: negativity, proximity, recency, currency, continuity, uniqueness, simplicity, personality, predictability, elite nations or people, exclusivity, and impact.

as in an attempt to attract female readers (Mills 1990; 1997).³⁹ Others argue that the type of system (public vs. commercial) in which a news story is produced will also affect the types of stories presented (Harrison 2000). Notably, in recent years, as journalism moves online and increasingly relies on “citizen journalism,” scholars have demonstrated changing news values, suggesting at times that journalists “no longer have a choke-hold on the flow of information” (Reuters CEO Tom Glocer as cited in Bivens 2008: 116). The reality is, that in this day and age, news is gathered, selected and edited by professionals, amateurs and consumers alike (Deuze et al. 2007: 322). Additionally, the existence of blogs, and other citizen-produced news raises important issues surrounding what constitutes journalism, and who can claim to be a journalist (Allan 2006: 83). Following from this, several recent studies demonstrate how news organisations, journalism routines and practices have changed since the emergence of user generated content (UGC), online and citizen journalism. These changes include a greater need for transparency, interactivity and accountability – giving audiences a say in how news is selected, and the opportunity to easily comment on it (Bivens 2008; Deuze et al 2007; Robinson 2007: 316).

While these theorists argue that new media technologies have led to shifting news values, affecting which stories are reported, others contend that news values can also be affected by competition both between news organizations and within them⁴⁰. Because all national journalists spend time each day scanning other national papers and networks, stories may be picked only because their rival is doing the same one (Gans 1979), though it is rare for all national newspapers to select the same angles

³⁹ Additionally, early morning and daytime news programmes are aimed more at women, who are typically home when they are broadcast.

⁴⁰ For example, different newspaper sections (business, news, lifestyle, entertainment, etc.) might fight to have a specific story placed in their part of the newspaper.

(Hall et al. 1978: 84). Journalists from opposing publications have even been known to help one another out, swap notes, and discuss the significance of the day's events (Tunstall 1971). Media-issue cycles also affect which stories are included because journalists have a tendency to connect these cycles with ongoing events (McCarthy et al. 1996: 481). As will be discussed in my findings chapter, this had a significant impact on the amount of coverage in the US and the UK. News is also selected because of corporate interests, meaning that the media tends to avoid selecting news that threatens their sponsor's interests (Gamson et al. 1992; McCarthy et al. 1996). This often means that news organisations are unlikely to air stories that challenge male's dominance over women, or society's reliance on unpaid or low-paid (mainly minority) female workers. Because, as Gitlin points out (2003), the news media cannot ignore social movements forever, they can report on reformist, rather than revolutionary goals (Morris 1973b), give it frivolous coverage, and hope it goes away (Rhode 1995). In all, there are many ways journalists pick news stories, and while all of the ideas listed above are probably true, the day-to-day operation of a news organisation, the current political, economic and social issues of the day also factor in. Unfortunately, these production issues are difficult to pinpoint in a historic study, but are worth keeping in mind.

For any study examining the news, it is also important to understand that sources often seek out journalists because they need the media to make themselves seem legitimate, or to gain publicity. These groups are more likely to be successful if they understand the rhythms of news organisations and the values that guide them (Manning 2001: 67). This is particularly true when it comes to new social movements, who feel they need the press to get their message heard, and was especially true for

the US women's movement, which had many media savvy members who understood news conventions. In addition, the news media are sought after because news stories are seen as more credible, and less expensive than advertising, making it an ideal way for those (especially those with little money) to spread their message (Gans 1979). Journalists, on the other hand, often pick sources for a variety of reasons: They have used them in the past and found them suitable; the usefulness and reliability of information; or they need sources to fulfil a demographic or political balance (Gans 1979). Geography also plays a part in which sources are used. Those close to media centres are more likely to get coverage than those who are not (Gans 1979). In the US, the news media concentrate on New York, Washington and L.A. (Sigal 1978: 111), while in the UK, London is the main focus. It is therefore interesting to see how often the *Chicago Tribune* covers local feminist stories, and how often it reports activities from feminists in one of these media hot spots. Though perhaps not traditionally considered a media hot spot, Chicago is one of the US's largest cities, and additionally, Illinois was the target of a large equal rights campaign, generating a significant amount of media coverage in the *Chicago Tribune*. Once stories are chosen, journalists are faced with the task of constructing – or framing – each piece.

News Framing

The way a story constructs – or frames – an event is a widely used concept for academics in a variety of fields (linguistics, sociology, communication, media studies, political science, policy studies, and psychology), and is an important concept for this project as well. Framing denotes an *active* process and requires agency to construct reality, categorising events in particular ways, and assigning them meaning (Benford and Snow 2000: 614; Kitzinger 2007; Reese 2001: 7). Frames therefore contain

particular ideologies, which are presented to readers as “truths” (Philo 1999), and as Ross (2007: 451) writes, it is “precisely this masking of artifice by passing it off as apparent ‘reality’ which makes journalism more art than craft...and which gives the practice of journalism its dangerous power.” Goffman (1974) first introduced the term “framing” in the mid 1970s, and used it to refer to a system of classifications allowing us to “locate, perceive, identify and label” the diverse phenomenon we encounter (p.21). Since then however, different framing theories - or paradigms have emerged,⁴¹ and while scholars have not been able to agree on one definitive framing definition, they do agree that any representation of reality involves framing (Kitzinger 2007: 134). In this sense, framing differs from the previous concept of “bias” because it is more sophisticated in its analysis, and goes beyond discussing binaries such as “pros” and “cons,” “favourable” and “unfavourable,” “positive” and “negative” (Tankard 2001: 96). Such binaries are seen to be unhelpful because they leave no room to examine how issues are defined (Carragee and Roefs 2004). One metaphor I have found particularly useful in conceptualising framing is from sociologist Gaye Tuchman (1978b: 1):

The news is a window on the world...The view through a window depends on whether the window is large or small, has many panes or few, whether the glass is opaque or clear, whether the window faces a street or backyard. The unfolding scene also depends on where one stands, far or near, craning one’s neck to the side, or gazing straight ahead, eyes parallel to the wall in which the window is encased⁴².

Frames therefore help reflect the view in which one perceives the world. Sociologist and media scholar Todd Gitlin (2003) argues that news frames are unavoidable, and other scholars suggest that they give “meaning to a vast array of symbols, while

⁴¹ There has been debate in this field over whether one overarching paradigm is more useful, as Entman stated (1993), or if having differing paradigms is the way forward as D’Angelo (2001) argues.

⁴² Despite the emergence of new definitions of framing (see for example Entman 1993; Gamson and Modigliani 1987), I feel this definition still resonates today and has a clear explanation of how the media set up how issues are discussed.

helping to organise the world for journalists and readers” (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993: 384). Frames are also a useful tool because they enable journalists to process lots of information quickly and routinely, recognize events as important, assign them to familiar categories, and to package it effectively for their audiences. Frame analysis locates underlying meaning in stories by identifying which facts and sources to use or not, and how information is arranged (Gitlin 2003; Tuchman 1978b).

More recently, Entman (1993: 52) has developed a definition of framing which is now widely used by media scholars suggesting that, “To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality to make them more salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment of recommendations.” This then means that frame analysis should be particularly concerned with story angle, sources used, problems and solutions given, and overall tone. When journalists construct the news, they also must keep in mind an assumed audience, and place stories in familiar frames which maintain certain definitions and images as part of a “common-sense” stock of knowledge (Hall et al. 1978). Following from this, Benford and Snow (2000: 624) note that frames are more likely to resonate if drawn from existing cultural values, beliefs, and narratives, and as a result, social movements often try to amplify these values. It is precisely these common-sense ideologies that feminist rhetoric challenged (i.e. gender roles). Frame analysis is therefore useful in determining the extent to which these societal changes supported or not.

When examining media representations of social movements, scholars argue that frame analysis particularly fruitful for explaining how movements mobilise people

and resources, and how they define and identify events, issues, causes, problems, solutions, and key players. Some even analyse the relationship between media frames and social movement strategies, examining how news frames can set agendas.⁴³ As Maher (2001: 86) notes, framing scholarship emphasises the constructed nature of media messages, and often examines media portrayals of issues for clues as to framing decisions. Framing researchers also look out for key words, phrases, metaphors or descriptions conjuring up powerful images or assumptions (Kitzinger 2007: 141). These framing decisions, Maher writes, shed light on how power flows in society, and can indicate when ideologies are hegemonic, or being contested. The methods employed by framing scholarship vary as well, and while some prefer to use quantitative content analysis, others prefer more qualitative forms such as discourse analysis. A third group combines both quantitative and qualitative methods, which is where this research fits in.

As noted, social movement members rarely have control over the stories the media choose to cover (Entman and Rojecki 1993; McAdam et al 1996), or how the media represents the activists' claims (Baylor 1996; Gamson and Modigliani 1989). This has led to a debate in how frames are constructed. D'Angelo outlines three paradigms in relation to frames; positive, cognitive and constructionist. Kitzinger (2007: 137) subscribes to a "positive framing paradigm," that gives journalists agency in framing choices, making them free to choose the "relevant" facts, questions to ask, sources to interview, and information to include or edit out. However, in addition to such agency, she states that routine structural issues, social norms and source choices play a role. This leads in to D'Angelo's (2002: 876) "critical framing paradigm," which

⁴³ Framing is different from agenda-setting, where the media tell us *what to think about*, where framing the media tell us *how to think about it* (Maher 2001: 86)

states that newsgathering routines largely determine which frames are used, and are heavily influenced by the perspectives and values held by political and social elites. It is these frames, critical scholars argue, that dominate news coverage, because news organisations purposefully omit frames which would challenge dominant views (Watkins 2001), thereby constricting public consciousness (D'Angelo 2002: 877). As Martin and Oshagen (1997: 691) contend, frames linked to hegemonic processes "limit the range of debate...and occlude the potential for a democratic public sphere." When a single frame becomes dominant, it is referred to as a "metanarrative" or a "master frame." Koenig (2004: 3) argues that these remain hegemonic because a) they are so pervasive that they can be used in almost any situation, and b) they possess a superior credibility in that they have moved beyond empirical scrutiny.

The media's apparent inability to challenge hegemonic frames is one reason why some scholars claim it is important to study frames (Gitlin 2003). However, while the media might reproduce hegemonic frames, those in the "cognitive paradigm camp" give individuals room to negotiate frames, and meanings.⁴⁴ A third paradigm, which D'Angelo (2002: 877) terms "constructionist framing paradigm" suggests that journalists process information for readers based on cues from "politically invested" sponsors and sources. Similar to the critical paradigm, this approach argues that the media often thwart civic opportunities, because journalists feel there are only a few credible sources qualified to comment on particular events. This differs from scholars in the critical camp, who give journalists little agency and believe that source selection is a result of media hegemony (D'Angelo 2002: 877).

⁴⁴ There is a substantial body of academic work examining how audiences interpret media frames. For a good overview, see Kitzinger (2007) and D'Angelo (2002).

While D'Angelo broadly sketches three paradigms within framing research, other approaches do not fit neatly within any. Therefore, though helpful in outlining broad paradigms, it is clear that framing literature cannot be easily contained or placed into distinct categories. Scheufele (1999: 109) on the other hand, identifies a range of five factors which might influence how journalists frame issues: social norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, pressures of interest groups, journalistic routines, and ideological or political orientations of journalists (for more examples see Gans 1979; Shoemaker and Reese 1996; Tuchman 1978). Graber (1989: 7) explains that: "framing supplies the interpretive background by which the story is judged," and according to newspaper editor Steve Smith, is a journalist's most important decision (1997 cited in Tankard 2001: 97). Media scholar Liesbet van Zoonen (1992) also notes the importance of framing choices and argues that news frames are difficult to change once established. This "inferential structure" gives certain criteria for all subsequent discussions as "relevant" to the debate or not. Anything straying from the framework can be seen as not addressing the problem (Hall et al. 1978: 59). For this reason, framing is a useful agenda setting technique (Zoch and Turk 1998: 762), though this type of analysis goes beyond the scope of my project, as it would entail an analysis of the movement, rather than its mediated representations. Therefore, in keeping in line with frame analysis, tools such as "objectivity" which can function to mask imbalances and distortion in news reporting, and are worth examining, particularly for the ways in which feminist scholars have de-constructed and challenged it. It is this topic that I turn to next.

Objectivity

The twentieth century craft traditions of balance, fairness, accuracy and objectivity have often been considered fundamental to serious reporting in Western societies. As we will see however, many scholars claim these objectives are unattainable, and are part of a larger ideology that seeks to legitimise a particular view of events.

Legitimacy and objectivity are very much interconnected, as scholars such as Gitlin (2003: 52) maintain that hegemonic news' claim to legitimacy is based on their claim to objectivity.

From where did this ideal originate? The term "objectivity" emerged in the 1920s, and relies on qualities such as verification, justification, attribution, and balance (Leff 1997: 29). Historically, the notion of objectivity was closely correlated with the rise of science and with the notion of scientific detachment and fact (Gitlin 2003: 268). However, these values were not always prioritised in the publishing world, and the shift towards "objective" reporting was very different from views held by newspaper barons such as the UK's Lord Northcliffe, who insisted that it was his right as owner to publish what propaganda he liked and to dictate the editorial tone (Manning 2001: 2). Rather, objectivity became idealised as the 21st century progressed, and became part of a "social responsibility" model of the press, arguing that newspapers had an obligation to provide the public with important, impartial news, essential in the development of a democratic society (2001: 2). However, it is important to note that while both the US and UK claim to adhere to objective reporting, there are cultural differences in how this term is interpreted. In the US objectivity, as journalists understand it, means being impartial, unbiased, and to have no personal stake in the outcome of the events being witnessed. This means that the only place where any sort

of opinion or “side” taking could be done is on the editorial pages, leaving the rest of the publication “bias free.” In the UK however, while still adhering to objectivity, this concept is interpreted to mean reporting the facts, though not necessarily all sides of the story. In the UK then, it is common to be able to gauge a paper’s political/social position not only through editorials and columns, but also through news reports, features, briefs, and more. I would argue however, it is impossible to be truly “objective,” as biases and preferences can be identified in terms of questions asked, sources used, and the order in which each side is presented. Therefore, though perhaps it is easier to identify a UK publication’s political, social or economic leanings, this does not mean that those in the US are always capable of hiding theirs. Other scholars support this idea. Media scholar Laurel Leff (1997: 28), for example, argues that a belief in objectivity made it necessary to embrace a framework in which facts can be separated from values, and where news can be distinguished from opinion, even if in reality, this is not possible. Molotch and Lester (1974: 105, 111) take a different perspective, rejecting the “objectivity assumption” in journalism completely – not that the media are objective, but that there is a real world to be objective about. Rather, they explain that newspapers therefore reflect the “practices of those who have the power to determine the experience of others” (1974: 111).

In the early 1920s, the pioneering US cultural commentator and journalist, Walter Lippmann (1922) remarked, “Objectivity means that he [sic] is ready to let things be what they may be, whether or not he wants them to be that way. It means that he has conquered his desire to have the world justify his prejudices” (p. 46). A pessimist about the media’s role in democratic nations, Lippmann became concerned that human emotion and interest intervened with factual reporting, and affected the

public's ability to make good decisions. Tuchman (1978b) argues that objectivity was a useful strategy to protect journalists from charges of bias or special interest by claiming that the source, not themselves, are advancing particular opinions or perspectives on issues or events. According to Deborah Rhode (1995), "balance" or "objectivity," were popular media tactics which result in focusing on two polar extremes (1995: 18), turning stories into black or white issues with little or no middle ground. Robinson's (1978) views followed this train of thought, as she contends that objectivity is not about a truthful media representation, but about giving two opposing sources space (1978: 89). An unfortunate consequence of polarised views is that the middle view is often ignored, which is generally the most representative view in the first place. It is also important to recognise that spatial and time constraints (both in terms of deadlines and within the medium itself) play a large role in explaining why the media defines issues in the simplest terms. Many media simply do not have enough time or space to devote to background information, and as a result, stereotypes work well. Because of their ability to bring order, indicate people's place in society, and affirm existing beliefs, some scholars have argued stereotypes should not be written off as completely negative (Bradley 2003).

In the 1960s, media scholars in general, and feminists in particular began to question the concept of "objectivity," and conducted studies which showed the news was not "holding a mirror to reality," as journalists claimed, but was composing versions reality (Gitlin 2003: xiv). Media historian Gigi Durham states that objectivity is a form of relativism, and that too great a dependence on established sources cause reporters to ignore the validity of different perspectives in society (quoted in Freeman 2001a: 248). This often means that those without status or titles are often left out of

the discussion because they cannot be seen to represent a particular side, and therefore fulfil the objectivity criteria. From feminist perspectives, Stuart Allan (1998: 121-122) points out that feminist scholars have primarily been concerned about three distinct aspects of objectivity. Firstly, male norms are taking over “what really took place” and that therefore truly objective news would allow people to discern what events occurred. Secondly, “objectivity” is a way of ensuring male values are prioritised over female ones, and argue that therefore, only women are justified in speaking for other women. Finally, “objectivity” should be abolished all together, as ideas cannot be separated from the gendered ideology in which they were produced. Though such criticisms overlap and build upon one another, Allan’s analysis demonstrates various aspects of objectivity with which feminists take issue.

Providing example to Allan’s second point, feminist scholars Michele Martin (1997) and Donna Haraway (1988) contend that objectivity is male subjectivity in disguise, serving to support the status quo, and re-inscribe masculine myths of power and servitude. This is particularly pertinent when one considers the small numbers of female authority figures, and since the news seeks out those with power, women are usually left out of the debate. Adding to the debate, Creedon (1993) rejects objectivity as a normative ideal, and claims it is just another white and male point of view (1993: 15). Arguing along similar lines, Holland (1987) notes that news organizations and practices are gender biased, and that while they balance opposing viewpoints, they have never tried to balance women’s concerns with men’s, or male and female point-of-views. Taking a more critical stance, Suzanne Strutt and Lynne Hissey (1992) question the concept of “balance,” because liberal feminists among others view it is a useable concept that can be used to make improvements in the media without

changing the status quo, thereby upholding patriarchy and capitalism. This means that media could include more female sources without changing other gendered aspects of journalism and production. Offering up an alternative point of view, Jennifer Ring (1987) disagrees with many feminist scholars who argue that objectivity should be written off as what Catharine MacKinnon calls “male epistemology strategy.” Ring contends that objectivity is a useful concept that feminists could use, and noted that it would be wrong to write it off simply because men created it (p. 755). Rather, she argues that neither objectivity nor subjectivity are inherently anti-feminist or pro-male, and that both values could be transformed to support feminist thought.

Though feminists and many other academics question these journalistic conventions, they are not easily changed, and remain embedded in news practices today. The best that can be done is to deconstruct such conventions, and understand the ideologies embedded within them, which in turn will help explain why stories were framed in particular ways. When examining newspaper coverage, it is also essential to understand the category its publisher fits into, as this will have an effect on journalistic conventions, style, language, layout, and more. This will be the next section of the literature review, and is important to include in order to demonstrate how different newspaper categories will often cover the same stories in different ways with different angles, and with different tools.

Newspaper Categories, Audiences and Typification

When discussing newspapers, it is important to note that they come in three main formats: “broadsheets,” “middle-brow,” and “tabloid” styles.⁴⁵ Importantly however, though these categories share the same names in the US and the UK, they can mean very different things, as will be explained below. Distinguishing newspapers based upon these categories can be important when conducting media research, as they often influence how news stories will be reported (or not), in terms of tone, genres used, story length, use of images, and adherence to “objective” reporting, to name a few. Before beginning this research, I was interested in choosing a mixture of newspaper formats in order to assess the extent to which they affected newspaper’s coverage of the movement, its members and their goals. However, after familiarising myself with newspapers in both countries, I have since discovered that such direct comparisons are not easily made for reasons which will be discussed below.

To begin with, the term “tabloid” means different things in the US and the UK. In the US for example, it is important to note that “tabloids” report on serious issues in social, political and economic spheres, and is a term to describe the newspaper size, shape and circulation figures. “Supermarket tabloids,” on the other hand, mean something very different, and refers to weekly publications focusing exclusively on entertainment, celebrity, gossip and scandal. Additionally, these publications are often known to fabricate or over-exaggerate information. While supermarket tabloids would be useful to examine in other contexts, their aversion to “serious” news, such as that

⁴⁵ Halloran, Elliott and Murdock (1970) created a similar categorization, but used the terms ‘quality,’ ‘popular,’ and ‘tabloid.’

which I am examining, would render them an inappropriate choice for this study.⁴⁶ In the UK, I should note, “tabloid” also refers to the size and shape of the paper, but is more closely associated with a heavy focus on entertainment, celebrities and private lives and a shift away from politics, economics and society (Sparks 2000: 10).⁴⁷ In the UK, there are three accepted ways to differentiate tabloid and broadsheet newspapers. Firstly, the former focuses heavily on scandal, crime and celebrity, whereas the latter concentrates on political processes, economics and social change. Secondly, tabloids use controversial, colloquial, and emotional language, where broadsheets remain respectful, rational and serious. Thirdly, stylistically tabloids use bigger, bolder headlines and larger visuals than broadsheet (Wardle 2004). If applying these definitions to US tabloids, one can quickly see that they do not accurately describe publications that focus heavily on politics, social and economic affairs, and adhere to notions of objectivity and balanced reporting. Furthermore, tabloids mainly differ from broadsheets stylistically in terms of the newspaper size. Therefore, rigidly basing my newspapers choice on these categories might lead to a false sense of similarity between cross-national formats. I therefore decided instead to base my publication choice on political leaning and publication tone, which could reveal important differences in how the movement, its members and their goals were perceived by newspapers with differing social and political views. This being said however, I do not think tabloids should be excluded from my study in either country, only that “tabloid” and “broadsheet” newspapers be analysed with an acknowledgement of their socio-cultural meaning.

⁴⁶ One reason is because they are produced on a weekly, rather than daily basis, and they do not follow the same news patterns and items as the mainstream press.

⁴⁷ While size was once important, in recent years, this way of differentiating them from broadsheets is becoming arbitrary as broadsheets have increasingly begun switching to smaller, “tabloid” formats. The *Times* and the *Independent* are two examples of publications that recently undergone this change.

While the term “tabloid” has different meanings in each country, the concept of “broadsheets” faces no such barriers. Using definitions generated in the US, *The New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Washington Post*, and the *L.A. Times* are examples of broadsheet papers, while the *Philadelphia Inquirer* is considered middlebrow⁴⁸, and the *New York Post* is a tabloid (Wardle, 2004).⁴⁹ In the UK, *The Times*, the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Guardian* have been identified as broadsheets, the *Daily Mail* as middle-brow⁵⁰, and the *Daily Mirror* as a tabloid (Halloran et al. 1970; Harcup and O'Neill 2001). Though I based my choice on format and political leanings, scholars have recently challenged categorical distinctions between broadsheets and tabloid formats, demonstrating that the latter often use as much information as the former with similar stories, and that broadsheets continue to include more entertainment stories into their pages (Franklin 1997; Harcup and O'Neill 2001; Sparks and Tulloch 2000). Franklin even argues that, “The history of the British press, since the emergence of popular journalism, has been a history of newspapers increasing shifting its editorial emphasis towards entertainment” (1997: 72). There is also an expectation that all newspapers, but tabloid papers in particular, act as dramatic storytellers because of their heavy use of “personal” stories over institutional or social ones (Macdonald 2000). This means that I should expect UK tabloids to include more feature stories as a result and use more emotive language and

⁴⁸ Middlebrow newspapers are defined more by circulation figures in the US than format or content, and thus tend to be a term used to define some the second or third most widely read newspaper in any particular city – the term broadsheet being reserved for the paper with the highest circulation.

⁴⁹ For research purposes however, Wardle noted that it was possible to shift the middle-market papers into a different section. For example, though initially classed as middle-market papers, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* was later classified as a broadsheet, and the *Daily Mail* was classified as a tabloid. Also, note that when I discuss these format categories, I am using definitions cited in the previous paragraph, whereby US tabloids hereby refer to newspapers with a smaller format size, and UK tabloids refer to newspapers with a smaller format size and an increased focus on entertainment, personal stories, etc.

⁵⁰ In the UK however, middlebrow newspapers fall somewhere in between broadsheets and tabloids in terms of content. They don't carry enough “serious” or hard news to be considered a broadsheet, yet they are not as overly sensational to be labelled a tabloid, though they share the same format and size with them.

rhetoric. Similar to television, tabloids tend to use bit photos, which convey a natural dramatic quality, and relies on these sensational, overly emotional qualities to tell their story (Wardle 2004). So to whom are newspapers telling their stories to and what kind of reader does each style attract?

Media scholars have known for a long time that UK tabloids and broadsheets cater to different economic classes – with the majority of broadsheet readers being well-educated, middle and upper class, and tabloid papers being un-educated, and working class (Halloran et al. 1970; Sparks 2000). It is important to note that the media specifically target different audiences – some seek political and cultural elites, while others are meant for a broader, popular audience (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993: 120). The alleged focus on entertainment and human interest stories does not mean that UK tabloids will shy away from issues I am interested in, but rather that they might address them in different ways. As Wardle (2004) contends, UK tabloids are as valuable if not more so, to study than broadsheets, because of their large circulation and openly populist mission to “give a voice” to the majority. Other academics note that tabloids are seen to be closer to the lives and concerns of audiences, and therefore can be quicker to identify significant new social trends or public issues (Sparks 2000). Broadsheet style papers, on the other hand are meant to “facilitate political involvement and democratic participation” in society (Sparks 2000: 27). The audience is important in the news selection process because reporters have to know who they are presenting the news to, and this affects the type of stories they choose and how they construct them (Richardson 2007). Another way to differentiate between newspaper styles is the amount of “hard” or “soft” news included.

In the late 1970s, Tuchman et al. (1978) wrote: “The ability to define events as news is raw political power” (p. 186). However, not all news is equally valued, and the ability to classify the news into “hard” vs. “soft” is a testament to this. Whereas “hard” news is a term encapsulating stories about politics, the economy, social change, or other events that take place in the “public” world, traditionally comprised mostly of men. “Soft” news, on the other hand, includes stories set in, or affecting the private sphere, and connotes non-pressing, light, or unimportant events or issues. It often includes articles about cooking, fashion and furniture and homemaking. Soft news has also traditionally included news stories that were seen to affect women, whether these issues occurred in the home or outside it. Tuchman (1978b) notes a difference between the two is the urgency to publish the information. She argues “hard” news typically represents news that cannot be delayed, while “soft” news does not need immediate publication. Studies have also shown that female journalists are more likely to cover and appear as sources in soft news, while male journalists cover hard news stories (Lachover 2005; Ross 2007; Rhode 1995; Tuchman et al. 1978; *Women in Journalism* 1998). This insight leads to a broader discussion about gender in the news.

Gender and the News

In recent years, scholars began to complain that research does not pay enough attention to how gender relations shape news practices, forms, institutions and audiences (Carter et al. 1998: 3). Others argue that past communication research has viewed gender as biological, rather than socially constructed, and therefore fail to view it as a variable in explaining men’s and women’s differing experiences

(Robinson 2005). Though my study is not designed to answer all of these questions, I still feel it is important for this section of the literature review to map out research that has already been done and ask questions such as how does a journalists' gender affect the news? What types of stories are women more likely to cover? Where in the newspaper will they appear? How many females are in powerful positions within news organisations? Does having a woman in a high position affect the types of stories produced or how women are represented in the stories? These questions are not all easily answered, particularly for a historical project such as this where many reporters and editors during my sample period have since died, and I am unable to interview them to seek their thoughts. I can however, rely on other studies that have examined similar questions.

In the 1970s, less than 10 per cent of US news was about women (Butler and Paisley 1978), and in 1971, women constituted 20 per cent of the US journalistic workforce. Ten years later, the number had increased to 34 per cent (Byerly 1999: 395). By the early 1990s, two-thirds of journalism and mass communication students were women (Creedon 1993), though most editorial jobs are still held by men (Lavie and Lehman-Wilzig 2003: 6). All of this has correlated with the rise in "new journalism," and a "feminised media" (Lavie and Lehman-Wilzig 2003: 6), which include more human interest stories, sensationalism, and personalising information (Carter et al. 1998).

So how has the increase of women into journalism changed the news and notions of newsworthiness? Little is known about female journalists' professional values because until recently, news value studies have not distinguished between men and women (Lavie and Lehman-Wilzig 2003: 8). Former *L.A. Times* columnist Kay Mills

(1990) argues that the women's movement had had a major impact on how reporters and editors thought, defined, selected and edited news. In a later study, Mills (1997) added that an increased number of female journalists had *expanded* the conception of what news is, and cast a wider net on issues and events that could be considered newsworthy. This includes more human interest stories, greater attention to audience needs and desires, emotional investment in stories, and sensationalism (van Zoonen 1998: 41).

Van Zoonen (1998) states that changes in news genre have allowed for more female journalists to enter the profession.⁵¹ Writing about the UK media, Christmas agreed and notes, "Women have helped to change the content of news pages...even when women select the same news content as men, they write it in a different manner" (1997: 52). Mills (1997) examined two months of front-page news coverage from *The New York Times*, between January and February 1964 and 1994 to study the changes that were made in one generation. By 1994 she argues far more women had by-lines, and more topics were reported that might interest women (Mills 1997: 45). Mills also contends that a more thorough examination of entire newspapers would demonstrate the changing nature of news. Though conducting her research 16 years before Mills, Gallagher (1981) disagreed, and found little evidence that images of women improved when they were the ones to produce the images (p. 108-112). This literature is important to my study, because it suggests as time goes on, it is possible I will witness an increased "feminization" of the news – that being, more topics relating to women, more female journalists or editors, and more human interest stories, or stories where

⁵¹ Not all scholars have found women's increased presence in the newsroom as a completely positive experience. The 'velvet ghetto' thesis says that an increased number of women in journalism will indeed shift news values to more female interests, but will also diminish the professions' status (Morris 1973a) Supporting this, Ross found a reduction in women's gross salaries (cited in Creedon 1993)

those with experience, rather than authorities will be the central focus. It will be interesting to see if this trend appears in both countries, and in broadsheet and tabloid papers.

Therefore, assuming there has been a change in news, what is the difference between “men’s news” and “women’s news?” Former Dutch television producer Peter Brusse claims: “men’s news is to write on the front page that a fire happened, women’s news is to write inside why the guy lit a fire for the third time” (cited in van Zoonen 1998: 43). Some countries are making the shift to more feminised news quicker than others. Van Zoonen (1998) argues that Dutch television news is characterised by its anchors’ personal involvement, their intimate mode of address, and an increased number of human interest stories (p. 43). Pat Holland (1987), referring to the UK media, agrees that news reading might become a woman’s job, though she argues it was because the newsreader’s task has become that of a “decorative performer,” who serve as “pleasurable objects for men to look at.” Others, such as Ross (2001), view things from the economic perspective, and contends that more female-oriented stories were included as women became a sought-after market for advertisers (p.541).

Media historian Barbara Freeman writes that the gendered journalism environment in which a reporter works, rather than their sex only, determines how a story is produced (2001a: 240). Other scholars also argue that the newsroom is gendered (Ross 2005), and that sexuality in addition to gender need consideration (Lachover 2005). This includes aspects such as valuing “hard news” over “soft news,” and valuing detached objectivity over empathetic subjectivity in stories. Following from this then, though an increase in female journalists, sources and airtime are all positive steps, a

fundamental change is needed in news genres if women want to coverage really improve (Rakow and Kranich 1991). This therefore indicates an ideological critique of news conventions, such as why personal information is used when interviewing women (such as age, appearance, marital status), and why “soft” news stories are continually de-legitimised in favour of “hard” news. Though Eisenstein (1981) claims that such patriarchal structures cannot help but change as more women participate in the media and ask for support, van Zoonen (1998) and Ross (2005) both disagree. They note that the newsroom culture is still very masculine, because even though women continue to enter these male dominated spheres, they do not often challenge the patriarchal ideologies that underlie journalism practices. Robinson’s (2005) cross-national study of gendered newsrooms confirmed this, and determines that gender discrimination is still rife, particularly because discrimination is an important mechanism used to maintain male superiority. While Robinson was conclusive in her analysis, Ross (2001) was not. She conducted a small-scale postal survey of Women in Journalism members in Britain in 1999, asking them about the impact of gender in the newsroom. She specifically focused on the UK because she found that most other studies examined the US or Europe as a whole. Her results were mixed, with some women saying gender was important in the newsroom, and others saying it had a negative impact. She also writes that most women surveyed believe that more women in powerful positions would help develop a more women-friendly news agenda. This is significant because it indicates that these women subscribe to liberal theories of reform, believing that practices would change with the inclusion of more females in top positions, rather than analyzing masculine ideologies that produce current structures and practices, which are unlikely to change as women enter top positions.

Some scholars claim that sex differences between men and women account for diversity in news stories. Several scholars state that women have a “womanview,” arising from their different position in society, and tend to be more interested in audiences, more concerned about background and story context, and cite more female sources than male journalists do (De Bruin 2000; Mills 1997; Ross 2007; van Zoonen 1998).⁵² Kahn and Goldenberg (1991b) support these findings to an extent when examining press coverage of female candidates for the US Senate in 1984 and 1986. They explain that female reporters were more likely than men to cover electoral races with female candidates, and that in their stories, female journalists discuss “female” issues more than their male colleagues (1991b: 193).⁵³ On the other hand, large scale studies in the US (Weaver and Wilhoit 1996) and the UK (Henningham and Delano 1998), and small scale studies (Ross 2001), show that gender is an unreliable predictor of professional values and journalistic practices, and argue socio-economic differences and political values are better predictors of journalists’ attitudes and values. In the mid-1970s, Doris A. Graber interviewed over 1500 men and women to see if their news agendas differed, and found that differences between men and women were neither large nor consistent, and that they could not be attributed to the factor of sex itself (1978: 18, 28, 34). Van Zoonen agrees (1994; 1998), and among others (see Zoch and Turk 1998), argues that standardised news organization practices mean different individuals will operate in much the same way, despite gender, the only exception being that that women look for female spokespeople. This means that while I will take note of a reporter’s gender, it might not always be the best predictor of support, or opposition to the women’s movement.

⁵² In van Zoonen’s earlier writing (1994) she argued that there is no universal female perspective, and that values among female journalists differ as much as they do among men. This does not contradict her later writings, but simply means that women share some common problems and concerns that men do not.

⁵³ They did not specifically define what ‘female’ issues encompassed.

Ross has done extensive work on the issue of gender and journalism (2001; 2004b; 2005) and in her 2001 UK study of female journalists, asked respondents if they consciously did journalism with a feminist perspective. Seventy-four per cent of her respondents report that they did not with only 13 per cent affirming this (2001: 536). In a US study however, Byerly and Warren (1996) claim that many female *and* male reporters admit to actively including feminist principles to newsroom policies and stories, suggesting perhaps that in my US publications I might witness more use of female sources and articles supporting the movement. Van Zoonen (1994) notes little to no differences in professional performances and values of female and male journalists, but affirms that these variations change from country to country.⁵⁴ This is another example of how cross-national studies can reveal patterns that are not apparent when studying one country alone. While it is difficult to say how gender actually affects news reporting, Chambers, Steiner and Flemming (2004), demonstrate that perception on gender differences in writing style exists. Their study demonstrates that female journalists are more likely than men to say that they research and write differently from colleagues of the opposite sex. While my study will not go into detail about the linguistic nuances in writing, I will be looking out for broad patterns, similarities and differences in how men and women cover the women's movement.

When looking higher up in the organisational chain of command, Susan Weill (2001), compares how female editors or publishers covered the civil rights movement in Mississippi, and found that female editors agreed, almost in verbatim, with views of male state newspaper editors. When examining how editors assign stories, Lavie and

⁵⁴ However, she did not elaborate much more on this point.

Lehman-Wilzig (2003) found no evidence that female editors prefer assigning soft news to hard news stories to male or female journalists. Craft and Wanta (2004) compare story types in newspapers with relatively high percentage of female editors versus those with low per cent covered, to see if female editors exert a “female agenda” that differed from men’s, or if they assign different story types to journalists of each sex (2004: 124). They write that the ratio of female editors do matter – at newspapers with a high percentage of female editors, male and female reporters cover similar stories, but when the percentage of female editors was low, male and female journalists were assigned different types (Craft and Wanta 2004: 134). This means that I might expect to find hard news stories about the movement written by males, and soft news stories written by females if their editor was male, but no such difference if the editor is female. Though the number of female news workers in top positions has grown over the past thirty years (Chambers et al. 2004; van Zoonen 1994), women’s access to such positions remain limited (Chambers et al. 2004; De Bruin and Ross 2004). Some scholars analyse similarities and differences between women and men in top positions in order to find out what women can do to earn such promotions (Djerf-Pierre 2005). What scholars argue is that the acquisition of social capital (economic, political and social) is an essential tool needed to help women reach senior management positions. Interestingly, women also tend to require more social capital than men to achieve similar positions, indicating that organisations are still heavily gendered (Djerf-Pierre 2005: 281). Unfortunately, such capital is not always easy to acquire, particularly for those who are not born into middle-class families. Such results are unsurprising, but they are useful for demonstrating the gendered and classed nature of media organisations.

In addition to an editor's influence, Epstein (1973), Hackett and Zhao (1998) argue that journalists absorb owners', publishers' and advertisers' opinions and expectations. However, they note that there was no conscious connection between these and what the journalists produce, probably because journalism culture values freedom of individual thought and editorial independence as essential parts in the media's role in a democracy. Often, these influences are brought to life through story framing, one important aspect of which is source selection.

Source Selection and Gender

The use of sources is an important element to examine in news media coverage, as it helps identify a story's construction, but also indicates which point of view is supported within a story (Tuchman 1972). How journalists select their sources is a topic that has been debated and analysed in past years. Zoch and Turk tell us that stories are shaped by journalists' choice of sources, which tend to be people who are like themselves - educated, male, white, middle-class - or those with political or economic power (1998: 764; see also Cohen et al. 1996; Ross 2007). Reporters however, tend to blame intense deadlines as the reason for lack of diversity with their sources (McCarthy et al. 1996; Zoch and Turk 1998: 764). Scholars such as Hall et al. (1978) made powerful arguments in the late 1970s, arguing that it is the powerful, whose high-status and top positions privilege them to become "primary definers" of topics. Becker (1967) has a similar theory, and argues that society's elites are most likely to present their knowledge to the media because of their greater access to society's economic and organisational sectors. Additionally, the fact that these people and organisations have power renders them newsworthy alone, and gives them legitimacy needed to comment on a vast array of events and issues (Hall et al. 1978).

If such theories are true, then the disproportionate use of male sources leaves little room for the inclusion of other voices, notably women, minorities and others who seek to challenge the status quo (Manning 2001; Rhode 2001; Ross 2007: 454).

Rather than accepting this, scholars claim that the sociology of journalism needs to be re-evaluated through a feminist lens, examining how men and women of differing ethnicities and classes negotiate their roles in a white, masculine news culture (Rhode 2001: 51-52).

As a result, scholars have since challenged the masculine news culture for ignoring the everyday politics and happenings in news organisations, for being atemporal, and for ignoring how marginalised and minority groups at times are able to define events (Schlessinger and Tumber 1999 1994 cited in Atton and Wickenden 2005: 348; Manning 2001). While considering these criticisms, it is also useful to acknowledge that since the majority of powerful people still tend to be men, it is therefore reasonable to assume most newspaper sources would too be male. This leads to the question of how women and men are used as sources. Even into the 21st century, studies show that journalists favour males as sources for information (Gallagher 2005; Ross 2005; Zoch and Turk 1998), and that they comprise 85 per cent of newspaper quotes or sources, 75 per cent of television interviewees, and 90 per cent of the most used pundits (Bridge 1993). Though more and more women are gaining powerful positions in society, critical theorists contend that gender inequality in the media accounts for a lack of female sources (Zoch and Turk 1998: 764). When women are included as news sources, studies show it is because they are defined vis-à-vis the principal (mainly male) news actor (Carter et al. 1998; Ross 2007; Zoch and Turk 1998), are quoted as victims, or because of relationships with males who were central

to the story (Zoch and Turk 1998: 762). In addition, women are more likely to cover stories with female subjects than men are (Gallagher 2005: 19). Other scholars point out that little research engages with journalists' relationship with news sources, particularly when dealing patriarchal attitudes of male sources hold about female journalists (Lachover 2005: 294). When it comes to stories about people of colour, women are rarely, if ever used as sources, and men often speak for them (Rakow and Kranich 1991: 19; Ross 2007). For a study that focuses specifically on the women's movement, it will be interesting to examine what sources are used, their gender, and how they are framed. I suspect that because the women's movement provides a unique space where women's voices were prioritised (at least within the movement if nowhere else), it is reasonable to assume that many sources will be female. Additionally, I suspect that because the women's movement is considered affecting mainly women, female would be more likely than males to report it.

While several studies such as those listed above examine how sources are quoted in stories, few look at how women are visually included in the news media. Susan Miller's content study of news photos in the *Washington Post* and *L.A. Times* found most photos showed only men (except in lifestyle sections); males were shown as professionals, public officers, sports figures, entertainers, and celebrities, while women were shown as wives, socialites/celebrities, professionals, entertainers, and people of human interest (Miller 1975). Though photos are not a focus of this project, it will be useful to see how they are used in news stories, and to see if women are mainly used, and if so, how.

Another important aspect of framing is article placement – regarding both stories about women and by women. When the National Organization for Women did a study of the *Washington Post* newspaper in the 1970s, it found that almost all news writers were male, and that hard news about women did not appear in the appropriate news sections, but were relegated to the women’s pages (NOW 1973 as quoted in Pingree et al. 1978). Van Zoonen (1978) and Ross (2005) note similar results, and claim that women journalists tend to get assigned stereotypical assignments which relegate them to the marginal areas of journalism (human interest news, consumer news, culture, education, and social policy). Women are also more likely to be selected as newsmakers in local rather than national and international scenes, which are considered more prestigious (Robinson 1978: 94; Ross 2007; Zoch and Turk 1998). Additionally, when examining source selection, one recent study found that women were three times more likely than men to speak as members of the public (Ross 2007: 462). Alternatively, the same study found that men were two to three times as likely to be asked to speak as business people, local councillors and police officers (p. 462). Such results indicate that even today, the voices used to comment on “hard” and “soft” news issues are still gendered. Regarding my study, it will be worthwhile to examine the gender breakdown of sources in news stories about the women’s movement, as this has not yet been examined. It would also be interesting to see if stories including female voices were more supportive than those quoting mostly males, and to see if men were used as “reactive” voices to women’s actions, and if not, what was their purpose?

After examining all the literature on news theories I acknowledge evidence of cultural and operational differences in news production between the US and the UK, in terms

of newspaper format, locations, target audience, competition, story or source selection, notions of objectivity, bias, and newsworthiness, newspaper sections and gender differences. While I argue that the news media in both countries have historically operated within a similar set of values and assumptions, I also acknowledge that there are bound to be marked differences in how the media covered the movement. Previous cross-national studies have substantiated this assumption (Wardle 2004), but before I can delve into this more thoroughly, I must first discuss theories of social movements. Though this is not a study of the movement per se, but *representations* of it, I felt it was still important to include literature on social movement theories, which provide further context to this study. This includes examining how social movements are said to develop (are they grassroots, or spawned from another movement), how they use resources such as the media to gather support, construct an identity, frame their grievances, and how gender impacts, and is impacted, by these movements.

Social Movement Theory

Marx once claimed that all history is a record of struggle between the powerless and powerful. Social movement theory seeks to understand how the powerless, disenfranchised, or those with a cause, struggle to gain power for their values, beliefs and ideas. It also attempts to why mobilisation occurs, how it manifests itself and analyses any political, cultural or social consequences of that collective action.

Though there is no universally accepted definition of a social movement, most include some form of collective or joint action, change-oriented goals or claims, some degree of organization; and some degree of temporal continuity (Snow et al 2004). Despite the plethora of definitions, Zald and Ash developed one I feel comfortable using for

this project. For them, a social movement is “a purposive and collective attempt of a number of people to change individuals or societal institutions and structures” (1966: 329). I feel this definition encompasses what the movement was about in both the US and the UK, where tactics, ideologies and organisational techniques differed, though many goals were the same.⁵⁵ It is important to note that not all social movements are alike, even those such as the women’s movement, which occurred in various countries throughout the world (Anderson 1991). Additionally, even amongst the “women’s movements” around the world, not all have fought for women’s liberation specifically. Some have fought for other freedoms or goals such as the peace, environmental, and anti-racist movements (Ferree 2004).

Though this project is not examining the women’s movement per se, it is still vital to examine social movement theory because it builds up to a more specific discussion of media-social movement interactions. As such, it should provide a better understanding of why the media might or might not cover them. For instance, organizations such as NOW in the US had a plethora of media relations people who understood how to use the media, while more grassroots groups such as those found in the UK were not as media savvy with the mainstream media, though many gained skills while working with alternative publications. Additionally, this section should shed some light on some of the reasons why movements might have been framed a certain way (as a threat, or something to be embraced). These discussions entail a continued narrowing of my focus, first, as mentioned above, with a review of literature on social movements, how they develop, create a public image, change over time, develop leaders, are accepted or rejected in society, and how gender may affect them. Then, I

⁵⁵ For other useful definitions, see Turner and Killian (1957: 246) and Snow et al. (2004).

can move on to social movements in the news, their relationship with one another, and factors affecting that relationship. Next I will discuss specific case studies on how movements have been covered in the press, and this continued narrowing of my topic brings me closer to discussing more specific literature pertaining to my project – how the women’s movement and its participants have been represented in the press. Thus, I begin with examining a movement’s beginnings.

The Beginnings

Academics note that social movements do not magically appear (Morris 2000; Taylor 1989), and as Monica Morris writes, “they do not just emerge from fluid, spontaneous, unstructured contexts that thrust marginal individuals into collective action. Movement mobilization happens through informal networks and pre-existing institutional structures and formal organizations” (2000: 446). Two theories that explain the emergence of social movements are collective identity and resource mobilisation (Diani and McAdam, 2003; Edwards and McCarthy 2004; Hund and Benford 2004; McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Snow et al. 2004; Tarrow 1998). The idea of collective identity was influenced by Marx’s concept of class-consciousness, whereby groups of people bind together because of similar oppressions in their lives. These labour-based movements are often referred by Habermas (1986: 106) as “old” social movement theory while “new” social movements (NSM) are based on identity and lifestyle, such as feminism, gay rights, civil rights, and environmentalism.⁵⁶

While there are certain circumstances that make movements likely to emerge, such as political changes, divisions among political elites, new allies, weakened states, and so

⁵⁶ However, even these ideas of identity-based movements are challenged by post-modernist theorists, who deny the existence of such identities in the first place, arguing that identity is subjective and is not shared by everyone, even among groups who might otherwise share commonalities (i.e. gender, ‘race,’ age, etc.).

forth, movements will only form when people feel aggrieved with part of their life, and feel that collective action can fix the problem (Morris 2000). All of this combines to make it difficult for movements to agree on a “collective identity.” Much internal movement discussion is concerned with who “we” are (Gamson 2004), and this collective identity is seen as both a necessary precursor, and a product of movement collective action (Hund and Benford 2004).

Turner and Killian embrace the idea of collective identity and note that a disadvantage or misfortune can be transformed into an “injustice,” when the appropriate social definitions occur, and members realise they share the same disadvantage (1957: 261). Individuals and those dependent on a dominant group are least likely to challenge their situation, as they require a sense of self-worth in order to claim that they deserve better (Turner and Killian 1957). This ties in with ideology, which is important for a movement because it gives participants a frame for examining events and people, constructing simple perspectives to understand issues (Turner and Killian 1957). Ideology is also capable of putting a movement and its goals in a historical perspective, explaining how they got to where they are (1957). This sense of identity can be very important for a movement, and provides a common link for participants, sympathisers, and the public image. Ideology also identifies a movement’s enemies (1957), which is important in order to formulate counter-tactics. It can also be a site of struggle, because even though social movements might share common goals, they might have very different ideas on how to organise themselves, which tactics to take, and which goals should be dealt with first (van Zoonen 1992: 455).

Resource mobilisation (RM) theory has also been widely studied, and suggests that if enough people in society are discontent, a social movement has the possibility of forming (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). However, others argue that while having sufficient resources can greatly assist a social movement's formation, it is not enough to ensure its success. This is evident with the US women's movement, where organisations such as the National Organisation for Women (NOW) collected millions of dollars in donations to help campaign for the (eventually defeated) proposed equal rights amendment. Despite the vast resources, this loss was seen as a major defeat for the movement. Therefore, scholars note the need for good coordination and appropriate strategies to convert available resources into something useful for collective action (Edwards and McCarthy 2004: 302). It is also very important to point out that not all social movements have the same access to resources. This is particularly pertinent for this study, where women's movement members' access to public resources was scarce at the best of times. However, it should be stated that even amongst women, some had more access to resources than others (mainly those white, educated, middle-class women). One of the ways this has been well documented is with regard to media resources, where many (white, middle-class) US feminists already had training and access to resources through their jobs in the media industry, and thus were able to effectively use their knowledge to spread news of the women's movement. As Steiner (2005: 315) notes however, while members of the US movement were media savvy, they were not necessarily innovative, and primarily used print media to communicate their messages. Alternatively, in the UK, where working-class women were more involved in the movement (though still marginalised), their publications tended to be alternative, hand-made, self-published, and distributed amongst limited communication networks (Bouchier 1983; Bryson

2003). As Steiner (2005: 313) points out, producing ones own publication is a way of avoiding the possibility of being marginalised or ridiculed in the mainstream press, and allowed feminists to represent themselves how they wanted. Although in today's technologically advanced world, media literacy is more widespread, and is a main part of educational curriculum, access to new technologies is uneven and far from universal (Gillham 2003 cited in Edwards and McCarthy 2004). Because of the discrepancies in resource allocation, many RM theorists tend to focus on strategy and use of resources to examine how collective action is achieved successfully in some cases and not in others (McCarthy and Zald, 1977: 1220).

Change Over Time

As previously mentioned, once established, news frames are difficult to change, creating what van Zoonen (1992) calls an "inferential structure." This becomes the frame of reference for the movement and its activities thereafter (p. 457). However, before an inferential structure is created, movements often struggle with their identity, and frames can change constantly. Even within the women's movement, there were notable struggles – were feminists "straight" or "lesbians;" did the movement apply to middle-class women, or working-class women; was the movement revolutionary or reformist? These are just some of the many identity crises the US and UK women's movements encountered, often leading to splits in groups.⁵⁷ Though the public image of a movement might not change after time, Zald and Ash (1966) predict that as movements evolve, they become more conservative and its goals become displaced for organizational maintenance. This also means that radical goals might be displaced

⁵⁷ For example, in the UK, the Redstockings group split from NOW, criticising it for being too liberal and reformist. The Redstockings was comprised of radical feminists whose tactics differed from NOW's reformist aims. Similarly, in the UK, splinter groups formed depending on their ideological positions – Marxists, Trotskyists, Socialists, Radicals, etc.

as time passes, but this only happens when social movement organizations gain social and economic standing in society, where bureaucratic structures are developed to satisfy society's needs (Zald and Ash 1966). The movement is also affected in other ways if it achieves success - membership often increases, as can a backlash and hostility from some members of society (1966). Competition between organizations can lead to a change in an organization's sentiment, goals, or tactics in order to draw in the most members (1966). Zald and Ash documented how the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) became more radical as other radical organizations appeared. They note that had the NAACP failed to respond to the changing environment, they would have lost much of their base support (Zald and Ash 1966). It is worth pointing out however that this increased radicalisation had a polarising effect – the growth of left-leaning ideas led to the growth of right-leaning ideas.

The women's movement faced a similar sort of backlash (Faludi 1992; Petchesky 1981), where the "New Right," fought back against feminist demands and advancements, both in the US and the UK. This was most apparent in the US with the rise of the pro-family movement, but is also evident in the UK with the election of Margaret Thatcher's conservative government in 1979, and industrial action, often used to fight for women's rights, was marginalised (Manning 2001: 64).

Understanding this polarising effect is a useful insight into my project because it provides the potential for dualisms with which women in the movement could be compared and represented (a hypothetical example being the vamp for those women supporting pro-choice, and the virgin for those supporting pro-life). Dualisms of these sorts are important in understanding the underlying ideology around which the issues

are discussed. Because dualisms value one aspect over the other, it naturalises and makes it more difficult to change the context in which the issue is debated.

Accepting and Rejecting a Movement

There are many factors contributing to society's acceptance or rejection of a movement, and several ways to define success or failure. Depending on the movement, success can be measured by the amount of members, goals achieved, co-operation with other groups or politicians, and so forth (Turner and Killian 1957). Additionally, these same criteria can be used to measure a movement's failure. Movement also might fail if they are not seen as legitimate, especially in the eyes of its members, which sometimes happens when a movement adopts extremist views (Zald and Ash 1966). Social psychologists also find that people, ideas or events not fitting common stereotypes tend to make others uncomfortable, and therefore have a good chance of being negatively evaluated, and can possibly lead to the movement or organization's demise (Einwohner et al. 2000: 691). This is why having a "public definition" is important to a movement's success or failure, even if the definition is not necessarily accurate or representative (Turner and Killian 1957). When deciding who "speaks" for the movement to create a public definition, conflict theory says reformists, not revolutionaries will get the most access (Morris 1973b: 539 - 540), though it should be noted that feminist radicals such as Kate Millett for a time were in the media spotlight. The media also tend to create "stars," or leaders that fit with their principles of selection, regardless if they are the spokespeople within the movement (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993: 124; Gitlin 2003). These movement leaders have been the focus of some social movement studies (Goldstone 2001; Gusfield 1966; Morris and Staggenborg 2004; Platt and Lilley 1994; Rosen 2000; Zald and Ash 1966),

which argue that leaders are useful for inspiring commitment, mobilising resources, devising strategies, framing demands, influencing policies, creating and recognizing opportunities, and influencing outcomes (Morris 2000; Morris and Staggenborg 2004). Additionally, scholars state that historically, most movement leaders have been men, and note that in cases where women have attained top positions, it tends to result from their relationships with men (as wives or daughters) (Goldstone 2001; Rosen 2000). Others demonstrate that though women were not in the top echelons of power, women have been heavily involved in secondary leadership roles (Robnett 1997). As previously mentioned in this dissertation, radical segments of the women's movement in the US and the UK shunned leaders and formal structures out of a desire for participatory democracy where everyone's voice was included (Morris and Staggenborg 2004), and were preferred as a means of combating oppressive hierarchies that often accompanied these formal organisational structures.

If a movement's public definition is successful, and society changes in the direction of the movement's goals, there is no longer a need for it, and it eventually dies away (Zald and Ash 1966: 329). Additionally, severe defeats (such as the failure to ratify E.R.A. in the US) can also lead to de-mobilisation of movements. While these theories are interesting and can provide certain insights, they fail to take into account an important element that defines the women's movement – gender.

Gender and Social Movements

There is very little work examining how gender affects social movements, though those studies that have been done focused on the women's movement (Einwohner et al. 2000; Staggenborg and Lang 2007), civil rights (Kuumba 2002), political

opportunities (Noonan 1995), environmental mobilisations (Kaplan 1997) and animal rights campaigns (Einwohner 1999). Ferree and Mueller (2004) argue that most theoretical attempts to understand social movements are still approached from male-led views of movements, and regard these as the norm. Kuumba (2002) reiterates this and states that most social movement theories are limited by their male-biased assumptions, which leads them to ignore social movement's gendered, racial and class-based systems of inequalities. In addition, while such limitations certainly apply to the women's movement, researchers need to pay attention to these gender dynamics (as well as race, ethnicity and sexuality) in all social movement theory and mobilization (Ferree and Mueller 2004). Such critiques are examples of how feminist theorists have contributed important insights in social movement theory, and have opened up new ways of understanding how these operate. Such insights relate also to the role emotion (Aminzade and McAdam 2002; Ferree and Merrill 2000; Goodwin et al. 2001), culture and ritual plays in communicating ideas, creating a collective identity and solidarity amongst movement members (Johnston and Klandermans 1995; Staggenborg and Lang 2007; Taylor and Whittier 1995). Understanding that gender (and indeed race and class) has an impact on how a movement and its participants are represented is an important insight to my project, and is thus useful for including in my literature review. Part of this manifests itself in movement strategies, which, in the case of the women's movement, varied from place to place and over time. Additionally, it is important to note that their strategies might have differed significantly had men played a stronger role (for example, women used conferences to mobilise support and spread ideas) (Ferree and Mueller 2004).

Scholars also find that gender can be used in movements to construct certain images, frame issues in particular ways, or claim legitimacy for actors in a given arena. They also acknowledge that gender can be used against movements to de-legitimise activists, or the movement as a whole (Einwohner 1999; Einwohner et al. 2000).

When certain gendered images were attached to movements, Einwohner et al. (2000) writes that only particular frames are used for the issue at hand. In addition, both social movement theorists and psychologists state that familiar frames are more likely to be accepted than novel ones, meaning that movements associated with traditional gender roles will be more accepted than ones resisting them (Einwohner et al. 2000). This has important implications for a study examining women who often challenged these traditional gender roles. Scholars conclude that because the political arenas in the US and the UK are understood as primarily masculine, feminine identified movements are therefore doubly burdened, even as feminism's goals, values, and politics are constantly being debated, and are therefore changing (Einwohner et al. 2000; van Zoonen 1992). The result is that many women's movements around the world tend to organise themselves at the grass-roots level, as bureaucratic organisations and institutions are constructed along gendered lines, and disadvantage women (Ferree and Mueller 2004). This is a topic that is much overlooked, and one in which I challenge future scholars to explore, particularly in relation to other movements besides women's liberation. So while examining how gender can affect a social movement begins to hint at the issue of how the media covered the women's movement, I will now take a step back and discuss how other social movements have been covered in the news and see if similar patterns in reporting emerge, or if coverage was completely different.

Social Movements in the News

How the media represents social movements has been the focus of much analysis in the past few decades, as increased attention is paid to the media's role in creating public support or opposition. Not only do the media act as people's main source of information, but they help spread news about emerging social trends and movements (Barker-Plummer 2000; Fineman and McCluskey 1997; Gitlin 2003; Rhode 1995; van Zoonen 1992). Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) write that when the powerful want change, they do not rely on the media, because they often have resources to lobby in private. It is therefore the powerless, including most new social movements, who often need media coverage the most, but have the least access to it, and as a result, are not able to spread their message. The media are important resources for social movement formation, especially for those with few assets (Baylor 1996). Apart from being a vehicle to reach audiences and generate public approval of ideas, the media can link the movement with other political and social actors like trade unions, political parties, and the government, and can provide activists with a sense of purpose (van Zoonen 1992: 454). In addition, making a conflict public is an opportunity for movements to improve its relative power against its opposition (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993: 116). However, not just any coverage will do. Movements need a particular kind of press coverage to mobilise support (Costain et al. 1997: 205).

Controlling Media Representations

Social movements often seek out media attention to achieve their goals, which academics have found are largely influenced by the media's "positive" or "negative" frames (Baylor 1996). This struggle over framing, and the resulting media image, is created by an interaction between the structure, form, routines, conventions, and

ideologies of the news organization, the movement, and its members (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993; van Zoonen 1992). As part of this interaction, each side struggles to put forth their preferred frame, and according to Gamson and Wolfsfeld, the greater the resources, organisations, professionalism, co-ordination and planning within a movement, the greater its media standing and likeliness that their chosen frames will be used. This is because journalists gauge how serious and credible a movement and its members are by their organization, resources, and media sophistication (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993: 121). Women are particularly disadvantaged when it comes to media representations because the concept of framing as a whole has suffered gendered limitations in that it tends to ignore the role of emotion, and labels women “irrational,” while men are described in terms of “reason” (Ferree and Merrill 2000: 456). Ferree and Merrill (2000: 459) suggest that this inherent “bias” in social movement theory could be remedied if scholars employ feminist methodology, become reflexive about their own values during the research process, and state their interests in the movements they study. Taking this opportunity, I would therefore like to reiterate my feminist position, and acknowledge that my interpretations on how the movement was framed, and my interpretation of how “positive” such frames were, are affected by my support of the movement, members and goals. Other scholars, though not necessarily feminist in their approach, also outline their critical views of media representations of marginalised groups and movements.

Tim Baylor’s (1996) study on media coverage of the Native American protests, 1968 to 1979, shows how media attention actually impeded the movement’s success, and along with other scholars (McCarthy et al. 1996), find that those involved in the movement have no control over how their actions were framed. Edie Goldenberg

(1978) examines news treatment of four resource poor groups in Boston and argues that disadvantaged groups were denied the same type of coverage as well-defined, accepted and non-marginal groups. Though the media and the movement have an interdependent relationship, it is an unequal one, and social movements, especially those with little resources, often take whatever media coverage they can get, even if it is negative or unrepresentative (Baylor 1996). This is why some academics reject the news as a resource for movements, because they argue that its commercial nature will always either “marginalise” or “incorporate” challenging voices (Gitlin 2003: 123).

Aside from negative framing, the media have many tactics to control a movement’s representation and goals, particularly when they are revolutionary. The media can ignore the problem and hope it goes away, give it frivolous coverage, publicise the least offensive goals which society already accepts, or de-emphasises its revolutionary aims (Morris 1973b: 540). Gitlin examines early media coverage of the anti-war movement in the US, and claims that the media image often becomes “the movement” for those without access to other information. He also writes: “When a movement is opposed, often it is the mass mediated image that is being rejected” (Gitlin 2003: 3). These misrepresented or distorted images are not unique to the US anti-war movement, as other scholars came to similar conclusions with the civil rights and women’s movements (Martindale 1989; Morris 1973a). Making a movement, its members, or its goals appear illegitimate is another effective tool used against many movements. The media can also undermine a movement’s goals by focusing on the fringes and presenting extremist views or tactics (Rhode 1995). Gitlin argues that the media divide the movement into legitimate and illegitimate sections, making the distinction seem commonsensical, and thus difficult to challenge. He also explains

that revolutionary movements are always portrayed as deviant (Gitlin 2003). These insights are useful for my study, and will be interesting to examine, particularly because both US and UK feminists were working *within* the system to bring about equal rights and opportunities, and while their *ideas* might have been revolutionary, their *tactics* generally were not.

The media also have a tendency to de-contextualise events from the issues causing them. With the Civil Rights movement, the US press ignored the movement's causes and background (Martindale 1989). The Kerner Commission, set up by the US government to investigate the cause of urban riots, agreed, and states that the media failed to explain causes of black protest (Kerner 1968). Martindale contends that protesters' views were ignored by the media in order to uphold the status quo, and that readers were encouraged to think of protesters as dangerous deviants (1989: 921).

Protests have historically been a common tool used when people think it will help their cause (Goldenberg 1978: 55). Because the news media only cover a small per cent of public protests, some scholars suggest a form of bias in selection principles exists (McCarthy et al. 1996). McCarthy et al. (1996) compare police records of Washington demonstrations in 1982 and 1991, with press coverage in *The New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *ABC*, *CBS*, and *NBC*. Their records show that, despite the larger frequency, smaller demonstrations received less media coverage. This ties back in with issues surrounding about news values, where protests are more likely to receive coverage if they were very large, were in the right place and time, or represented an issue in a "media attention cycle," which is a large volume of coverage for an issue that already exists (McCarthy et al. 1996: 494-5). Oliver and Maney

(2000) conducted a “selection bias” study, examining factors that determine if protests gets media coverage, and demonstrate that protests about legislative issues had the most coverage in general, except when legislature was in session. They also claim there was a triadic relationship between politics, protest and the news media, and that newspaper coverage of protests was shaped by institutional politics and political cycles, and by news values and routines (Oliver and Maney 2000: 463-4).⁵⁸

Some scholars have examined what “tools” could be used to control conflicts generated by social movements, and write that withholding information from the public was effective (Morris 1973a). Adding to this, Gitlin (2003) notes the “mass media define the public significance of movement events or, by blanking them out, actively deprive them of larger significance” (p. 3). He argues that the more the story challenged the interests of society’s elites, the more likely the story would be blacked out. Shoemaker and Reese (1991) came to a similar conclusion, and note that the media marginalised and de-legitimised voices outside the dominant elite circles. Because the media are event, not issue oriented, when covering protests, their inattention to underlying cause of protest obscures the legitimacy of a group’s social grievances (Martindale 1989). The good news, however, is that newspapers could not ignore large ideological shifts in society for long, and eventually, stories would be reported (Gitlin 2003). This idea of legitimacy and challenging dominant ideologies plays a large role in the public’s acceptance of social movements, and it will be interesting to track if or how ideologies surrounding the women’s movement, its members and their goals shifted during my 14-year sample period. Additionally, studies show that activists and protesters are not always presented in a negative light.

⁵⁸ It is interesting that these studies discuss news selection in terms of “bias” rather than in terms of ideology, journalism routines and practices, and demonstrates that these concepts are not yet universal within social movement scholarship.

Within the Civil Rights movement, marches and confrontations fit in with journalistic conventions, and resulted in sympathetic coverage of activists (Bradley 2003).

Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) add that the narrower a movement's demands, the more likely it is to receive sympathetic coverage. So how has coverage of the women's movement compare to other social movements?

News Coverage of Women's Lib

When it comes to women's issues, scholars note that they are underrepresented in mainstream media (Kahn and Goldenberg 1991a: 105-107). Rhode (1995) reasons that because of the media's long inattention to women's issues, it is therefore unsurprising that there was little attention to women's liberation. This literature review will highlight what previous studies have about the movement-media relationship, as well as show how academics have not paid sufficient attention to this topic. While the amount of research conducted on media's coverage of the women's movement in the US is growing, I have come across only one piece of research examining the same topic in the UK.⁵⁹ Additionally, I found only one study focusing exclusively on women's rights (Butler and Paisley 1978), though none specifically on equal rights.⁶⁰ Rather, UK studies tend to examine specific political issues such as the anti-nuclear, women-only protest at Greenham Common (Roseneil 1995; Young 1990). Liesbet van Zoonen is responsible for several articles examining media coverage of the Dutch women's movement, but research needs to examine other countries as well. This is a gap my research fills, and through examining representations of the women's movement in both the US and the UK, this study

⁵⁹ It was by Morris (1973a).

⁶⁰ The difference is that women's rights encompasses a wide range of topics including abortion, child-care, maternity leave, whereas equal rights often refers to equal opportunities in work and life, equal pay, and so forth.



hopes to pave the way for future feminist, cross-national research. This project is also unique in its attempts to be transparent with my methods, a problem I have found with past research. This is something I further discuss in my methodology chapter.

Because most women are rarely in powerful, decision-making positions in society, academics notice that they usually only receive media coverage when “acting out,” or breaking away from traditional gender roles (Pingree and Hawkins 1978: 122). While this includes demonstrations and protests, it also encompasses any actions that went against traditional expectations of women (such as public speaking, participating in the public sphere for causes other than philanthropy or religion, and so forth).

Because “acting out” often went against traditional norms of femininity, those involved in the movement were not always viewed in a positive light (Bradley 2003; Freeman 2001a). In fact, when reading the literature, one is left with a pervasive sense of negative media images and representations. Few academics demonstrate positive images or examples of good reporting of the movement (Tuchman 1978d; van Zoonen 1992), or the use of the term “feminist” (Lind and Salo 2002; van Zoonen 1992). In several studies, similar with other social movements, academics explain that the media’s emphasis was on events, which were presented as isolated incidents with no common link (Pingree and Hawkins 1978; van Zoonen 1992). This focus on events has been viewed as unfortunate, because as scholars note, most women’s issues are not events (such as oppression), and have been around for hundreds of years (Pingree and Hawkins 1978). In addition, the media prefers to cover events over issues, but if they must present the latter, they require simplicity, and identifiable pros and cons (van Zoonen 1992: 462).

Amount of Coverage

How much coverage was the women's movement given? Since there are no studies focusing exclusively on the UK, it is not possible to have an accurate idea. For the US however, the picture is easier to put together. In the formative years, which most scholars put from 1966 to 1970, newspapers virtually ignored the movement (Barker-Plummer 2000; Bradley 2003; Robinson 1978). As the US movement became more institutionalised, routinised, had identifiable leaders, held events during normal business hours, and produced measurable feats and changes, it received more media coverage (Tuchman 1978c: 28-9). Though scholars agree on when the US movement did not receive coverage, they disagree on when media attention was at its peak. Robinson states it happened between 1970 and 1972 with a particularly high amount of coverage between January and March 1970, Bradley and Barker-Plummer argue it was 1975⁶¹, and Douglas claims it was 1977. Barakso and Schaffner (2006), who looked at the women's movement in the news from 1969 to 2004 found that newspaper coverage declined after 1976, while network television coverage actually increased until the early 1990s (p. 23). The different media outlets each scholar used, which were not always made explicit, can likely account for the discrepancies between the studies.

When examining the content of women's movement stories, Rhode writes that much early coverage focuses exclusively or disproportionately on "extremist" tactics and rhetoric (Rhode 1995). After 1975, Bradley argues that the media trend was to report "first-women stories," about those who were the first of their gender to enter previously male occupations. She also states that the media's interest in the movement

⁶¹ Though Barker-Plummer (2000) only examined stories about NOW in *The New York Times*.

dropped once it was assured women would be granted equal opportunity in parts of the workforce they had previously been banned from (Bradley 2003). This had the effect of making the movement appear to be about a single issue. Barker-Plummer (2000) argues that stories about the movement written by men were most likely to be on the front page however, while stories by women tended to be on the women's pages. Rhode (1995) adds that while the media was slow to report the movement's emergence, it did not hesitate to report the movement's demise. The 1981 cover of *The New York Times* magazine reported, "The Women's Movement is Over" (as cited in Rhode 1995: 691). Still however, scholars point out that despite the decreasing number of stories, newspapers continued to discuss the women's movement well into the 1980s (Barker-Plummer 2000; Huddy 1996).

So where in the newspapers were stories on the women's movement located?

Tuchman (1978d) examined how newspapers could be a resource for the women's movement, and focused on the women's pages. She reasons that these pages became an invaluable resource for the movement because individual editors chose to make it that way. Former *New York Times* editor Joan Whitman reminisced:

I always get flack from women in the movement who think stories about their activities should be on the general news pages. I just think they're wrong. It's better to have lots of space and good display (pictures) than to be in a four-paragraph story and compete with Watergate for editorial and reader attention (as cited in Tuchman 1978d: 204).

Not everyone agrees that appearing in the women's pages ensures a positive spin. A study of US coverage of the UN Decade for Women Conferences (1975 Mexico City, 1980 Copenhagen, 1985 Nairobi), contends such articles were marginalised, relegated to "lifestyle" sections and sensationalised (Cooper and Davenport 1987). Other studies show the opposite. Bradley (2003) argues that discussion of "strident" women

were more likely to be found when stories left the women's pages. Female journalists or editors are also credited for ensuring the women's movement received coverage. Barker-Plummer (2000), Bradley (2003), and Tuchman (1978d) discuss female journalists who were actively involved in writing about the movement, and the important role they played. Other academics came to the opposite conclusion and write about how journalists (mostly female) consciously avoided covering the movement, or reported unsympathetic accounts for professional reasons. Several scholars highlight how joking comments by journalist Lindsey van Gelder about bra-burning (which never happened) came to represent the movement, though it was not her intention to harm it (Bradley 2003; Hinds and Stacey 2001; Rhode 1995). Regardless of her intentions, bra-burning became an icon for the women's movement, and had "an element of power and threatening social force and a desire for violent destruction, but at the same time personalises politics and a narcissistic and comic edge" (Hinds and Stacey 2001: 156). The media's constant reference to feminists as bra-burners not only trivialised their cause, but refused them status as legitimate political subjects (Hinds and Stacey, 2001: 169).

When interviewing female journalists about the movement, Freeman spoke to Maggie Siggins, a Toronto *Telegram* reporter during second wave feminism. Siggins recalls that, "Although I agree with much of feminist philosophy, I wonder if I would have been brave enough (or is it foolheartedly [sic] enough) to be branded as a feminist, to be in a state of constant conflict" (Freeman 2001a: 390). Eileen Shanahan of *The New York Times* covered the Equal Rights Amendment (E.R.A.)⁶² story in the US, and

⁶² The Equal Rights Amendment was first introduced into Congress in 1923, and said 'Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.' In 1972, it was passed to the states for ratification. On June 30, 1982 ERA had been ratified by 35 out of the required 38 needed to pass, and therefore died. For the 10 years before its defeat, it was the

wanted to propose a women's liberation beat. However, she changed her mind on this point because she said she knew she would only be considered a "professional" as long as she continued to cover topics such as tax legislation, the Federal Reserve, and the budget (as cited in Mills 1997: 50). Had she admitted wanting to cover the women's movement full time, she felt she would be seen as "crazy Shanahan who's always screaming and shouting and wanting to cover some silly-assed women's story" (as cited in Mills 1988: 60-61). US feminist Gloria Steinem recalled a *New York Magazine* colleague warning her from writing about feminism: "You've worked so hard to be taken seriously, Gloria. You must not get involved with those crazy women" (as cited in Thom 1993: 223). Reporters wanting to do stories were told, "We've already done a feminist story this year" (as cited in Thom 1993: 225). Barker-Plummer interviewed *Newsday* reporter Marilyn Goldstein who described how an unsympathetic editor made supporting and accurately reporting the women's movement difficult:

'I wrote a series on women's rights and he told me, 'Get out there and find an authority who'll say this is all a crock of shit.' I'm quoting to you. I wrote of how the women's movement parallels the black movement, and he pulled that all out. So when people say, 'A good series, Marilyn,' I say, 'If you really want to learn about the women's rights movement, look in my waste basket' (as cited in Barker-Plummer 2000: 132).

While it is clear that individual choices or views about the movement affected to some degree the way the movement was represented, not all negative coverage can be blamed on news workers. Tuchman writes that the news structure is also responsible for how the movement was reported: "Newspapers' very emphasis upon established institutions and those with institutionalised power may account in part for their

subject of intense debate among feminists who argued that it would mean sex equality, while the pro-family forces argued it would deny a woman's right to be supported by her husband, women would be forced into combat, and protective employment laws would be overturned.

denigration of women and the women's movement" (1978c: 28). Others blame (mostly male) editors. Molotch (1978) writes that the news media struggled to treat women's liberation seriously because it did not interest men, who comprise the majority of newsmakers and newsreaders. He adds that when it was initially covered, they focused on issues that concerned them such as bra-burning, a refusal to conform to gender norms (no make-up, fancy clothes, etc.), and refraining from sexual activity with men (Molotch 1978: 182), thus de-politicising their aims and turning it into a fringe movement.

News framing unsurprisingly played a large role in the positive and negative attention to the movement. Van Zoonen (1992: 463) highlights a distinction between a (legitimate) struggle for equal rights, and an (illegitimate) "feminism." Though she does not specify what factors affected this framing, other authors have. Academics contend the media labelled any women who were too outspoken or forthright as "feminist," usually of the "militant" or "radical" variety, whether or not she embraced the term herself (Bradley 2003: 74; Freeman 2001a: 75; Goddu 1999). Susan Douglas (1994: 163) suggests that the media were responsible for feminism's negative connotation:

There is no doubt that the news media of the early 1970s played an absolutely central role in turning feminism into a dirty word and stereotyping the feminist as a hairy-legged, karate-chopping commando with a chip on her shoulder the size of China.

Another study of the U.S. women's movement between 1966 and 1986 shows that the news media presented feminists as less important, legitimate, and more deviant than women who were anti-feminist (Ashley and Olson 1998). Rebecca Ann Lind and Colleen Salo (2002) write that 20 years later, feminist portrayals had not improved. Their study, which examines 35,000 hours of television and radio content between

May 1993 to January 1996 on four major networks, states that the media demonized feminists and portrayed them as “crazy, ill-tempered, ugly, man-hating, family wrecking, hairy-legged, bra-burning radical lesbians” (Lind and Salo 2002: 218). In addition, their statistical analysis shows that 0.28 per cent of all references to women were in a demonizing frame (Lind and Salo 2002: 218). Despite all the negative referencing, Lind and Salo demonstrate that being labelled a feminist was not always a bad thing, as television coverage gave “feminists” agency more often than it did to “women” (p. 221). On another positive note, feminist research on content shows that the news often adopted feminist language, ideas, and perspectives, particularly when the women’s movement was strong and voiced specific, rather than general goals (Cancian and Ross 1981).

Costain et al. (1997: 215) writes that there was a constant struggle to define women’s place in society and pitted frames of work and the family against each other.

However, during the movement’s peak years, which they defined as 1974-1984, a civil rights frame was used, which appealed to the public because it was based on values such as legal equality and individual rights that Americans already cherished (Costain et al. 1997: 208). This frame did not last long though, and was dropped in 1982 once the E.R.A. failed to be ratified. Butler and Paisley’s study (1978) of mainstream popular magazines also dealt with the E.R.A., and considered subtle ways news reports had framed stories by emphasising one of two positions: 1) E.R.A. would strengthen women’s legal protections, or, 2) E.R.A. would weaken women’s protections. They argue that E.R.A. articles regarding economic and legal issues used the first frame, while stories on marriage and family issues tended to use the second. Though they do not explicitly say so, it would be my guess that articles supporting the

first frame were written in a more positive light and perhaps had a more diverse range of representations for women than the second, which likely cast women in rigid roles relating them to the family and femininity.

Women could be labelled “feminist” if the news media did not approve of the activities they were involved in. Such was the case with the Dutch movement, where the media framed consciousness-raising groups as “feminist,” and deviant, because they excluded men (van Zoonen 1992: 467-8). Even men supporting the movement were criticised in their changing attitude, as van Zoonen shows that the movement was framed as women’s need for adjustment to male society (1992: 469). This refusal to accept feminine ideals of servitude and compliance was very worrying in a society where these were common and expected (van Zoonen 1992: 472). As a result, negative stereotypes and images were used to explain why women were leaving the home, reassuring society that the division between public and private spheres had not really changed, and to prevent the public from thinking that “normal” women were demanding change (Goddu 1999: 109). While these actions seem over-dramatic today, it is important to keep in mind that even as late as the 1970s, speaking in public was risky because it could damage a woman’s perceived femininity (Freeman 2001a: 87).

Sometimes journalists capitalised on the public’s collective memory to reinforce stereotypes, and used historical comparisons of “feminists” to the first wave “suffragettes,” who were known for radical acts such as hunger strikes (Freeman 2001a). Freeman also writes that the media rarely challenged such negative definitions, and editorials confirm that many, though not all readers, discussed

feminism and women's issues within this negative context. At other times, the media focused less on issues than the "personal as political" (Goddu 1999). Similar to other social movements, studies show that focusing on style over substance was one way the media trivialised people and their positions, and left readers knowing more about the speaker's speaking style than the speech itself (Freeman 2001a; Goddu 1999; Lind and Salo 2002; Rhode 1995). Additionally, many news story's first reference to female speakers usually included information about marital status and motherhood, rather than professional credentials (Lind and Salo 2002). An example of this is news coverage of a 1970 march, organised by Betty Friedan, and the National Organization for Women, where 50,000 New York women held a "strike day" for equality and marched down 5th avenue. While *The New York Times* did cover the demonstration, it put almost as much focus on Friedan's trip to the hairdresser that day as it did to the strike itself (Bradley 2003). Moreover, while it could be argued that describing personal details is a common news convention, particularly in feature stories, it is worthwhile to note that these conventions are gendered and tend to be used exclusively with women (Rhode 1995).⁶³ In order to analyse the similarities and differences between how the women's movement and other social movements were covered, I will first highlight some specific case studies, examining them with a critical eye.

Case Studies – Women's Liberation in the News

After having read much of the literature on media's coverage of the movement, one of my main criticisms is researcher's lack of transparency when discussing their methodology and the primary documents used. Bradley's (2003) study, which

⁶³ This is particularly true of the time period in which my study takes place, though today, it is more common to read these personal style descriptions of men too.

explored how print and broadcast news covered the women's movement between 1963 and 1975, did not state which sources she examined, nor the criteria on which she based her analysis. Van Zoonen (1992) also lacks much of this explanation in her study on the Dutch movement. So far, the only study I have found (that uses qualitative analysis) to discuss their methods was by Monica Morris (1973b). She explains where her sources came from (and why), the time frame, and gave a list of key search terms. This type of information is important to include in studies because there is no way to evaluate them or to improve future research.

Morris' (1973b) study examines how the image of the women's liberation movement in Los Angeles county mass circulation papers affected the movement's ability to grow, act, and recruit members. She included articles with any of the key phrases: "women's liberation," "women's lib," "womenlib," "feminists," "new feminists," "militant," or the name of a women's liberation group (p. 530). Her analysis shows that 84 to 89 per cent of coverage was "unbiased," which she defines as excluding the journalists' own comments (Morris 1973b: 532).⁶⁴ She also highlights differences between the more right-of-centre paper the *Herald Examiner*, which gave less favourable coverage, and the left-leaning *LA Times*, which gave more favourable coverage, but noticed that unfavourable coverage decreased as time passed (Morris 1973b: 534).

Morris conducted another study using national newspapers of varying political opinion from Britain, and local papers from L.A. county, and writes that 48 per cent of coverage of the movement in the UK press was international in scope, and was

⁶⁴ Others have demonstrated that even when a story is "balanced" it is still ideologically embedded and has a "frame" because the journalists made conscious decisions on who to interview, what questions to ask, and whose voice to prioritise (Kitzinger 2007).

about movement events or issues in US and other parts of Europe (Morris 1973a: 40). This is something that can perhaps be explained by the large influence the US movement had in Britain, and is something that I will keep an eye out for in my own work. Morris criticises newspapers for not being critical of society's structure, and for reinforcing hegemonic ideologies, which effectively restrained the "cogent development of a genuinely critical outlook" (1973a: 41). The main finding with this study is that newspapers often used "blackout" as a form of social control – which, as discussed earlier, is something other social movements have been subjected to as well.

So who are the feminists and how have people and organisations identified themselves as such? How often does the media use this term? Huddy (1996) studied the association between "feminism," "feminist," and people, organizations, ideals and policies in *The New York Times*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *US News and World Report* between 1965 and 1993. She notes that the frequency of both "feminism" and "feminist" increased after 1970, particularly in news magazine stories about the movement (Huddy 1996: 190-92). Few articles actually define what "feminism" is, and often singled out small groups of women and declared them feminists, leaving it unclear if the term applied to ordinary men and women. Similar to van Zoonen's results (1992), Huddy (1996: 197) notes that individual men were less likely to be labelled feminists, even if they supported feminist positions. Furthermore, politicians, individuals un-associated with a specific profession or organisation, and representatives of non-women's organisations were rarely associated with the term. Interestingly, Huddy argues that despite its stigma, there was little to no evidence that women's organisations shunned the use of the term "feminist" to gain or keep media access. If anything, she claims that direct quotes from people who used the term

directly had increased since the 1980s which was when feminism was supposedly on the decline (Huddy 1996: 202). While studies such as these are useful for capturing the statistical significance and uses around such terms, I hope to add more depth, take a qualitative look at how such terms were employed, and perhaps try to answer some of the questions raised above.

Because few studies examining social movements in the news explore how gender affects coverage, it is difficult to do a comparison on this level. However, Barbara Freeman (2001a) uses a cultural analysis approach when examining how the Canadian media covered the Royal Commission on the Status of Women hearings across the country from 1966-1971. Freeman (2001a), like others (Barker-Plummer 2000), noted a gender divide, where male editors and columnists ridiculed the movement, while female reporters and editors were sympathetic. However, she argues that journalists of both sexes dismissed women as “unfeminine,” or a “feminist,” when not considered attractive, pretty, were dressed unconventionally, challenged the gender status quo, demonstrated assertive or aggressive body language, was judged to be loud, bitter, angry, was unmarried, older, or not a mother (Freeman 2001a: 77). Rhode (1995) also writes that when newspapers covered women who did not fit into the typical stereotype of a feminist, they were considered “rare” or atypical.

While it is important to look at how feminists were represented in the media, it is also equally important to look at the movement’s access to the media. As previously mentioned, access is important to note for a study such as mine where US (liberal) feminists tended to already be well-placed within media organisations and thus had more access opportunities (both because they had journalistic training and were aware

of news conventions) than UK feminists, whose members were often ideologically positioned to reject the (mostly) male mainstream media. Additionally, UK feminists tended to prefer their own alternative publications, which gave them control over their representations (Steiner 2005). Another point of difference was that the UK movement was comprised of more working-class women, who might not have had educational training or similar opportunities to access the media. While such an insular approach has been criticised by some feminist scholars (McLaughlin 1993), others contend that presenting a social movement's message to the mainstream necessitates a loss of control over the message, and can therefore be seen as a justified strategy (Steiner 2005). Such scholars have therefore found that some media outlets are better suited for carrying counter-hegemonic messages than others (Steiner 2005: 314).

Robinson's also focuses on media access, and argues that from the 1970s on, women's rights were portrayed as a legitimate public concern, particularly so for issues on education and employment equality, probably because they were firmly embedded within the US value structure. However, some issues, such as the demand for the abolition of marriage were continuously ridiculed (Robinson 1978: 105). This lack of "balance" is further supported by other scholars, such as van Zoonen (1992), who argues that divisions between radical and moderate groups were exaggerated, and Douglas (1994) writes that debates among women were cast as "catfights." When covering public protests, Rhode (1995) notes that reporters often used radical comments from participants and "balanced" them with comments from "regular" women on the street not used to this rhetoric. She argues it created a "juxtaposition where feminists appear in highly charged circumstances likely to yield polemics,

where opponents appear calmer and more ‘reasoned’ because they are in a calmer atmosphere” (Rhode: 1995: 19). Bradley (2003: 169) shows that the media used “stringy-haired,” “bra-less” protesters to represent feminist radicalism.

Unlike most studies, Bradley (2003) focuses on a wide range of news media, which is useful because of its diversity, but is incapable of tracing if a news organization changed its coverage or framing over time. She contends that the media focused on individualism (liberal values), rather than cooperative behaviour, as a way to bring about change (Bradley 2003: XV). Van Zoonen (1992: 464) also documents that newspapers viewed the movement in liberal feminist terms, and ignored Marxist orientation by focusing on concrete reforms, rather than structural inequalities. Rhode (1995) adds that a common story line focused on how feminisms’ emphasis on equality was no longer in touch with women’s essential identity, and individual, not social transformation was needed when the workplace was not in line to women’s needs.

The news media often dismissed the women’s movement because of its inability (and in many cases, its refusal) to find a strong leader, and its fragmented organization (Bradley 2003).⁶⁵ As Ferree (1987) notes, informal networking groups were more popular in Europe than in the US, which tended to use conventional lobby-like structures. Some radical groups did not want media attention because they knew the media demanded a leader and would then define the movement by that individual, “discrediting her personal life rather than dealing with her politics” (*off our backs*,

⁶⁵ For a more detailed discussion on social movement leaders, see previous section on social movement theory.

April 25, 1970, p. 3 as quoted in Bradley 2003). Such was the case with Kate Millett who was lambasted after a *Times* article outed her as a lesbian.

Many feminists also made a point not to connect with the mainstream movement, which fit with the media's tendency to frame stories in terms of a conflict (Bradley 2003: 51). While groups like NOW were successful in attracting media attention and focusing it on the E.R.A., not all women believed these mainstream organisations were the best outlet for disseminating information on feminist issues. The left and radical press often used alternative publications, which took partisan views rather than remaining "objective" (Bradley 2003: 51). This detachment from the media was common with radical feminists for a variety of reasons. Radical feminist organisations tended to prefer small-scale groups that were not hierarchical in nature, and opposed having group leaders or movement spokespeople, particularly those seeking media attention (Bradley 2003). They also preferred to use their own or alternative publications to spread their message (Huddy 1996). Many radicals also refused to deal with any males in the media, which was often a challenge because there were far more male than female journalists. Radical feminist networks were also much more loosely based than liberal ones, and often did not organise in conjunction with one another, but focused on individual projects such as women's shelters or child-care centres. Their aim was not always to reach the masses, and thus they did not feel a need to use the media in the same manner that the US movement did. However, Huddy's (1996) study contradicted theories that well organised groups would attract the most media attention. She found that un-organised radical groups received almost as much coverage as organised, media-seeking groups such as NOW (Huddy 1996: 200), however, this almost exclusively occurred when they used radical

tactics, which left them categorised as “shrill” or “strident,” and these activities rather than the grievance became the story focus (Bradley 2003: 57).

While it is unfortunate that few studies examined UK press coverage of the women’s movement, this gap only reinforces and highlights the importance of my research.

When examining overall how the US women’s movement was covered, most studies seem to show that the media used a lot of “negative” imagery and representation, focused heavily on dissension, issues over events, and style over substance, restricting who could or was considered a “feminist.” How accurate would academics conducting similar studies in the UK, or other countries find these results? Would they be similar, different, or incomparable? Exploring cross-cultural studies might give an insight to some of these questions.

In summary, the last two chapters outlined the broad theoretical frameworks used in this study. Beginning with a detailed examination of three feminist theories, I outlined why socialist feminism provided the most useful tools for uncovering ideologies used in articles about the women’s movement, its members and their goals. I then ended the chapter research on representations and images of women in non-news media.

Though the media differed, women, particularly in the beginning of my sample period tend to be portrayed in a limited range of roles, mostly constructed upon traditional gender ideologies, although such representations were never black or white, and were often fragmented and contradictory. I then began the following chapter by examining the sociology of news, including how sources and stories are selected, and how issues are framed – an important concept for this study. Additionally, I examined social movement theory, spending time discussing how gender is frequently ignored, not

only in how it affected the women's movement, but most social movements. I concluded with an overview on previous studies examining the women's movement, and found that while plenty have focused in the US, few have examined the UK, and none explicitly examine women's movement goals, instead including such analysis as a subset of coverage overall. Additionally, though a few studies explore the movements cross-nationally, none do so in terms of media representations.

However, before beginning an analysis of such representations, it is first important to discuss my methodology. This chapter will be similar to the literature review in that it will set up the theoretical foundation for my methods, beginning with a discussion about feminist methodology, how it has been employed in the past, its benefits and drawbacks. I will then explore cross-national methodology, explaining why it is useful for this study, and how it complements my feminist analysis. Throughout the chapter, where applicable, I will also discuss how I constructed my study, chose my publications, the time period and the search terms. I will then move on to discuss my two methods, content analysis and critical discourse analysis, outlining how both have been used in previous feminist research, and why they are an appropriate choice for this study. Additionally, I will highlight certain changes that I made to my sample size, choice of publications and coding sheet along the way, in an attempt to strengthen my results and ensure they are as representative and meaningful as possible.

Chapter Three - Methodology

Though primarily a feminist analysis, this thesis will also employ a cross-national methodology to analyse how second wave feminists and their goal of equal rights were represented in UK and US daily press. While recognising the tension in combining these two methodologies,⁶⁶ it is necessary to explore each individually, and then in combination with one another to see the benefits and strengths that can be garnered from using them together in developing a new methodological approach. Once I have clearly laid this out, I will then begin to explore the tools – or methods – I will use for my project. I will use a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, as some feminist researchers have encouraged. Multiple methods increase the likelihood in understanding issues in women's lives by adding layers of information, and by validating and reinforcing each other (Reinharz 1992: 201).

I will begin first with exploring quantitative methods of analysis, examining how feminist researchers have employed them in the past and their usefulness for my project. Next, I will move on to qualitative methods of analysis, and explaining several ones in detail, not only because they have been important tools for socialist feminist researchers in the past, but also because they play an important part in my project, in that one of these methods is the main focus of my analysis. I will also include a discussion on how I went about defining this project's parameters, including how I chose my publications, the timeline, the topic, coding sheet, and which search terms I used to gather my texts. To begin with, I will discuss several qualitative feminist methods that have been used by feminist media scholars, including

⁶⁶ The major tension lies with feminist's concern about ethnocentrism, or viewing the world through our own cultural practices, which commonly happens with cross-national studies.

sociolinguistics, textual analysis, semiotics and discourse analysis. The particular type of analysis I will be using is critical discourse analysis, which I go into detail about further in the chapter. By the end of this chapter, readers should have a clear understanding of my methodological approach. I emphasise the importance of using a combination of methods, suggesting how they provide meaningful and original results.

Feminist Methodology

Defining feminist research is not a clear-cut task. Van Zoonen characterises it as the “radical politicization of the research process, internally and externally. Internally by interrogating the power relations inherent in doing research, externally by producing results that are relevant to feminist goals” (van Zoonen 1994: 130). McRobbie (2000) writes that feminist research tries to present new angles on old questions or neglected topics. Put in simpler terms, DeVault (1996: 31) suggests that the possibilities of what feminist researchers can examine are broad, and can include any study that incorporates or further develops feminism’s insights, regardless whether or not they use standard research methods, or create their own.⁶⁷ While arguing that anyone can conduct feminist research, DeVault (1996) contends that the term “feminist methodology” should be reserved explicitly for methodological discussions that emerge from feminist critique.⁶⁸ This means that just because a study examines women, or uses methods advocated by feminists, does not mean it employs feminist methodology. Others have noted that there is no specific ontological or epistemological position that is innately “feminist,” as even reflexive research

⁶⁷ For an excellent example of recent studies using feminist methodology, see Jaggar (2008).

⁶⁸ I wish to point out that DeVault (1996) recognises a difference between methodology as the theorising about research practice, and methods which are the tools used for research (p. 31)

practices have been taken up by other radical researchers who would not necessarily count themselves as “feminists” (Ramazanoglu and Holland 2002). I would however, categorise this project as employing a “feminist” methodology, while recognising that others might have different labels (or reject them outright) for research that is reflexive, and engages with research texts.

The study of gender, culture and media is interdisciplinary, both in its theories and methods (van Zoonen 1994: 127). Therefore, similar to other methodologies, a myriad of tools can be used with feminist research including phenomenology, semiotics, structuralism, frame analysis, content analysis, textual analysis, discourse analysis, interviews, and so forth. What makes feminist research distinct then is that it often includes a reflexive tone, which forces researchers to place their own histories and experiences inside the questions they ask in order to feel or try to understand the subjects being studied (McRobbie 2000: 127). This also means feminist researchers can be reflexive about the methods they use, and question why they use them, their benefits, drawbacks, and utility. In addition, reflexivity often includes the researcher thinking about how their experiences and position in society might affect their work (Harding 1987: 9). Judith Cook and Mary Fonow (1986 cited in Cancian 1992: 626) propose five elements that distinguish feminist methodology, including: engaged research; reflexive research; research that can lead to action; critique of past research; and participatory methods in research that engage both researcher and those being studied. Though Cook and Fonow present a useful guide for identifying feminist methodology, not all research must satisfy each category because not all research projects are the same.

While Cook and Fonow easily categorise feminist methodology, some scholars such as Sandra Harding (1987: 1) argue against the idea of having a distinctive feminist research method. She reasons that a preoccupation with one or a limited selection of methods removes the focus from other interesting aspects of the feminist research process. In addition, she warns that narrowly defining feminist research methods could create oppressive hierarchies among feminists, dividing those who use “real” feminist methods, and those who do not. I particularly agree with Harding on this point, as my research uses methods (and a methodology) that many feminists might criticise – quantitative content analysis, and cross-national comparisons.⁶⁹

Though times are changing, in past years many feminists (particularly radical or socialist feminists) shunned quantitative content analysis, arguing that its focus on numbers and “hard facts,” and its surface level analysis was insufficient for understanding messages within texts (Carter 1998; Gunter 2002). Black feminists were the first to voice concerns with comparative (particularly cross-cultural comparisons) research, and its tendency to view and judge other women based on their own cultural viewpoints. While I agree that this fear of ethnocentrism is a valid concern, few scholars since the 1970s have tried to find ways to overcome these issues, and is something I will discuss further in this chapter.

Rather than debating what feminist methods *are*, I feel it is more worthwhile to discuss what feminist methodologies *do*. Both Francesca Cancian (1992) and Maria Mies (1978 cited in van Zoonen 1994: 128) argue that feminist methodologies should

⁶⁹ As will be further explained throughout this chapter, quantitative methods have been criticised for assuming that there is a ‘reality’ upon which to compare media images of women and their real, lived lives; while cross-national comparisons have been accused in the past of leading to ethnocentrism, or viewing the world through a particular cultural frame.

fit with feminist goals of challenging societal inequality while empowering women and other marginalised groups. Nielsen (1990) and DeVault (1996) propose that the aim of feminist research should be to find what has historically been ignored, censored, and suppressed, to find out more about women, and to give a more fuller and more accurate account of society by including them. These tactics suggest a shift from former ideals held by positivists of objectivity, value-freeness, neutrality and indifference, and a move towards critical realist's beliefs in subjective perspectives, inclusion, reflexivity, and political aims.

Many feminist researchers have noticed this critique and thus strongly reject the positivist's desirability for objectivity in research terms (I discussed this point at length in chapter three). McRobbie (2000: 121) argues that no research is carried out in a vacuum, and points out that the time in history we live in affects the questions we ask, suggesting a shift towards critical realism or interpretive research. Van Zoonen (1994: 144) notes that feminist researchers are not the only ones who could be charged with subjective and biased interpretations, and argues that any interpretive researcher faces this criticism, as they often have sole access and control over the research process – data sampling, collection and analysis. Impartial and detached observation is not a desirable goal according to Fonow and Cook (1991), because they acknowledge that our emotional responses to the world can be a source of insight and restore a lost dimension to current conceptions of rationality.⁷⁰

I wish to end this section with a quote from McRobbie (2000), who argues that:

“Frequently, the most exciting research flies in the face of convention; it asks new

⁷⁰ This debate was touched up in Chapter 3, when reviewing the literature on social movements and the inclusion of emotion in its analyses.

questions and applies wild strategies in a bid to force into action feminism's dynamic face" (2000: 122). This quote is important for my research because I wish to highlight that my methodology is both unique and under-theorised. Moreover, while perhaps the questions I am asking are not new, the texts to which I am applying them, and comparative work I hope to draw from it is. For a feminist project, the cross-national element, which I will turn to next, needs to be examined with an open mind. While understanding that in the past some feminists argued against any form of comparison that might lead to essentialism (Ramazanoglu 1986) – or the idea of fixed traits or characteristics – I argue that if done with care, self-awareness, and reflexivity, cross-national comparisons can lead to some interesting insights that for too long have been overlooked. For instance, such comparisons can tell us something about how broadsheet and tabloid newspapers in each country constructed the movement, the feminists, and their goals, and how these constructions are rooted in social, economic and historic differences.

Cross-National Research

While feminists (and non-feminists) have taken issue with cross-national research in the past for reasons mentioned above (Ramazanoglu 1986), I feel it is an underused and underrated methodological tool that has potential for uncovering and de-naturalising constructions of gender and journalistic practices, making them seem less like common sense, and more like socially created constructs. I will use the term "cross-national" in this study rather than "cross-cultural," because the former has historically been used to gain insight on national character, social and political values, belief systems and related concerns, usually between industrialised nations (Berger 1992: 19), and the latter typically refers to studies comparing different cultures (e.g.

East vs. West, industrialised vs. non-industrialised). Similar to feminist methodology, cross-national methodology can be quantitative or qualitative, and can employ a variety of tools, though Stanley Udy (1973: 253) observes most cross-cultural studies use quantitative methods to analyse a relatively small number of traits over many societies, creating generalisations. Though perhaps in some respects, quantitative analysis seems most able to provide “objective” and “true” results, I will argue that while it does have its benefits, there is much insight lost if one does not extend beyond these positivist notions, and examine what the numbers potentially represent.

Though methods vary, Joseph Elder (1976) identifies three possible ways to conduct cross-national studies. Firstly, research can focus on national uniqueness and cross-national contrast. Secondly, there may be an emphasis on cross-national subsets and limited cross-national comparability. Finally, one can examine cross-national similarities and comparabilities. While arguing that it is useful to conduct cross-national studies, Elder (1976) recognises the difficulty in not applying Western conceptual models onto other nations, and argues it is important not to extract phenomena from their social context (p. 211). Because of this challenge, Elder notes that some scholars choose to use cross-national comparison only when identifying uniqueness or contrast (1976: 211). Though I am not certain what I will find, I assume that there will be some contrast, uniqueness, but also similarities and comparabilities as well.

There are advantages and disadvantages when analysing a foreign country – while we can see things in those countries that they cannot, we may not understand everything we see (Berger 1992: 13). One of the benefits of using any qualitative methodology in

general, but feminist methodology in particular in this case, would be the ability to admit this shortcoming, or to try to find someone who does understand, and include their perspectives in the analysis. Another challenge is that in order to be able to argue for cross-national uniqueness, the phenomenon needs to be similar enough to categorise them together in the first place (Elder 1976: 213), which in my opinion is one of the biggest barriers preventing cross-national research, and while can be problematic, can also be overcome. This can be done not by forcing a comparison where it is inappropriate, but by simply stating that a particular variable (be it a text, discourse, newspaper format, etc.) is unique within its specific historical, political, economic or cultural context. Because finding raw data to compare is difficult, some cross-national studies have chosen countries where the data happened to be collected already (Elder 1976: 218). This does not mean that it is not possible or undesirable to collect one's own data, just that it might prove to be more difficult.⁷¹ Elder warns that if primary information needs to be collected using interviews, pragmatic issues need to be considered, such as finding people who will talk to you, speaking a common language, and so forth (1976: 218). For the purpose of my study, while some people might disagree with my choice to compare the US and the UK, it makes sense not only because the US movement initially inspired the UK one, but because in both places, feminist groups were campaigning for equal rights and opportunities. Additionally, I have access to archival material, both are English speaking countries, and both movements were active in the same time period. Therefore, while direct comparability is difficult and is perhaps not possible in all cases, it is not necessarily impossible. It is equally important to admit shortcomings where they occur. Although I provide a detailed discussion of the difficulties encountered later in this chapter,

⁷¹ See a discussion of barriers I encountered later in this chapter.

there were three main problems I faced. Firstly, US newspapers are almost exclusively regional, while UK newspapers are predominantly national. Secondly, terms such as “tabloid” and “middle-brow” have different meanings in the US and the UK. Thirdly, the language used to define and discuss the movement, its members and their goals differed from country to country, making it difficult to gather information.

Examples of cross-national comparisons

Though traditionally carried out in anthropology and sociology over the years,⁷² cross-national media and feminist researchers conduct studies as well. While these have compared mass media effects across cultures (Korzenny et al. 1992; Udy 1973), differences in journalistic conventions (Cohen and Roeh 1992; Cooper 1992; Korzenny et al. 1992), racism in the press (van Dijk 1988) and how similar genres have been compared (Budner and Krauss 1995), the literature still remains limited. Though scholars note that it is dangerous to generalise about cultures within a country, nevertheless between national cultures, we must if we want to make sense of ourselves and others, as Saussure notes (1960).

Before examining feminist cross-national media research, I first want to turn to research done by Stanley Budner and Ellis Kraus (1995), whose study is an excellent example of how cross-national studies can be conducted in a thoughtful manner. Budner and Kraus began their study with the knowledge that little comparative work had been done on US-Japan press concerning similarities and differences, despite the fact that the countries had close economic ties. After conducting a content analysis between newspapers in each country, they concluded that similarities and differences

⁷² For a good list see Elder (1976: 216)

in newspaper coverage of three major issues could be explained by both institutional and cultural differences (p. 337). Not only were the formats different (US papers can change the number of pages each day, but the format is fixed in Japan), but the way newspapers were distributed and financed differed as well (p. 347). While the US had more papers, they tended to be regional, not national like Japanese papers. The US papers also tend to target specific readers, where Japanese papers were more diverse, and served a wider audience base (p. 347). The cultural sensitivity displayed by Budner and Kraus is evidence that cross-national studies can be successful, and their conclusion provides insight into the social practices of journalism that would otherwise remain hidden.

Schudson (1989) argues that newspaper research needs to be historical and comparative: “In general, historic studies of the press reveal significantly different patterns of newsgathering and news writing over time that are rarely referenced or accounted for in contemporary sociological studies of the news” (p. 20). Once again, this comparative approach (though not necessarily cross-national) can provide invaluable insight, and deconstruct common-sense notions of journalism, its rituals, routines and practices that are taken for granted today. Though my comparative analysis will focus more on examining news practices *between* the newspapers and countries *during* a historic time period (as opposed to between *current* and *past* practices), I will take note if any interesting patterns arising. Similar with feminist research, reflective practices tend to fit well with cross-national research, where scholars often must be upfront with problems.

Wardle (2004) discusses the difficulties she encountered in her comparative and cross-national study of how three US and three UK newspapers covered child murders between 1930 and 2000. She chose to examine *The New York Times*, *New York Daily News*, and the *Philadelphia Inquirer* from the US, and *The Times*, the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Mirror* from Britain. When choosing UK newspapers, she writes that she allowed ideology to be her guide, which ranged from a spectrum of the conservative *Daily Telegraph* and *Daily Mail*, to the liberal left-leaning *Guardian* and the *Daily Mirror* (Wardle 2004: 26). Wardle also notes cross-national differences extended beyond format (where “tabloid” in the US refers to the newspaper size, while in the UK it refers to its content and style), to include their target audience. Most US newspapers are local whereas in the UK, there is a strong tradition of national news coverage (Liebling 1961; Wardle 2004).⁷³ In addition to choosing regional newspapers with high circulation in the US, and national newspapers in the UK, Wardle chose a mixture of broadsheet and tabloid newspapers because she felt it would give information on how different papers operate – both within the same country and between them (Wardle 2004).

Colin Sparks (2000: 2) also claims that it is important to study tabloids in cross-cultural studies in order to acknowledge differences in media landscapes. While eliminating tabloids from my sample would make claims for direct comparability more concrete (though still imperfect due to the national vs. regional newspaper focuses), I felt they were vital to include in both countries. This is particularly true in the UK, where tabloids claim to represent the “voice of the people.” Moreover, they

⁷³ In fact, even today, there are only a handful of “national” US newspapers, including USA today (formed in 1982), the *Christian Science Monitor*, and the *Wall Street Journal*. It has only been in the last 20 or so years that newspapers such as *The New York Times*, and the *L.A. Times* became available throughout the US and the world.

usually have higher circulation than broadsheets and as a result are the best indicators of what a large percent of the population thought (or at least were consuming) about an event or issue. While I recognize that cross-national comparisons are not easy to do, Wardle's study has been immensely useful because she found a way to overcome some differences that have prevented others from claiming cross-national comparability (see Monica Morris 1973). Additionally, it provides a useful framework for my own study, and proof that there are valuable insights when you compare the press in two countries.

Now that I have provided evidence that cross-national studies have been carefully and effectively accomplished in the past, I will now turn to examine how some feminists have embraced comparative studies.

Feminist cross-national studies

Though most of the feminist researchers engaging with cross-national studies do not comment on the methodological aspects of their research, Shulamit Reinharz (1992) is an exception to the rule. Reinharz argues that contemporary cross-cultural research is meant to compare and evaluate social policy, to illuminate a phenomenon both societies share, and to generate feminist theory (1992: 113). While recognising the problem of essentialism that may be involved with cross-national research, Reinharz put forth four assumptions which can guide feminist cross-cultural research: 1) importance of cultural specificity; 2) the necessity of intensive study; 3) possibility of commonality amongst women of different cultures; 4) need for a critical evaluation of study materials (1992: 111). While feeling that it was senseless to talk about "women's subordination" in general, Reinharz argues that even if it is universal, each

instance must be understood within a particular cultural context, which she claims is a challenge in itself to essentialism (1992: 112). This study was very useful for me, not only because it is the only feminist work I found that explicitly discussed the benefits of cross-national comparability, but also because it provided helpful guides on how to carry it out. It also demonstrates that there are some researchers willing to engage and re-conceptualise a methodology that many other feminists have discarded too easily in the past.

Though she did not discuss the methodological implications of her work, Diane Rothbard Margolis (1993) compiled research on women's movement internationally, and examined them in a cross-cultural way. Her aim was to develop a framework for cross-national comparisons while looking at women's movement agendas, structures, successes, failures, and the political contexts in which they developed (p. 380).

Similar to Rothbard Margolis, Canadian feminist Doris Anderson (1991) wrote a book on the women's movements in Western countries to acknowledge cultural differences, overcome them, learn from one another, and find commonality in all the experiences.

Robin Morgan (1984) and Katzenstein and Mueller (1987) also created a cross-national compilation of women's situations in many parts of the world, though the latter focused on the 1980s onwards. Morgan found that a complete cross-national compilation was impossible due to changes in the movement in each country and its recent emergence in others, but she gathered as much information from as many countries as possible. Though these authors are merely reflecting the existence and developments of movements worldwide rather than analysing them (or their media representations), they are still important trendsetters in recognising the importance of

comparative research, if only to understand better where feminism stands in the world at that time.

Quantitative cross-national research has been used by feminist researchers in the past to develop a positive correlation, such as the relationship between laws and incidents of crime (Reinharz 1992: 114). Political scientist Vicky Randall (cited in Reinharz 1992: 114) compared data from many countries about voting behaviour, political parties and participation in revolutionary movements, and the evaluation of five stereotypes about women's political abilities. Lee Anne Banaszak and Eric Plutzer (1993) conducted a cross-national examination of people's attitudes to feminist politics in Europe. It tested models of feminist beliefs developed in the US and compared it to data collected in the European community. While reviewing their work on the women's movement's impact on the state, Dorothy McBride Stetson and Amy Mazur (2000) found a gap in studies that were longitudinal and comparative, which they attempted to address by building a testable theory on women's movement impact. Carolyn Martindale (1989) carried out a quantitative content analysis of how the US press covered social movements in four different geographic areas. This is an important study because it demonstrates recognition that even within the same country, not all areas are the same, and nor did they cover the movement in the same ways, making it difficult to generalise how a country, city, region, or even newspaper covered the movement. Because feminists were conducting an ideological battle, I should expect to see this played out in the press during the time, and is something I will keep in mind when analysing my texts.

Though there are many positive aspects to these comparative studies, it is also important to recognise the problems and weaknesses involved in cross-national research. It is worth noting that when Monica Morris examined how the women's movement was covered by three Los Angeles county papers and three national UK newspapers, she did not consider the study fit to be labelled "comparative" because of the geographic discrepancy (Morris 1973). I can understand her position, however I would argue that insights can still be drawn from comparing these newspapers such as format differences, story length, page placement, political stances, frames and discourses used, which are features common to every news story. However, this being said, I am aware that not every element is comparable, and in these cases will examine this phenomenon separately to not draw misleading conclusions. Another criticism that has emerged from comparative studies is that they nearly all examine the US movement, which is seen as a standard example in which movements should be based (Margolis 1993: 381). This assumption is of course flawed, as women's movements have emerged out of differing socio-political contexts, and as evident with the UK movement, have used differing ideologies and tactics to guide them. That being said however, I feel justified in examining the US, because its movement was heavily influential in the UK, as well as other women's movements around the world. In addition, practical reasons affected my choice, such as accessibility, language barriers, time frame, and more, all of which will be discussed further in this section, along with a reflection on the research process as a whole.

When focusing on cross-national methodology's insights for my project, a comparison of coverage is useful and is able to show how two cultures represented and framed the movement, its members and their goals over time and space. These

comparative results could shed light on dominant ideologies, counter-discourses, and give a general overview of society at a given point in time. As Wardle argues, only comparative work can show subtle differences in journalistic practices (2004: 13). The UK and the US are also ideal countries to compare, because they are similar along political, legal, linguistic, ethnic, and religious lines, but differ in terms of underlying philosophies (socialism vs. liberalism) (2004: 13-14). While these are general similarities, it is also important to discuss some challenges with cross-national research, beginning first with the subject under analysis – newspapers.

Newspapers

When beginning this project, I initially wanted to examine six newspapers (three per country), and I based this model on past cross-national, historic research (Wardle 2004). However, due to limited time and resources, I had to narrow my range down to four publications (two per country).⁷⁴ As a result, I deliberately chose my four newspapers for a number of reasons. Firstly, I wanted a selection of broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. However, it soon became apparent that tabloid newspapers have different meanings in each country. Where in the UK, tabloid refers not only to the size and shape of the paper, but to its entertainment, sensational content, the same is not true in the US, where tabloids refer to newspaper size, shape and circulation

⁷⁴ Originally, one of my US articles included the more conservative leaning US tabloid, the *Daily News*. However, after one week of data collection in the New York Public Library, with no index as my guide, I left with just over 50 articles in total – a number far too small to be considered statistically significant. What the exercise did teach me however is that along with speaking with US journalists, I realised that the term “tabloid” means different things in the US and the UK, as will be further discussed in this chapter. What I found within the limited amount of articles present, is that coverage was similar to *The New York Times*. Both included a high proportion of news reports, and relatively supportive coverage of the movement and its goals. Therefore, due to the limited sample size, I decided to exclude this publication from this study, and search for another conservative leaning publication of high circulation.

figures, rather than content, which tends to be similar to broadsheets.⁷⁵ However, I only really discovered such differences after trial and error, and through speaking with US journalist Ann Luce. Originally, I planned to use the New York tabloid, the *Daily News*. However, this publication (nor any other tabloids) was available within the UK, and I had to travel to the New York City Public Library, where I had enough funding for one week, to gather as many articles as I could. Further, I had no index on which to base my search, and used a spreadsheet of dates where relevant articles appeared in *The New York Times*, and scanned *Daily News* those days. Perhaps unsurprisingly, I managed to gather just over 50 articles – a small number, and one that I decided was problematic, particularly because of the discrepancy between it and my three other publications (varying between 106 articles in *The Times*, and 305 in the *Chicago Tribune*). Therefore, I decided to drop my requirement for having a tabloid, and place a higher emphasis on including a range of voices, from more conservative to liberal.

Secondly, I wanted newspapers with high circulation, with the intention that these newspapers reached a large audience. Thirdly, I chose newspapers based on accessibility. Where national newspapers are dominant in the UK, regional newspapers are dominant in the US, and I chose newspapers based on these geographic differences, partly because the US did not have national newspapers available during my sample period,⁷⁶ and partly because one could argue that UK

⁷⁵ It should be noted that in the US there is a difference between ‘tabloids’ and ‘supermarket tabloids’. The latter refers to a specific type of weekly publication comprised of gossip, human-interest, scandal, and sensationalist material, much of which focuses on the occult and psychic activities (Bird 1992:8). Such publications rarely cover politics or other forms of ‘hard’ news stories, and as a result, would not be suitable to use for this study. The UK also has no real equivalent to US supermarket tabloids.

⁷⁶ *USA Today* is an example of a national newspaper and was founded in 1982, the year my sample ended. I chose not to include either the *Wall Street Journal* or *Christian Science Monitor*, because even though both are national newspapers, they cater to a specific, narrow audience.

national newspapers tend to be London-centric, and therefore focus on one major region anyways.⁷⁷ For the US, I chose *The New York Times*, considered to be the “newspaper of record,” and the *Chicago Tribune*, the highest circulation newspaper in Chicago to replace the *Daily News*.⁷⁸ While I did consider including another New York regional newspaper, there were none available with a high enough circulation and conservative stance, thus forcing me to seek alternative publications. While I acknowledge that the US regional focus and the UK’s national focus is problematic in that I cannot claim direct comparability, I would argue that this is no reason to discount my findings, particularly because I am choosing publications based on the realities in which journalism operates in each nation. Additionally, I would argue that such regional differences add another layer of analysis within the US, and can reveal some interesting comparisons in how newspapers in different geographic locations reported the movement and its goals. Did the *Chicago Tribune* cover such stories in the Chicago region, or did they still focus on those events taking place in major movement hubs such as New York, LA and Washington? Were certain stories more newsworthy in one city than another? If so, why?

For the UK, I chose to examine *The Times* and the *Daily Mirror*, both national newspapers. *The New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune* and *The Times* are considered broadsheet newspapers, while the *Daily Mirror* is considered a tabloid newspaper⁷⁹. I selected *The Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* for their conservative political positions. As such, I initially assumed opposition to the women’s movement, members and

⁷⁷ I would like to point out however, that though it is a “national” newspaper, the proper name for the UK *Times* is the *London Times*, thereby indicating its regional roots.

⁷⁸ Interestingly, the *Chicago Tribune* holding company the Tribune Company owned the *Daily News* from 1919-1991, indicating that the two newspapers likely shared similar political leanings.

⁷⁹ To reiterate, this term has different meanings in each country, where, aside from their size, the two newspapers should be quite different in terms of content and style.

goals, while I chose *The New York Times* and the *Daily Mirror* because of their more liberal stance and reputed commitment for social justice (Pilger, Feb 15 1997: 32-28), suggesting that they might be more supportive of the movement. The inclusion of newspapers catering to a broad range of people and social classes was important because it provided the opportunity to dip into the varying discourses and styles that a large portion of newspaper readers consumed. I recognise however, that while drawing conclusions in this study, I am aware that my findings are limited only to the newspapers under examination, rather than all broadsheets or tabloids in each country. I also recognise that had I chosen to include other newspapers, my conclusions might have invariably changed, and I would therefore encourage future researchers carry on with my research, using different publications, to see how the results differed. While I felt my choice of newspaper were fairly limited in the US given my requirement of format, affiliation and location⁸⁰, my choices were greater in the UK. One newspaper I debated including was the UK broadsheet *The Guardian*, which was (and still is) well known for its support of feminism. However, I eventually decided against including this publication, for fear of skewing the overall results, but *The Guardian* provides a publication that could be fruitful for future research.

⁸⁰ My three main limitations were access, high circulation, format and political leanings. I was back in the UK by the time I realised I needed to include another US publication, and with no funds left to travel back and do an archival search, I knew that I would need to base my publication in part, by what was available in UK or digital archives. Unfortunately, I could not find any archives/databases for tabloid publications during my sample period in New York or elsewhere (some suitable newspapers' archive began half or mid way through my sample), meaning that I would not be able to include an alternative tabloid publication in this sample. Political leaning, therefore, became an important criterion. In New York, the *Wall Street Journal* was the only conservative broadsheet available. While a preliminary scan through a digital archive revealed that it had a fairly high number of articles on the movement (over 100), members and goals, I was concerned that its focus on business, finance and international affairs would skew the focus of these stories, and decided not to include this publication. Therefore, when looking outside of New York, I was in need of a conservative leaning broadsheet with a high circulation. When applying all of these criteria to a range of publications available, it became clear that the *Chicago Tribune*, was my best choice.

Accessibility

This was one of the most important, and limiting factors in my research process.

While the British newspapers were easy to locate, I knew I would have to travel to the US if I wanted to pick tabloid newspapers⁸¹. For all four publications, I used a digital database, which turned out not to be as straightforward as initially anticipated⁸².

Digital archives allow you to collect stories where a search word might be buried, and you would otherwise miss it. However, some search engines, such as the *Daily Mirror*'s, were weak and searched within each newspaper *page*, rather than within each *news article*. Obvious limitations of this include having one search term appear in one article and another term in a different article. In addition, this search engine did not allow for multiple search terms, quotation marks, wild cards, apostrophes or other forms of punctuation, which greatly limited which terms I could use. Therefore, while I am certain I caught all the major references to equal rights or feminism, it is likely I missed many one-off mentions of either topic.

Time Frame

Though the UK movement began a few years after the US movement, choosing a time frame was not as big of an issue as I originally anticipated. Both countries witnessed a rise in publicity surrounding women's issues and their demands for equal rights and opportunities in the late 1960s, which faded out in the early 1980s. I picked 1968 as a start year, because this is when several equal rights events in both countries began to

⁸¹ The British Newspaper Library is also limited in the amount of US newspapers in its collection, and while it holds some of the largest ones (*The New York Times*, the *LA Times*), it has not archived any US tabloids, nor any others in New York.

⁸² I accessed the *Daily Mirror* through the Arcitext online search engine, to which Cardiff University subscribes. For *The New York Times*, I was given access through a friend at the University of Pennsylvania, an institution that subscribes to this newspaper's online database. For the *Times*, I accessed the newspapers through The Times Digital Archive, which Cardiff University subscribes to. Lexis Nexis would have been the obvious database to use, but only contains articles after 1980, when my sample period ended. I accessed the *Chicago Tribune* through a paid online database, <http://pqasb.pqarchiver.com/chicagotribune/advancedsearch.html>.

occur.⁸³ I chose the year 1982 as the end year because this was when the US Equal Rights Amendment – a piece of legislation stipulating women’s equality in all spheres of life, and was heavily supported by the feminist movement - was defeated, and many considered the movement dead as a result. In the UK, 1982 was around the time when the women’s movement transferred their energy to other types of activism, most notably the peace protests at Greenham Common airfield⁸⁴. Though I could have chosen to extend my end date, I felt strongly that, within the UK, feminism was really shifting more towards single-issue campaigns such as the peace movement, whereas in the US, despite claims from the movement that it was not dead, the rise of conservatism certainly quelled the movement’s activities.

Search Terms

Picking search terms was by far the most difficult aspect of this process. We take it for granted today that the women’s movement was always called the “women’s movement” or “second wave feminism,” and that feminists were always called “feminists,” or “women’s libbers.” I discovered after reading many articles, and through trial-and-error with the search terms, that the vocabulary during my time period was still being developed, and differed not only by country, but between newspapers as well. Where “women’s lib” was commonly seen in British tabloids such as the *Daily Mirror*, newspapers such as *The New York Times* referred to it as the “women’s movement” or the “feminist movement.” I particularly struggled with

⁸³ 1968 in the US was the year of the Miss America Pageant Protest, the beginning of feminist protests and the formation of other women’s organizations. In the UK, 1968 was the year a group of fishermen’s wives organised themselves in Hull for equal rights, and when female workers at the Dagenham Ford factory held a three week strike for equal pay (Bouchier 1983). More events in both countries soon followed.

⁸⁴ The base became known as the “Greenham Common Peace Camp,” and women continued to live and protest at this base until 2000 long after it was closed (1993) demanding that the land be returned to the public.

British search terms, as I achieved far less success with specific terms relating to the movement, and eventually had to broaden these out significantly in order to find the data. Interestingly, women's movement goals of equal rights were discussed far more than the movement itself in the UK, and is something I will discuss further in my findings chapters.

To begin with, my original set of search terms regarding the movement and its members included: "women's liberation," "women's liberation movement," "women's movement," "second wave feminism," "women's lib," "women's libber," "libber," "liberated women," "feminism," and "feminist." While this brought up an enormous amount of articles in *The New York Times*, and the *Chicago Tribune*, the results were far more limited in the UK (particularly in *The Times*).⁸⁵ As a result, and through trial and error, I eventually had to broaden my search term to "women," which brought in relevant articles.⁸⁶ Regarding equal rights stories, my search terms varied slightly in each country, as the specific legislative tools or campaigns differed, and were thus reflected in my searches. In the US, my search terms included, "equal rights" and "women," "equal rights amendment," "equal opportunity," "sex discrimination," "equal employment opportunity commission," and "EEOC."⁸⁷ In the UK, my search terms originally included: "equal rights" and "women," "equal rights," "sex discrimination act," "discrimination," "equal pay act," "equal pay," "equal opportunity," "equal opportunity commission, and "EOC." However, these terms

⁸⁵ As previously mentioned, I did not use these search terms with the *Daily News* because there was no index on which I could have scanned.

⁸⁶ Interestingly, many of my original search terms were present within these articles, and indicates a structural problem with some digital archives. E.g. many stories found using the term "women" used the exact phrasing from my previous search terms that brought up few or no articles ("feminist," "women's libbers," etc). Additionally, while these broad search terms flagged relevant articles, they brought in hundreds of irrelevant articles too, making the process very time consuming, as I had to read each one to determine if it discussed the movement, its members or their goals.

⁸⁷ The abbreviation for equal employment opportunity commission

brought forth too few articles in comparison with the US, and therefore limited my ability to claim comparability, resulting once again in a broadening of my search term to “liberation,” which proved to be fruitful. While I will save a more detailed reflection on the merits and drawbacks of using digital archives until my conclusion, I would like to point out that it was not always straightforward and though I would not suggest they be abandoned all together, I would urge future researchers to use them with caution.

Coding Sheet

I developed my coding sheet in two parts. On the one hand, I had a pre-determined set of factors which I felt would reveal patterns within the coverage (see Appendix 1 and 2 for the coding sheet and key)⁸⁸. While these set of factors (i.e. source identity) were pre-determined, the variables assigned to each (i.e. feminist, anti-feminist, politician, housewife, etc.) were introduced as I read each articles in-depth and allowed the data to “speak for itself” when allocating variables (see Appendix 2 for a list of all variables)⁸⁹. However, after coding all of the articles and analysing them, I realised that there were certain problems or gaps within this coding sheet and therefore decided to revise it. This began with the inclusion of two new factors - news peg and number of sources, which I felt would be useful to gain an overall sense of what the media found newsworthy about the movement, and how many voices were used to comment on these stories.⁹⁰ As I added new factors, I also introduced new

⁸⁸ These included: page; section; date; genre; paragraph length; by-line; journalist gender; equal rights and feminism’s prominence and frames; source identity, their gender and stance on the movement and goals; problem and solution listed; and story tone.

⁸⁹ I also want to state that in some cases, adding a new variable meant I had to go back and re-code old stories, who, upon reflection, fit in better with the new variable. While time consuming, this process ensured that each article was coded upon the same set of criteria, and is therefore a more accurate reflection of data.

⁹⁰ Number of sources was particularly useful, as during the coding process, I counted every direct quote as a source, allowing for up to 6 sources. However, some journalists often used 2 or 3 sources,

variables, which I felt would clarify some ambiguous results, and while I will not provide an exhaustive list of all of the changes made here (see Appendix 2 for a full list of changes, which are highlighted on the page), I will mention a notable few. One of the variables that I realised was problematic in writing up my analysis was within the “Problem” factor. Rather than separating sexism, discrimination, patriarchy and oppression, I originally had them as one variable. However, upon reflection I realised that this was not useful, as these variables imply very different structural causes and theoretical understandings of why women are fighting for equal rights, and therefore needed to be separated into two variables – sexism and discrimination on the one hand, and patriarchy, oppression and exploitation on the other. Additionally, within the “tone” factor, I originally had three variables, positive, negative or neutral. The limitations of choice were problematic, as many stories both engaged with and dismissed the movement, members or goals, and thus fit within none of those variables, and as a result, I added “contradictory” which accurately accounted for these articles. Finally, the last important change I will discuss deals with equal rights and/or feminism’s framing. While I initially included a variable “not applicable,” and used it when I was unsure if the story was balanced, or if it used “neutral” language, I realised that it was both misleading and unhelpful. Instead, I added two new variables, “unclear” and “contradictory,” which better reflect the frames. Additionally, after broadening my search terms to include more UK articles and those from the *Chicago Tribune*, I encountered new frames, which I added to the coding sheet. Some of these include feminism as “defined in terms of its goals” (e.g. a feminist is someone who believes in equal rights, or opportunities), as “middle-class”, is “necessary or good,”

alternating their quotes, and thus in quantitative terms, making it appear as though there were more voices used. By having a category that states how many sources are used, I can therefore discern differences in stories when a few voices are used often, or if a wider range of voices are heard.

and so forth. For equal rights, some of the new frames include “equal rights = equal responsibilities”, “is only fair,” and entails “sexual rights”.⁹¹

Now that I have outlined this project’s parameters, it is time to discuss the specific methods I used for this project, their benefits and drawbacks, as well as how previous scholars have used them in the past.

Quantitative Analysis

As mentioned earlier, quantitative analysis is a positivist tool used to find “truths” in the world by applying traditional scientific rigour to the object being studied. Simply speaking, quantitative analysis is a way of measuring things. It often assigns numerical values to variables, and constructs models and equations to interpret their importance. Quantitative analysis assumes that repetition is the most valuable indicator of significance (Ericson et al. 1991: 50). By the 1950s, most Western media research became quantitative (Tuchman 2002: 79), a hold that still exists today, but is slowly being broken. Perhaps it is understandable that many people prefer quantitative analysis – it can be seen as reliable, impartial, verifiable, and “true.” Since the 1970s however, many researchers (feminists amongst them), began to dispute this method for its claims to objectivity. These researchers understood that the questions one asks inevitably affect the results. In addition, content analysis is limited because it assumes that everyone reads texts the same way, and that we read and understand them in the way intended by the text’s producer (Richardson 2007). However, despite its shortcomings, I wish to demonstrate how quantitative analysis is a useful tool for

⁹¹ See Appendixes 1 and 2 for a full list of all new variables added, which are highlighted. I also want to state that after coding all of my new articles, I also re-coded all of my original articles to ensure each one was compared to same set of criteria.

media studies, and should not be easily discarded by feminists or any other researchers.

Quantitative analysis has a strong tradition in the US, whereas qualitative research is used more in European mass communication research (Deacon et al. 1999: 132). Ericson et al. (1991: 50) suggests that quantitative analysis is useful for revealing patterns of news content and making evident previously unarticulated assumptions about how the news is structured and presented. In modern journalism, Ericson et al. (1991) note that the appearance of impartiality are crucial for the legitimacy of the news-media institution, a major benefit of quantitative analysis. However, Deacon et al. (1999:117) argue that researchers need to be clear about what they are investigating when using quantitative analysis, and must have specific categories for which elements can be classified. In addition, quantitative analysis can only deal with what has been said and quantified - anomalies are not sought out and explored (Ericson et al. 1991: 51). Though it is easy to talk about quantitative analysis in the abstract, it is not particularly useful. For that reason, I will focus on quantitative content analysis, a tool which I will use in my study because, as scholars note (Deacon et al. 1999: 132), it is useful for establishing patterns of media representation over long time-periods.

Quantitative Content Analysis

Bernard Berelson (1952) first used the term “content analysis” to define a research technique “for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (p.18). Other scholars note its usefulness in analysing large amounts of data, its meanings, symbolic qualities, and content (Deacon et al.

1999; Krippendorff 2004), and its purpose is to achieve validity – or as truthful of an account as possible (Hesmondhalgh 2006: 145). More importantly, some scholars have noted that content analysis can be used to disclose international or cross-national differences in communication content (Krippendorff 2004: 45), making it a particularly useful tool for this project. Early uses of content analysis measured column inches in order to reveal the “truth” about newspapers and to possibly criticise journalistic practices (Schroder 2002: 103), while later studies used it to monitor topics in press content (see for example Media Watch). Content analysis has also been used to compare media representations with actual occurrences in society, to prove causality between factors (such as violence), to examine the amount of newspaper coverage of certain issues, television show topics, the occurrence of particular symbols in fictional genres, and much, much more.

What are the benefits of content analysis for a feminist, cross-national project?

Though not claiming to be objective, content analysis is methodical, where all material is submitted to the same set of categories that have been explicitly identified.

This ensures a degree of reliability in establishing media patterns or representation (Deacon et al. 1999: 133). Content analysis also establishes a procedure to find what is relatively constant and what might change over time (Deacon et al. 1999: 133).

Having a method capable of identifying these patterns is also useful for my project whose timeline spans 14 years.

Though there are many benefits, it is also important to note the drawbacks of content analysis. Mary Ellen Brown (1997: 402) contends that content analysis is a descriptive tool, and does not critique constructions of women within representational

systems such as newspapers. Ericson et al. (1991: 52) argue that simple counting also leads to simplification, and can lead to unsophisticated and uninformed arguments. Another major drawback with content analysis is that: “The quantitative-content analyst is forced to reconstruct the common-sense categories in the news, instead of deconstructing these categories and analysing them in the particular” (Ericson et al. 1991: 52), meaning it has a harder time tackling and recognising ideological constructions. Additionally, content analysis overlooks complexities and processes of meaning-making within texts (Deacon et al. 1999: 117). Despite these drawbacks, content analysis has been a favoured method for liberal feminist researchers for years, and while useful in uncovering surface images and patterns, both the theory and the method are weakened by their inability to uncover ideological meanings, constructions or messages within the text. However, just because liberal feminists have primarily used this method does not mean it is useless, it just means one has to recognise its limits and find other ways to fill in the gaps.

Feminist Examples of Quantitative Content Analysis

I argue that while this section will provide insights into how women *appeared* in the news media, they are not theoretically developed enough to instigate any real change because they do not attack the *ideological* constructs used to maintain these images. That said, quantitative analysis is useful for identifying emerging patterns and indicating areas that merit further qualitative analysis. Much quantitative content analysis research evaluates gender differences and accounts for female under-representation (McClelland 1993: 220). Marian Meyer’s book *Mediated Women* (1999) uses quantitative content analysis and argues it useful for giving an overview of women’s presence and roles in specific media programs or genres (p.5). However,

while crediting the benefits, she also recognises that content analysis does not explain how women's roles are shaped by corporate interests, or how media images came together with dominant cultural notions of gender, race and class to define and reinforce white, middle-class standards of beauty and femininity (p.6).

Liberal feminists have often used content analysis when examining television, advertisements, newspaper articles and magazines to see numeric representation of women. One of the earliest versions of feminist media studies was Tuchman et al.'s work *Hearth and Home* (1978), which focused on the "images of women," their stereotypical representations, and their likely effects in socialising male and female audiences. Reinharz (1992: 155) notes that feminist researchers have used quantitative content analysis to identify patterns in authorship, subject matter, methods and interpretation. Later studies, such as Ashley and Olson's (1998), used content analysis and descriptive analysis to examine framing techniques in *The New York Times*, *Newsweek*, and *Time*. The study used a large coding sheet that analysed coverage of "feminists" (women who organised to promote the women's movement) and "anti-feminists" (women who organised to deter the movement), and the amount of pro and con statements made by or about each. In addition, they recorded the amount of coverage, story placement, and reporters' gender, use of scare quotes by journalists, talk of dissension, emphasis on violence, the focus on events over goals or issues, description of actions, and other surface details. This careful counting gave Ashley and Olsen a sense of how feminists were covered in three major publications, and provides a good example of how useful quantitative content analysis can be for identifying patterns - a useful starting point.

In another study, Leonie Huddy (1996) examined how the terms “feminist” and “feminism” were used in news articles on the women’s movement. She conducted a content analysis examining the frequency with which certain policy issues, women’s organizations, and individuals associated to the women’s movement had been labelled “feminists,” or supportive of feminism. Cooper and Davenport (1987) also examined how the terms “feminist” or “feminism” were used, though they focused specifically on their use in the body or headline, and then rated stories for conflict on a five degree scale. While content analysis can give an idea of how the movement, feminists, or feminism was covered, one drawback is that it is not able to adequately explain *why* this was the case. As Gunter (2002: 220) argues, purely quantitative forms of content analysis have been criticised for displaying a lack of sensitivity to hidden meanings in media texts, and therefore quantitative analysis might need to be supplemented by interpretive procedures – or qualitative analysis, which I will turn to in the next section.

While content analysis has traditionally been viewed as a quantitative tool, it could also be argued that all forms of content analysis are qualitative in a sense that individuals always make value judgements on *what* is being analysed, and therefore impartiality is a myth. I would argue that more qualitative reflections on content analysis could be useful, not only for strategically choosing the variables analysed, but also in reflecting why researchers chose them. Additionally, findings can be more thoroughly explored when quantitative and qualitative analyses are combined, which not only reveal patterns, but also interpret their meaning and significance in society. Before discussing qualitative methods, I would first like to discuss sampling techniques and what makes a representative sample.

Sampling and Representative Samples

A “sample” includes the total amount of articles, texts, or other unit of analysis used in a study. There are many different types of sampling techniques, and reasons for picking particular ones, but as Berger (2000) argues, in order to be reliable, a sample must be both representative and adequate in size (p. 199). There are two main types of sample-techniques, random and non-random. Examples of random sample techniques include simple, systematic and stratified sampling, while examples of non-random sample techniques include quota, snowball and purposeful samplings (Deacon et al. 1999). A simple random sample is where each sample member has an equal chance of being selected (Berger 2000: 201). Systematic sampling refers to a complete list of the population and selects variables at regular intervals (e.g. every 10th article). Stratified random samples are used to achieve greater precision in a sample, and are often used when a researcher wishes to ensure certain elements are included in the sample. These decisions are made prior to the sample selection, where the total sample is broken down into smaller, relevant groups (called strata, which can include age, class, ethnicity, gender, etc.). While random samples are useful for giving each variable an equal chance of being selected, and thus can give generalised views, non-random samples are useful too. As Hartmann points out, “in much research, however, it may be neither necessary nor desirable that samples should be representative. The object may simply be to test a particular hypothesis or to make comparisons between different groups” (1987: 16 cited in Hansen et al. 1997: 241-242). The last point that Hartmann makes is directly relevant to my research, where I will be comparing four newspapers in order to compare their representations of the women’s movement, its members, and their goals.

While many researchers aim to be as representative as possible, Hansen et al. (1997) point out that resources greatly affect a researcher's decision on sample size and technique. Time and money are usually limited, and therefore affect a study's scope. However, the positive side is that studies do not have to include thousands of articles to be useful or representative – the key is to be upfront during the research process about the study's limitations, and state clearly the results' significance. This means to state whether the results are representative of society, or just a particular group, publication, place or time. Giving an example related to my research topic, it will be important for me to be clear that my results are representative of articles found within *The Times*, the *Daily Mirror*, and *The New York Times*, as I included all articles generated from my online searches. The *Chicago Tribune* is the only publication where I used a sampling system to generate my dataset. This is because my search terms generated over 500 articles, and I feared that including them all would skew my quantitative statistics (comparative percentages between publications would be meaningless because the *Chicago Tribune* articles would constitute the largest percent with each variable). Therefore, with the help of a sample size formula, I decided to reduce the number of articles present to around 300 articles – a figure that was determined with the help of a sample size calculator⁹². Though even with a sampling system, this publication has more articles in total than the other three, I felt this figure was not so high as to completely skew the quantitative statistics, and thus undermine my ability to claim cross-national comparability. When examining the pros and cons of each sample type, I decided that a systematic sample was the best choice for this study. Not only is this type of sampling straightforward, but it can be more accurate

⁹² Including 300 articles would mean that my results are 95% representative of the total sample, with a margin of error of 4. I used the sample size calculator to help generate this figure, which was found at <http://www.surveysystem.com/sscalc.htm> (accessed Sept. 2008)

than a random sample (as you do not risk choosing data from the same year, or genre). In carrying out this sampling process, I aligned all articles in chronological order and selected every seventh article until I had just over 300 in total.⁹³ Had I chosen a random sampling method, I risked potentially eliminating a disproportionate amount of data from years when few news stories were published. Alternatively, had I chosen a stratified sample, I would have risked skewing the data just to ensure there were an even number of letters to the editor or features in my dataset, when they actually occurred in differing frequencies in the publication. Because I was particularly interested in tracing the emergence of discourses over time, a systematic sampling strategy was more conducive to ensuring large portions of data from a specific time period were not randomly removed. Finally, though I chose a systematic sample of articles from the *Chicago Tribune*, I would still argue that my data is representative (it still includes over 60% of all articles gathered on both the movement and equal rights). However, though my sample size is representative of coverage found within these four publications, from 1968-1982, I am not claiming that my results are representative of all newspaper coverage on the women's movement and equal rights in the US and UK in general. Further research would be needed to see how close my results match up with that from other publications in each country. With this said, it is time to turn to examining the benefits of qualitative analysis.

Qualitative Analysis

Many researchers in the past, particularly feminist researchers, have turned to qualitative research because they realised the limits of quantitative methods (Carter

⁹³ In order to try to reduce error in the sample, I started counting at the fifth article. Therefore, technically, the first article to be removed from the sample was the twelfth article.

1998: 142). Though quantitative research has its drawbacks, I wish to articulate once again the benefits of using it in combination with qualitative analysis for this project. As Deacon et al. writes: “When quantitative and qualitative approaches are used methodologically in combination with each other, the resulting analysis is invariably stronger” (1999: 134). Van Zoonen (1994) adds that qualitative analysis could be used to illustrate examples of quantitative data, which is what I will do in my next two chapters.

Before discussing the different types of qualitative analysis, it is first useful to understand what it does. Ericson et al. (1991: 54) state it is “aimed at understanding how human expression articulates social order, (and) begins by picking apart the order that is presented to us as common sense.” For a project that is concerned about ideology, how it is created and reproduced, qualitative analysis is demonstrably a good tool to decipher and uncover the “common sense” construction of gender and journalistic practices. Before further developing this section, I also wish to reiterate that how the text looks and what it means depends on where one stands in relation to it (Deacon et al. 1999: 140). This means that particularly for feminist research, being open about my position as a feminist is important in understanding the questions I ask, and therefore the conclusions I reach.

Textual Analysis

Textual analysis is a broad term that encompasses other forms of interpretation such as semiotics, discourse and ideological analysis. Textual analysis is a way for researchers to gather information about how other human beings make sense of the world, and has been useful for researchers in cultural studies, media studies, and mass

communication (McKee 2003: 1). Additionally, texts either have been understood to be either “reflections” of the world, or as culturally produced “constructions” (Hughes 2007: 249). This research takes the latter view, which fits in theoretically with a socialist feminist epistemology, and believes that a “text” cannot be separated from its social and cultural context. Additionally, a text’s meaning is always potential, and must be negotiated between the text and its reader (Hughes 2007: 255). Deacon et al. (1999: 17) state that a major difference between textual analysis and content analysis is the former is generally done on small sample of work, where the latter is done on a larger sample. And while quantitative analysis is useful for revealing patterns, more qualitative forms of analysis are needed to understand how meaning is circulated, exchanged and incorporated into people’s lives (Hughes 2007: 250). While there is no single definition of textual analysis (Hughes 2007: 250), the main analytical tool for this project is critical discourse analysis. Before I fully explore this specific method, I first would like to explore other feminist textual analytical tools that have been used in the past, and explain what insights I will draw from them, but inevitably, why they are not my main method. Additionally, I want to draw attention to three reasons why textual analysis is a useful tool: 1) texts are a major source of evidence for social scientists; 2) texts can be used as a way to measure progress in society; and 3) texts are sites of social control and domination (Fairclough 1995 as cited in Hughes 2007: 252).

Semiotics is one of the most popular feminist methods of textual analysis. It has been widely used in media research (Deacon et al. 1999:135).⁹⁴ Its purpose is to show how texts *operate* and their implications for the broad culture in which they were produced

⁹⁴ For an excellent overview of semiotics see Bignell (2002)

and disseminated (Deacon et al. 1999:135). Budgeon and Currie (1995) argue that semiotics help researchers understand the signification process, and has a number of conceptual tools that are not always used in a standardised or systematic way. They also argued that semiotics rejects a sign's transparency and looks instead for hidden motivators or meaning which reveal their ideological character (p. 176). According to semiotics, messages are constructed through the use of particular signs from a selection of possible ones with different associations (e.g. woman instead of girl, lady, broad) (Budgeon and Currie 1995: 176). Semiotics provides a useful corrective to those approaches that tend to reduce language to a "neutral" instrument through which "reality" is expressed. It was also a way to view media texts as inherently meaningful, thereby unfolding the *naturalness* of each code (Allan 1998: 13).

Budgeon and Currie (1995) also use semiotics to explore how textual messages in fashion magazines address popular discourses such as women's liberation using a "middle range" method combining quantitative and qualitative textual analysis including semiotics. They argue that semiotic analysis of beauty ads is a useful method in uncovering how messages were constructed. Rakow and Kranich (1991) also employ semiotics in their study examining how women function as a sign in television news, as did Angela McRobbie (1989) who carried out a semiotic analysis because she states it is more useful than traditional content analysis as it is not concerned solely with numerical appearance of content, but with the messages the contents signify.

The main disadvantage of semiotics for my project is that it often has a strong visual emphasis in its analysis, where most of my analysis will involve written text. While I

do feel analysing visual representations of the women's movement and its goals would be extremely insightful, it would also constitute enough data for another PhD thesis. However, because visuals help construct a discourse, it is not possible to ignore them when they appear with a text. Therefore, I will limit my analysis of the visual to those stories where it would not make sense to analyse the text without the visual. For now however, it is time to turn to other forms of analysis, beginning with discourse analysis.

Discourse Analysis

Like the term "textual analysis," "discourse analysis" is a general term that encompasses a multidisciplinary approach to the study of language, (writing, speech, or signs) and communication in their socio-cultural contexts (van Dijk 1988: 44).

Where content analysis is best at revealing manifest meanings, discourse analysis is better at revealing latent or hidden meaning (Hesmondhalgh 2006: 121). In addition, discourse analysis specifically aims to show how the cognitive, social, historical, cultural or political contexts of language use and communication affect a text's contents, meanings, structures, or strategies, and vice versa (van Dijk 1988: 45). Some scholars such as Deacon et al. (1999: 150) argue that discourse analysis has the most potential for examining how power relations and structures are embedded in everyday language, and how language contributes to the legitimisation of existing social relations and hierarchies of authority and control. In addition, they suggest that discourse analysis has the ability to determine prominence from position, composition and inter-textual relations (p.163).

Though there are many types of discourse analysis (conversation analysis, sociolinguistics, Foucauldian discourse analysis, critical linguistics, critical discourse analysis, and so forth), it is the last three that I wish to focus my attention towards. Critical linguistics developed in response to the criticisms that linguistics was usually limited to studying grammar and analysing the surface structures and meanings (isolated and abstract). As Roger Fowler (1991) writes, linguistics is a “*descriptive* discipline which has no business passing comments on materials which it analyses; neither *prescribing* usage nor negatively evaluating the substance of its enquiries” (p. 5). Though not wanting to discard linguistics altogether, scholars such as Fowler were looking to develop a method capable of examining the “relations between signs, meanings and the social and historical conditions which govern the semiotic structure of discourse, using a particular kind of linguistic analysis” (1991: 5). Critical linguistics therefore went beyond the sentence boundary and studied discourse structures as a whole, using data derived from naturally occurring text and talk. It not only looks at links between the words in the sentence, but also how the sentences relate to one another, as well as the macro-level structures (van Dijk 1988: 46). However, though popular in some circles, Deacon et al. (1999) criticise the use of linguistic analysis because they doubt its ability to explain the social relations of power in language.

While recognising its limitations, other forms of discourse analysis drew insights from critical linguistics’ concern about lexical choices, arguing that these highlight certain ideological beliefs and values that underpin stories, and can show how words in a text support the overarching semantic structure and narrative (Deacon et al. 1999: 178). Critical linguistics therefore gave other forms of discourse analysis the tools for

analysing the style of talk, as well as pragmatic aspects such as word choice, how they are combined, and choice of speakers (van Zoonen 1994: 142). Language is important according to van Zoonen (1994), because through it, people not only describe their experiences, feelings, opinion of others, situations, and so forth, but they also engage in a form of social action (p.142). Discourse analysis should focus on what has been said, how it has been said and what is achieved by saying it in a particular manner (van Zoonen 1994: 143). Feminist projects in particular value studying language, which they view as a reflection of a patriarchal society, used to discriminate and incapacitate women (Wodak 1997: 10). Though pioneering the importance of language and its use, critical linguistics is not the only form of discourse analysis that draws on these insights.

It is difficult to talk about discourse without mentioning the contributions of French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault, who understands discourse not as a linguistic term, but as a concept about language and practice, and how it is used in everyday social life (cited in Hall 1997: 44). For Foucault, nothing has meaning outside of discourse. This does not mean that things in themselves do not exist, but that they only have meaning as part of discourse. He adds that this meaning is only “true” in specific historical periods, and it is therefore important to take history into account when conducting a discourse analysis. This insight is particularly important for a historical project such as mine, which traces the early discourses surrounding second wave feminism and equal rights, and which future research should compare to current discourses on the same topic to see how it has or has not changed over time, and what this reveals about power relations.

Acting as a major break from other forms of discourse analysis, which focus only on the text, Foucault examines the entire discursive formation in which a text belongs to in his analyses. This might include laws, literature, ways of punishment, and so forth. Though useful for demonstrating how discourse (re)produces systems of power and knowledge, this type of analysis is also very time consuming, as it requires extensive investigation of not only news texts, but many other forms of discourse at the time. While I recognise its utility, the large amounts of texts I am already examining does not make this form of analysis practical for time reasons. In addition Foucault's method has other limitations that I will discuss in my next section about critical discourse analysis (CDA), and will explain why Foucauldian discourse analysis is not my main method of choice, though I will draw from several of its insights.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Like critical linguistics and Foucauldian discourse analysis, CDA is interested in the relationship between language, social practice, ideology and power. According to Ruth Wodak, CDA analyses how the “opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifest in language” (cited in Blommaert 2000: 448). However, unlike other forms of discourse analysis, CDA is strictly political, and unapologetic for this stance, making it a good fit for a feminist project. In addition, CDA focuses mainly on texts, which is the main focus of my analysis. Though CDA examines and critiques language, discourse, ideology, speech and social structure by laying bare how these affect social patterns, relations and models (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000: 449), this is not its only goal. Ultimately, CDA aims to affect society in some way, whether it is by “empowering the powerless, giving voice to the voiceless, or exposing abuses of power”

(Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000: 449). This can involve asking certain questions of the text such as: What does this text say about the society in which it was produced and the society that it was produced for? What influences or impact do we think the text might have on social relations? Will it help to continue inequalities or other undesirable social practices, or will it help to break them down (Richardson 2007)? This means rather than just uncovering the power structures behind particular discourses, I wish to make a political statement about *why* and *how* discourses of the women's movement and their goals for equal rights prevented capitalism and patriarchy – two main causes of women's oppression - to be identified, challenged, and changed.

Though the politicised nature of CDA is one major break from Foucauldian discourse analysis, the major split is in regards to their stance on Marxist theory. Where CDA sees power being transmitted from a top-down approach (as discussed in chapter one regarding Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony and Althusser's theory of ideological state apparatuses), Foucault felt that power circulates, and is never monopolised by one centre (cited in Hall 1997: 49). However, given that society has witnessed the control of some groups over others for centuries (i.e. men over women, white people over black people, etc.), I find Althusser and Gramsci's arguments about power, ideology and hegemony far more convincing, and therefore distance myself from Foucault's theories.⁹⁵ As van Dijk states (1991), groups can only remain dominant if they have the resources to reproduce their dominance in economic, social, cultural and ideological ways (p. 32). For this reason, it is particularly interesting to examine whose voices are used in news stories. Before moving on to discuss how

⁹⁵ I do not wish however to imply that these power structures cannot change, or that minority/powerless groups will always remain powerless, only that ideology is often so pervasive and disseminated from the top down, that it makes any change extremely difficult to make.

CDA has been used in feminist analyses, I would first like to argue why CDA is particularly appealing for media studies.

Critical Discourse Analyses in the Media

Scholars have recognised for some time now that news discourse is different from other discourses, and as a result require specific attention (Richardson 2007). Because CDA wishes to examine power relations, it is often the elite who are scrutinised. Because most news is owned and operated by society's powerful, it becomes an important outlet for analysing their views as they are passed down to the public (Richardson 2007; Wahl-Jorgensen 2003). In addition, others argue that CDA, in combination with the news, can demonstrate how social and political structures are created within news reports, and how these reports in turn help form or change the reader's social understanding, as well as reproduce and legitimise the elite's power (van Dijk 1988: 45). For most, this means CDA should result in heightened awareness of hidden power dimensions and its effects (Blommaert 2005: 33).

When doing a critical discourse analysis, I followed these steps, as suggested by CDA scholars. First, researchers should examine a text's position, composition and then inter-textual relations. Next, they should look at the thematic structure – moving through the inverted pyramid, and looking at the narrative to see what makes the story hang together (Deacon et al. 1999: 176). As van Dijk notes, (1991: 72) news stories do not follow a normal story narrative. Rather, news narratives following the inverted pyramid are organised by an event's importance, not by its chronology. This means that the headline and lead are also important to study, because together, they express the major topics of the text (van Dijk 1988: 53), and can indicate what frames are

used. Studying the use of sources and quotes is also helpful for CDA, as one can see not only what phrasing or tones are used, but also whose voices are being prioritised. In addition, as Richardson (2007) states, examining agency is important. This means that *who* is doing or saying *what* and who and what are *silenced* are important questions to ask. Frame analysis is also a popular aspect to explore as it examines the ways particular constructions are deployed in relation to each other, and which voices shape the unfolding of the story. Other questions CDA asks are: Which voices are given priority? Which voices are used to undermine others (Deacon et al. 1999: 177)? Perhaps the biggest question that needs to be analysed is: Who is the discourse serving, how is it doing this, and why? These questions are useful to keep in mind and can help uncover hidden power structures and demonstrate how and why discourses are constructed.

While recognising CDA's benefits, it is also important to keep in mind its limitations. As scholars point out, CDA's main limitation is it does not examine the production or consumption of texts, only the texts themselves (Philo 2007; Schroder 2002). For Philo (2007), this includes omitting the production process and journalists' professional ideologies at their particular institutions. Past studies have shown the richness that can be drawn from these types of analysis, most notably Hall et al.'s *Policing the Crisis* (1978), work done by the Glasgow University Media Group (Glasgow University Media Group 1976; Glasgow University Media Group and Eldridge 1993; Glasgow University Media Group 1980; Glasgow University Media Group 1985) and its members (Eldridge 1993; Philo and Berry 2004; Winston 1993). These works examine the social production of news, which takes into account the mix of professional, technical and commercial constraints that are common to all

newspapers, and how they are weighted and put into practice differently by each publication. While I agree with critics that discourse is a product of its society, and therefore understanding the social production of news is important, the historical nature of this study makes it difficult if not impossible to carry out this type of analysis. I would argue that this is one of this study's main limitations, and will be discussed more thoroughly in my conclusion. While I am unable to analyse the social production of news, I can draw other strengths from these works, such as identifying the broad ideological themes running through each news story, and ensuring my analysis takes into account the newspaper's ideological stance, its format and its readership. In addition to the practical limitations this project has with CDA, Jensen (2002), like myself, finds it concerning that discourse analysis requires specific linguistic training in order for media researchers to transfer it to a qualitative project.⁹⁶ Because I do not wish to be judged on my specific linguistic training (or lack of it), I want to make clear that while using insights garnered from CDA, my focus is more on the broad ideologies present rather than the specific linguistic nuances in each article. Though my focus is on the broad brushstrokes, I will pay attention to labels (such as "feminist," "militant" and "radical") throughout the sample, or other keywords that emerge.

Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

In addition to agreeing with feminist methodology's goals of social change, Michele Lazar (2005: 2-3) points out that CDA is particularly well suited towards feminist analyses, because those projects using gender already adopt a feminist set of concerns. In addition, feminist CDA projects (though not all are labelled as such), want to focus

⁹⁶ While scholars could argue that any method requires training, some, such as critical linguistics, I would argue, require more than others.

on “critiquing discourses that sustain a patriarchal social order – or relations of power that systematically privilege men as a social group, and dis-empower women as a social group” (Lazar 2005: 5). In addition, she adds: “feminist CDA seeks to examine how power and dominance are discursively produced and/or resisted in a variety of ways through textual representations of gendered social practices...” (Lazar 2005: 10). Therefore, the similarity in political aims, in addition to CDA’s benefits makes it suitable for this feminist project. Several feminist studies have employed CDA, including one by Eva Reimers (2007), which examines representation of an honour killing in the Swedish press. Reimers writes that the press relied on a discourse stating that immigrant cultures (of which the murdered woman was part of) were founded on patriarchal values, which explained and naturalised the murder. Reimers compares this discourse of violence perpetuated by Swedish men, who claim that an individual’s social and psychological status was to blame, rather than anything culturally embedded. This study is an example of how patriarchal values went unchallenged, and were *naturalised* in the discourse.

Other feminists, such as van Zoonen (1994: 143) argue that CDA is useful to conceive gender as a product, rather than a precedent of language, and for this, she notes that CDA is the most useful instrument for examining how gender is constructed in everyday speech. She uses several forms of qualitative analysis when examining the media’s construction of a public identity of the Dutch women’s movement (van Zoonen 1992). She shows how the formation of a public identity is not only a product of discourses around gender and politics, but of conflicting organisational routines of the movement and the media. Additionally, it results from the differing individual preferences of journalists and activists (p. 454). Because many feminist studies reject

concepts of objectivity, are political, and seek to bring about cultural change, CDA is a good fit.

With this section complete, I hope to have demonstrated that my combination of feminist and cross-national methodologies, when used with consideration and care, is a useful model for understanding how the women's movement, its members and their goals for equal rights were represented by UK and US press. Content analysis brings patterns of coverage to light in this project, as well as indicates certain aspects that can be further explored qualitatively. Discourse analysis provides the tools to examine labels, semantic structure, hidden power structures, and ideological themes embedded in stories on the women's movement, its members and their goals. With the methodological foundation now laid, I believe I have adequately explored the benefits, drawbacks, past uses, and combination of content analysis and critical discourse analysis, justifying why each one is not just appropriate for this project, but the right choice for this type of analysis. Before turning to my first findings chapter, which analyses articles discussing the women's movement and its members, I would first like to explain how I conducted my CDA.

Conducting Critical Discourse Analysis

When conducting a CDA on my sample, I followed many of the steps outlined above. Before beginning the qualitative analysis, when reading each article for the first time, I took special note of those that I found particularly rich, and laden with ideology. These I set aside for possible use in the discourse analysis. Because I analysed my publications separately, and organised my articles in chronological order, I was able to anecdotally trace the emergence of discourses over time within each publication

and article. Additionally, when I noticed certain patterns emerging, I would make note of it, and came back to several of these themes during my CDA. While I accurately predicted some patterns of discourse, there were others identified through the content analysis that I would not have noticed without the statistical evidence. When providing examples of the discourses present, in some cases I only used a few paragraphs or sentences from each article, in an attempt to highlight some main points. In other cases however (4 to be specific), I conducted a full CDA on the entire article and labelled it a “case study.” While I was conscious about using examples from all four publications, certain frames or discourses were found more commonly throughout some publications over others. For example, when discussing de-legitimate discourses of equal rights and the women’s movement, the *Daily Mirror* is often heavily featured, as this coverage was found most often within this publication. When such discourses were disproportionately found in certain publications, I tried to be as transparent about the prevalence (or absence) of such coverage, so as not to mislead the reader.

To begin with then when conducting a full CDA, I began with an examination of page placement, page number and prominence within each page.⁹⁷ I also used statistical information to back up my findings where possible. In some cases, I examined genre and by-line, using quantitative analysis to demonstrate overall patterns within coverage and how they related to this particular article. I was also sure to analyse the headline, lead and any photo or graphic in order to indicate what frames were used, how they were constructed, and how representative/unique they were to the publication or coverage in general. I also paid particular attention to the story

⁹⁷ For my US publications, *The New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune*, however, it was not possible to analyse overall page placement, as my digital archive only generated the article, not the entire page on which it was placed.

narrative, noting lexical phrases, metaphors or rhetoric. While linguistic choices were important, I also spent time discussing whose voices were prioritised, ignored, and on what grounds they were used (were they setting the frame in which a particular issue or event was discussed, or were they merely reacting to it). Because much of the literature on social movement theory discusses movement member's access to the media, and their struggle to frame their cause, I focused on the frames employed, the overall tone, as well as the problems or solutions cited. The latter two I felt were particularly important to examine because the media has often been accused of presenting individual solutions or explanations to complex problems (Bryson 2003; Cottle 1993). Finally, I finished by taking an overall look at the article and assessed whom the discourse served, what it revealed about the society in which it was produced, and how it helped/hindered the movement and their goals. Though this is a broad overview of how I conducted a CDA, each case study was slightly different, and my analysis reflects this. However, despite their differences, each case study is used to illustrate common themes or patterns in coverage, which I felt was important in illustrating how the movement and their goals were constructed.

In summarising this chapter, I hope to have effectively outlined my epistemological position in this research, as a feminist cross-national analysis, drawing upon specific quantitative and qualitative tools. Though both tools are imperfect, I entrust that the combination of the two will add strength to the others' weaknesses. I also hope to have provided a clear outline of how this study was constructed, how I determined my publications, sample, timeline, coding sheet, and critical discourse analysis. With that said, it is time to turn now to my two findings chapters. The first examines news coverage of women's rights stories, and the second examines coverage of equal rights

articles. Both chapters combine the results from the content analysis with more qualitative examples and CDA, and demonstrate that there was more “positive” coverage of the women’s movement than previous scholars have indicated.

Additionally, I found that that coverage, overall, was contradictory and fragmented, and that cross-national differences and similarities emerged which affected the amount, frequency and frames used within each country.

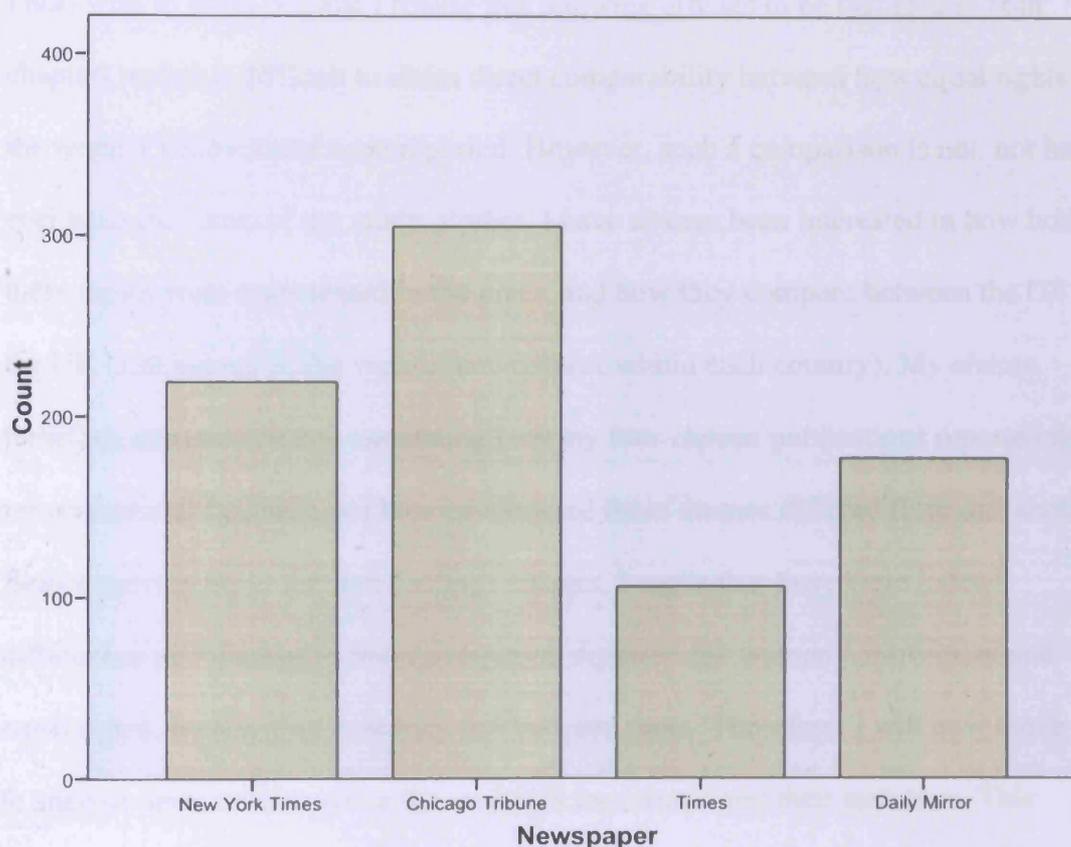
Introduction to Findings

The decision on how to present my findings was not necessarily an easy one. Though there were several options available, the difficulty was in finding one best suited to highlight quantitative and qualitative analyses between and within newspapers and countries in a meaningful way. One option was to break my findings down into quantitative and qualitative chapters. While seemingly logical and clear, it is disadvantageous in that numeric patterns and their meanings cannot be fully explored within the same chapter, and leaves the analysis disjointed. Another option included having one chapter focus on my US publications and the other on my UK ones. However, this method prevents ease of comparability between the countries, and additionally, I found that coverage often differed within countries as well as between them. Therefore, such presentation might encourage claims about UK or US coverage, where such patterns did not exist. While I could have also broken down my results by specific publication, to do so would have prevented me from drawing upon similar results in other newspapers, and would lead to repetitive information.

Therefore, after much careful consideration, I have decided that the most logical way to present my data is by theme – in this case, focusing one chapter on the women’s movement and their members, and spend the second chapter exploring their goals of equal rights. Throughout my data collection and coding process, it became repeatedly clear, that articles on the women’s movement differed from those focusing on equal rights – in some cases this was due to differing frame use, while in others it was regarding the specific news pegs and lenses in which they were addressed. Another fact that I noted early on was that, while most articles on the women’s movement discuss equal rights, the opposite is not true. In fact, a substantial amount of articles

discussing equal rights make no reference to the feminist movement, even in cases where feminists were known to be vocal advocates of such causes (the E.R.A in the US for example or equal pay in the UK). As a result, I felt it was worthwhile to examine each theme separately, all the while analysing its statistical patterns and emerging discourses.

Figure 2 - Total Articles per Publication, 1968-1982



To be clear, some articles discuss both the women's movement and equal rights, and rather than forcing them into an either/or category, I decided to allow them to be included in both chapters where relevant.⁹⁸ In total, 807 articles were collected (see

⁹⁸ If examining the data visually, the results form a Venn diagram, which consists of two (or more), overlapping circles, each representing a category (for example, one circle representing equal rights and

Figure 2 for a breakdown of articles per publication), however only 555 (69%) of these discuss the women's movement, while 747 articles (93%) mention equal rights. Allowing articles to appear in both chapters if applicable, more accurately reflects the nature of the data thus ensuring that my sample remains statistically significant. It also avoids forcing articles into one category or another for simplicity sake.

I also wish to point out that I realise that allowing articles to be included in both chapters makes it difficult to claim direct comparability between how equal rights and the women's movement were reported. However, such a comparison is not, nor has ever been the focus of my study. Rather, I have always been interested in how both of these topics were represented in the press, and how they compare between the US and the UK (and indeed in the various newspapers within each country). My claims therefore, are restricted to examining how my four chosen publications reported the movement and its goals, not how coverage of these themes differed from one another. Before moving on to the first findings chapter, I argue that there were indeed differences in coverage in how newspapers reported the women's movement and equal rights, both within countries and between them. Therefore, I will now move on to analyse news articles about the women's movement and their members. This analysis will examine aspects of coverage such as amount of articles, range of genres used, the emergence and decline of coverage, and what discourses were used throughout my sample period. After this analysis is complete, I will then move on to my second findings chapter, which will explore similar features, but in regards to articles dealing with equal rights.

one the women's movement). Those stories outside the overlapping areas of the circles represent data which fits only within that particular category. The data that appears within the overlapping area represents that which fits into both categories. This organisation of information allows data to be included in all relevant categories, rather than forcing them into one or the other.

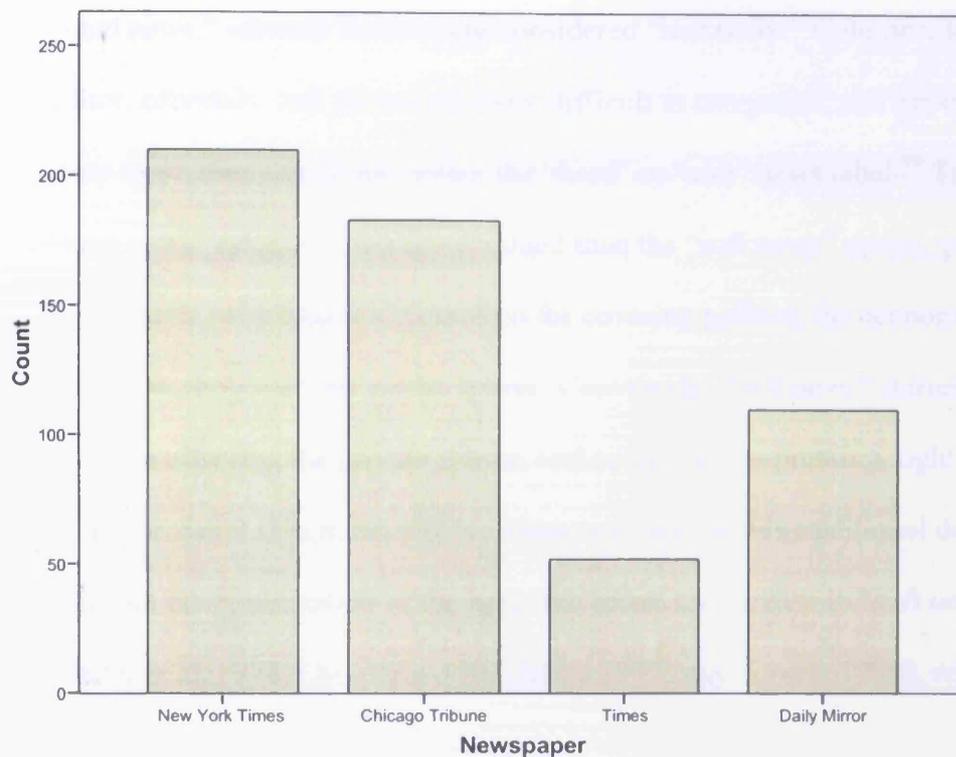
Chapter Four – News Coverage of the Women’s Movement and Feminists

This chapter will discuss the results of quantitative and qualitative analysis on articles focusing on the women’s movement and its members in my four chosen publications, *The New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, *The Times*, and the *Daily Mirror* from 1968-1982. While in total, I gathered 807 articles using search terms relating to the women’s movement and equal rights (see the Methodology chapter for further clarification of these terms), only 555 of these discussed the women’s movement or its members. When examining Figure 3, it becomes clear that there is a disparity in the number of articles on the movement and its members in each publication. *The New York Times* has the highest amount of coverage with 210 articles (37.8%), followed next by the *Chicago Tribune* with 183 articles (33%), then by the *Daily Mirror* with 110 articles (19.8%), and finally by *The Times* with 52 articles (9.4%). Overall, it is clear that there were more articles in my US (393) than UK (162) newspapers. Though it would be misleading to state that the women’s movement was more important in the US than the UK, it is clear that, at least within these four publications, the movement was viewed as more newsworthy in the former. More research of course would be needed to confirm if this holds true for other publications, though I suggest that this is likely. Previous research has demonstrated that the US movement formed highly organised groups such as the National Organisation for Women (NOW), and the National Women’s Political Caucus (NWPC), which comprised of many women who understood journalistic conventions needed for attracting media attention (Bradley 2003; Ferree 1987; Huddy 1996). Conversely, the UK movement tended to consist of smaller, more fragmented groups, who either made little or no attempt to attract mainstream media attention, or who

actively opposed it (Bradley 2003; Bouchier 1983). Therefore, the efforts of movement members and the differing movement structures could themselves account for the discrepancy in figures. Cross-national differences in the movement's organisation were evident not only in terms of numeric significance, but within article focus. What struck me when reading through my sample was that US articles often referred to the movement as a cohesive whole, where in the UK, articles were less likely to refer to a women's movement, and instead focused on individual feminists or "women's libbers." Examples of US articles focusing on the organised women's movement include, "Women's Movement at Age 11: Larger, More Diffuse, Still Battling" (Klemsrud, Nov. 15, 1977: 63), and "Where the women's movement is today" (Kleiman, Oct. 6, 1974: D1). In the UK on the other hand, common headlines include, "The lady is a closet feminist" (Landis, March 24, 1974: D1), and "She Wants to Ban the Bra!" (James, April 1, 1970:12).

While these statistics usefully demonstrate differences in overall coverage between countries, they are less useful for showing the women's movement's significance as a percent of each newspaper's total sample. When taking a look at the total number of articles collected, and then examining how many of these discussed the women's movement, it becomes clear that it consists of a substantial proportion of articles for *The New York Times* (95%), the *Daily Mirror* (62%), and the *Chicago Tribune* (60%). Interestingly, articles on the women's movement in *The Times* constitute 49% of its total articles, suggesting that it was sometimes, but not always a significant part of news coverage for this paper.

Figure 3 - Women's Movement Articles per Publication, 1968-1982



Genre

Genre is an important feature to analyse when doing newspaper research, as it not only dictates where a story sits in a particular newspaper, but it also affects the topics covered, tone, style, headline, and use of journalistic conventions in its narrative (Cottle 2003). Additionally, though a newspaper might be known overall for supporting or opposing particular viewpoints, certain sections might be known for propagating different views. Such is the case, for example with *The New York Times*. Though the paper is recognised as a liberal publication, its Sunday supplementary magazine was known to be even more liberal in stance. Articles within my sample made use of eight possible genres, including: news report; news brief, feature; column; letter to the editor; editorial; photo and women's/lifestyle section. Of these

categories, news reports, news briefs, and sometimes photos are considered to be “hard news,” whereas features are considered “soft news.” Columns, letter to the editor, editorials, and photos are more difficult to categorize, and depending on the story topic, they can fit into either the “hard” or “soft” news label.⁹⁹ Traditionally, “hard news” categories are more valued than the “soft news” stories, particularly in broadsheets, which have a reputation for covering politics, the economy, and other matters dealing with the public sphere. Conversely, “soft news” stories includes those set in, or affecting the private sphere, and connotes non-pressing, light, or unimportant events or issues (Tuchman 1978c). However, despite this traditional divide, scholars note that the feminisation of the press has led to an increase in “soft news” stories (Carter et al. 1998; Christmas 1997; Mills 1997; van Zoonen 1998), which are increasingly making their way to the front of the newspaper (Franklin 1997).

Table 1 – Genre per Publication, 1968-1982

		Newspaper				Total
		New York Times	Chicago Tribune	Times	Daily Mirror	
Genre	News Report	83	57	11	27	178
	News Brief	19	4	1	6	30
	Feature	82	66	34	35	217
	Column	7	34	6	21	68
	Letter to the Editor	8	13	0	9	30
	Editorial	7	1	0	4	12
	Backgrounder	1	0	0	1	2
	Agony Aunt	0	1	0	0	1
	Photo	1	0	0	0	1
	Cartoon	0	0	0	2	2
	Women's/Lifestyle Section	2	7	0	5	14
Total		210	183	52	110	555

⁹⁹ For example, columns and letters to the editor in the *Daily Mirror* often fit better into the “soft” news category, as they tended to focus on non-pressing issues rather than current events, and frequently used ridicule and humour to construct their opinion. Conversely, columns and letters to the editor in the *Chicago Tribune*, *The New York Times*, and *The Times* sometimes, but not always referred to current events, or issues, which could be said to constitute “hard news.”

When examining the overall number of stories in each genre (see Table 1), it becomes apparent that two prevailed - most articles were coded either as “features” (217 articles or 39.1%), followed in close second by “news reports” (178 articles or 32.1%). While overall, features and news reports dominate, when breaking these figures down by newspaper, a different picture emerges. Here, it becomes apparent that certain newspapers use some genres more than others do. For example, columns were the third most popular genre, constituting 68 articles (12.3%), though they were most commonly found in the *Chicago Tribune* (34 articles) and the *Daily Mirror* (21 articles), and were infrequently used in *The New York Times* (7 articles), and *The Times* (6 articles). Interestingly, no other genres were frequently used, though “editorials,” “cartoons,” “photos,” “women’s/lifestyle section,” and so forth can be found scattered throughout the four publications, each of which can be categorised “soft news.”

Table 2 – Journalist Gender and Genre, 1968-1982

		Journalist Gender			Total
		Male	Female	Unclear/Unknown	
Genre	News Report	66	66	46	178
	News Brief	5	0	25	30
	Feature	62	131	24	217
	Column	28	36	4	68
	Letter to the Editor	2	11	17	30
	Editorial	3	0	9	12
	Backgrounder	0	1	1	2
	Agony Aunt	0	1	0	1
	Photo	0	0	1	1
	Cartoon	0	0	2	2
	Women's/Lifestyle Section	2	12	0	14
Total		168	258	129	555

In continuing to examine the figures within each publication, it became clear that within *The New York Times*, there are an almost even number of news reports (83 articles) and features (82 articles), representing 39.5% and 39% respectively of all

articles within this publication. Additionally, the *Chicago Tribune* had 66 feature articles (36%) and 57 news reports (31%), while *The Times* had 34 features (65%) and 11 news reports (21%). Aside from *The New York Times*, this trend towards more feature stories in the broadsheet newspapers is interesting and suggests that the press was often dealing with “issues” over “events,” or non-pressing stories vs. those that must be dealt with immediately (Tuchman 1978c). This is particularly surprising considering that all three publications are considered to be “broadsheets,” suggesting that they would be more likely to report “hard” news stories over “soft” ones. Therefore, the large proportion of “soft” news stories could be seen to support Franklin’s (1997) assertion that the “tabloidisation” of broadsheets (the inclusion of more feature or soft news stories) has been occurring for some time, though a wider sample would be needed to conclusively assert such a statement.

While the three broadsheets showed surprising trends in terms of genre, the tabloid the *Daily Mirror* was slightly more predictable. It included 35 feature stories (32% of total), and 27 news reports (25%). However, it also included a large number of columns (21 articles or 19%) and letters to the editor (9 articles 8%). While this newspaper produced some interesting news articles and news briefs, I felt that the features, letters to the editor and the columns were the most ideologically rich and provided the most insight into this newspaper’s construction of the movement and its members (See Case Study 1 further in the chapter). As will be discussed later on in this chapter, this publication regularly opposed the movement, was dismissive of its members, patronised them and constructed discourses of de-legitimacy and deviance where possible. Genre is an important component to investigate in regards to discourse, as it can provide useful insights into the (re)production of ideology.

Because news reports are meant to be “balanced” and “objective,” support or opposition are constructed with story angles, background information/context, language use, photos, headlines, and sources. However, with editorials, columns, letters to the editor and even to an extent features, subjectivity is not only expected, but also encouraged, and it is considered acceptable to include personal views, or introduce ideological beliefs or discourses openly, without fear of being “biased.” This however does not mean to say that news reports are less worthy to examine, it just means that discourses can be more subtle at times, and perhaps more difficult to identify.

Genre is an important characteristic to note because it determines where a story fits in within a publication. Additionally, because news stories of similar genres are often grouped together (i.e. hard news stories placed near the front of newspapers in broadsheets, letters to the editor compiled on one page), and because newspapers often employ editors for different newspaper sections, it is possible that I might have witnessed a difference in coverage between genres within my newspapers. Therefore, while one editor might be sympathetic with the women’s movement, as reflected in editorials, other editors responsible for other sections might not share similar views. Interestingly however, throughout my four publications, there were no indications that story tone differed between genres (a more detailed discussion of story tone can be found further on in this chapter). This indicates therefore, that my claims, which will be discussed in detail further on in the chapter, can be seen as representative of the entire newspaper, not just one genre or section of it.

A final aspect of genre that is worth examining concerns the use of females as both sources and journalists – topics that have been examined by many scholars in the past. With regard to this research, I (correctly) predicted that the women’s movement would provide a unique opportunity for women’s voices to be prioritised, in terms of both journalists and sources used. When examining journalists’ gender, a total of 46.5%, or 258 articles, were written by women compared with 30.3% or 168 articles written by men.¹⁰⁰ This finding suggests that the women’s movement provided women a legitimate news story to cover. Such findings are significant because, as previous scholars show, women tend to report and appear in “soft” rather than “hard” news stories (De Bruin 2000; Kahn and Goldenberg 1991b; Lachover 2005; Ross 2007; Rhode 1995; Tuchman et al. 1978; Women in Journalism 1998; Zoch and Turk 1998). However, though female journalists overall were more likely to cover women’s movement stories than men, when examining the figures by genre, it becomes apparent that gender norms remain harder to combat. For example, male and female journalists wrote an even number of “news reports” (66 articles each), indicating a breakthrough for women who do not typically cover such stories. At the same time however, women were more likely to author “feature” stories (131 vs. 62 articles), columns (36 vs. 28), and letters to the editor (11 vs. 2), which can mostly be constituted as “soft” news. What is interesting about these statistics is that while women were able to cross over and author “hard” news stories, a similar trend was not seen for men with regard to “soft” news stories. Such patterns indicate then that “soft” news continued to be gendered female. Though I remain critical of women’s relegation to author “soft” news stories, it is important to keep in mind Tuchman’s (1978d) point that such stories, though perhaps not as prestigious in terms of topics or

¹⁰⁰ It was unclear who wrote a further 23.2%, or 129 articles, either because no byline was given, or because the journalist’s name was one used by both sexes (e.g. Jamie or Leslie).

page placement, provide a legitimate space for women's voices and concerns to be heard in the public sphere. Because features often allow stories to be covered in more depth, their presence could be regarded as being beneficial for women, or at least providing the opportunity for serious, in-depth coverage to take place. The large amount of "soft" news stories is also significant, because it demonstrates shifting conceptions of what could be considered newsworthy, particularly in relation to women's issues (Mills 1997).

When examining sources, it is also significant to note that when adding up the total amount used, women were quoted 1055 times, compared to 342 uses of men.¹⁰¹ When relating such findings back to the proportion of female journalists, it is clear that they are more likely to interview women rather than men. Such results support similar findings from other scholars (De Bruin 2000; Mills 1997; Ross 2007; van Zoonen 1998). Additionally, and perhaps unsurprising given that the main actors in second-wave feminism were women, within these articles, men were also likely to interview more women than men. Though such branching out is a positive step, my research is not able to determine if such patterns continued after the women's movement ended, though judging from previous scholar's work, I suspect that men went back to mainly interviewing other men. Examples of such links can be seen in Tables 3 and 4. Therefore, my statistics demonstrate that the women's movement truly did represent an opportunity for women's voices to be prioritised in the news.

¹⁰¹ My coding sheet allowed me to code for up to 6 sources within each publication. Sources were only coded if direct quotes were used. A source could be coded more than once within a publication if his or her quotes were interspersed by someone else.

With genre being analysed then, it is time to examine when stories on the movement began to appear, and what events or issues “sparked” such media attention.

Table 3 – Journalist Gender cross-tabulated with Source 1 Gender

		Journalist Gender			Total
		Male	Female	Unclear/Unknown	
Source 1 Gender	No Source Used	37	45	38	120
	Male	51	30	18	99
	Female	66	169	53	288
	Unknown/Unclear	14	14	20	48
Total		168	258	129	555

Table 4 – Journalist Gender cross-tabulated with Source 2 Gender

		Journalist Gender			Total
		Male	Female	Unclear/Unknown	
Source 2 Gender	No Source used	71	87	78	236
	Male	34	15	11	60
	Female	55	136	33	224
	Unknown/Unclear	8	20	7	35
Total		168	258	129	555

Dates and News Pegs

It is important when conducting a longitudinal study such as this to examine when articles occurred, and the events or issues that sparked them. Additionally, while scholars have written about the emergence and decline of the US women’s movement in the press (Barker-Plummer 2000; Barakso and Schaffner 2006; Bradley 2003; Douglas 1994; Huddy 1996; Robinson 1978; Tuchman 1978), similar studies are absent in the UK. Though a longitudinal examination between the US and the UK is incapable of explaining how the mainstream media *reported* the women’s movement, it is useful in depicting media attention cycles, and may offer interesting comparisons as to how these differed, or were similar between the two countries. This is useful to note because, as was stated in the first chapter, the movements developed along

different lines (US liberal vs. UK socialist feminism), and had different views and approaches to media attention. Where many US feminists created highly organised groups, and possessed a certain amount of media savvy, her UK counterparts tended to form de-centralised groups campaigning around single-issues. UK movements additionally either rejected the mainstream media outright, often forming their own alternative publications, or lacked the knowledge needed to attract media attention in the first place (Bouchier 1983; Bradley 2003). As stated in my introduction, this research is not an examination of the movement, but of its mediated representations. Therefore, in order to get a fuller picture of how the movement was reported, tracing ebbs and flows of coverage is important.

Table 5 – News Peg Used, 1968-1982

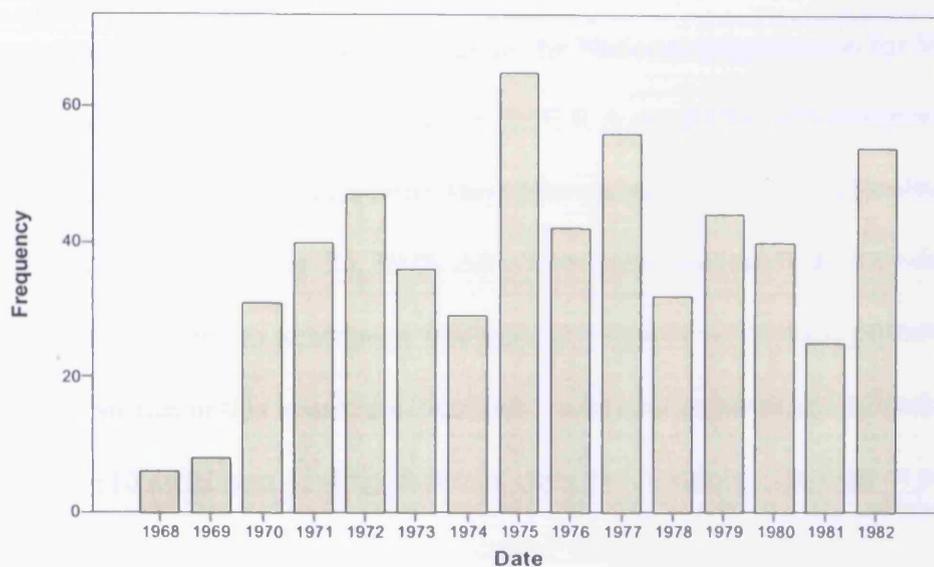
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Protest/Demonstration	30	5.4	5.4	5.4
Court case/tribunal hearing or decision	15	2.7	2.7	8.1
Feature Story	106	19.1	19.1	27.2
Women First Story	8	1.4	1.4	28.6
ER Legislation	45	8.1	8.1	36.8
Government Campaign	14	2.5	2.5	39.3
Feminist Campaign/Activity	85	15.3	15.3	54.6
Anti-Feminist Campaign/Activity	9	1.6	1.6	56.2
Trade Union Activity	2	.4	.4	56.6
Intl Women's Year	7	1.3	1.3	57.8
Politics	48	8.6	8.6	66.5
Effects of Women's Liberation/Equality	13	2.3	2.3	68.8
Other	19	3.4	3.4	72.3
Unclear	1	.2	.2	72.4
Anniversary/Landmark	16	2.9	2.9	75.3
Conference	53	9.5	9.5	84.9
ER Campaign	39	7.0	7.0	91.9
Anti-ER Campaign	4	.7	.7	92.6
Survey/Report/Book	10	1.8	1.8	94.4
Letter to the Editor/Response	31	5.6	5.6	100.0
Total	555	100.0	100.0	

In order to help explain the longitudinal patterns, news pegs are useful, as they can help explain why certain peaks occurred. At the same time however, they are incapable of explaining lows in coverage, or the mediated movement's decline. News peg is a category that was not initially included in my original coding sheet; however, after analysing my data, it became clear that it was important to examine what "sparked" each story. As a result, I went back and re-coded all 807 articles, coming up with a list of 21 variables (for a list of each news peg, see Appendix 2). When examining article dates in all four newspapers from 1968-1982 (see Figure 4), we can see that there were several highs and lows to the movement, though it could be said to "peak" in three places, 1975, 1977, and 1982. At the same time however, it is also clear that coverage continuously rose and fell during the sample period.

Examining the data and news pegs during these years reveals that several events or issues sparked the surge in articles (see Table 5). As other scholars state, the media virtually ignored the movement in its formative years, which, depending on the scholar, ranges between 1966 and 1970 (Barker Plummer 2000; Bradley 2003; Robinson 1978). They did, however note that coverage on the movement carried on well into the 1980s (Barker-Plummer 2000; Huddy 1996). Additionally, there is little agreement on when the movement "peaked." Some argue it occurred as early as 1970-1972 (Robinson 1978), while others claim it was 1975 (Barker-Plummer 2000; Bradley 2003). One scholar even put the date as late as 1977 (Douglas 1994). Because these scholars examine different publications, such discrepancies demonstrate that differences in media coverage existed *within* countries, though none examined how patterns might differ between countries. Additionally, such differences in coverage

add another reminder that my results should be read as representative of my four publications only, and not of the US or the UK in full.¹⁰²

Figure 4 – Total Coverage over Time, 1968-1982



In this study then, when adding all of the articles together, the peak year was 1975 with a total of 65 articles. The peak was due in part to the enforcement of the Sex Discrimination and Equal Pay Acts in the UK, which sparked discussion and debate surrounding the women's liberation movement. The year 1975 was also declared the UN's International Woman's Year, and as a result witnessed a surge in awareness of the movement, feminist activities, conferences and campaigns. Further, this issue was addressed in both my US and UK publications, though they were most commonly found in *The Times*, which featured several guest columns by prominent feminists and

¹⁰² Additionally, the statistics need to be read with caution from the *Chicago Tribune*. Here, I found over 500 articles, and decided to use a systematic sample, removing every 10th article until I reduced the overall amount to roughly 300 articles. Because I arranged my articles in chronological order when sampling, years with more articles also had more removed in the sampling process. Therefore, such results within this publication only, should be read as suggestive rather than representative.

women's rights activists ("How the UN is hypocritical about women" Feb. 19, 1975). In the US, 1975 was a peak year for articles because of the Equal Rights Amendment. In this year, both New York and New Jersey voted against approving it, leading to a slew of articles in *The New York Times*, and a few brief ones in the *Chicago Tribune* ("What happens to E.R.A now?" *New York Times*, Nov. 9, 1975). As a result of these defeats, feminist organisations such as the National Organisation for Women (NOW) began to pick up their campaign for the E.R.A, as did the anti-feminist/pro-family movement ("Women's Equality Day: The troops are restless on the feminist front" *Chicago Tribune* Aug. 25, 1975: A4). These activities are reflected when examining the data relating to news pegs. Interestingly, despite all of these potential news pegs, most stories in this year were "features" where no apparent event/issue sparked the story (10 articles or 15.3%), followed next by "feminist campaign or activities" (9 articles or 13.8%), then by "international women's year" (8 articles or 12.3%), and finally by equal rights legislation (7 articles or 10.8%). Although previous scholars (Bradley 2003) note that after 1975, many news articles reported "women first," stories, I only found 8 in total, suggesting that there were other, more pressing reasons why the movement was reported.

The 1977 peak (56 articles) as represented in Table 5 is slightly misleading, as it does not correlate to the peaks exhibited within each newspaper. In fact, most articles from this year were from *The New York Times* (25 articles or 45%) and the *Chicago Tribune* (24 articles or 43%), and were generated from a variety of events. To begin, 1977 was the year in which the E.R.A was originally due to expire. As a result, feminist groups such as NOW (and other pro-E.R.A groups) organised drives to extend the deadline for ratification, and set new targets on getting states to approve

the amendment. Examples of articles include “Get tough on E.R.A: Friedan” (*Chicago Tribune*, June 10, 1977: 6), and “When NOW says ‘now’, it means ‘right now’ or else” (*Chicago Tribune*, May 1, 1977: 2). In addition to articles discussing feminist drives to pass the E.R.A., the first Women’s National Conference in Houston, funded by the federal government took place this year. Articles emerged before the conference began and reported on who was elected from each state to attend, and how clashes were envisioned between the pro and anti-feminist forces (“Women’s Conference Foes Agree: It Must be Peaceful” *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 13, 1977). Additionally coverage took place as the conference happened (as well as the pro-family conference that was organised in tandem with it). More stories also came out in the conference aftermath, assessing its potential effects (“That Week in Houston” *The New York Times*, Dec. 25, 1977).

Table 6 - Articles per Newspaper, 1968-1982

	Newspaper				Total
	New York Times	Chicago Tribune	Times	Daily Mirror	
Date 1968	2	0	3	1	6
1969	0	0	4	4	8
1970	6	2	4	19	31
1971	8	5	6	21	40
1972	16	12	6	13	47
1973	7	18	2	9	36
1974	5	13	7	4	29
1975	20	26	9	10	65
1976	20	10	3	9	42
1977	25	24	1	6	56
1978	14	15	1	2	32
1979	26	16	0	2	44
1980	25	11	2	2	40
1981	11	8	2	4	25
1982	25	23	2	4	54
Total	210	183	52	110	555

The final “peak” was 1982, which once again applied mostly to *The New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune*, as this was when the E.R.A was finally defeated. Articles focused on where the movement “went wrong” and where it was going next. Though most agreed that the E.R.A defeat was a severe blow to the movement, a discourse emerged stating that rather than being considered “dead,” the movement was instead “entering a new phase,” with a shifted emphasis towards politics, and electing more women into public office (“Women Turn View to Public Office: Equal Rights Defeat Prompts New Interest in Elections. *The New York Times*. June 28, 1982: A1; “NOW Chapters start drive to unseat Gov. Thompson” *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 27, 1982: C3). This, along with other discourses will be more thoroughly analysed in the next section “Discourses over Time.”

While 1975, 1977, and 1982 represent peak years in the *Chicago Tribune* and *The New York Times*, the “peaks” are somewhat more difficult to identify in the UK papers, particularly in *The Times*, with a total of 52 articles on the women’s movement and its members, is spread thinly over the 14 year time period. Though coverage slowly but steadily increased from 3 articles in 1968 to 9 articles in 1975, the absence of data would make any in-depth analysis of these “peaks” and “lows” misleading. Rather, I would argue that there was an overall disregard to the movement and its members, which were only mentioned when associated with specific events or issues such as the 1975 UN International Women’s Year. Additionally, the passage of the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts included brief mentions of the movement and its members, however, the movement was never seen to be its own “beat” in the UK, as was the case in the US. So, rather than trying to draw broad conclusions from limited *Times* data, I will instead turn my attention to the *Daily Mirror*, which had

110 articles in total and which presents more substantive figures. This publication really only had one “peak,” occurring in 1970-1971 (19 and 21 articles respectively). There was a slight rise again in 1975-1976. When examining the news peg for the years 1970-1971, it became clear that most stories were “features” (12 articles or 30%) and are a response to the new women’s movement that was emerging in the UK (“Women’s Lib Started As A Bedroom Farce!” *Daily Mirror*, Nov. 16, 1971: 20). Seven articles however (or 18%) were sparked because of specific events or demonstrations, both in the US (“The Great Sex Strike” *Daily Mirror*, Aug. 15, 1970: 5), and the UK (“Men to baby-sit while wives talk” *Daily Mirror*, Feb. 28, 1970: 3). It would seem then, that if we were to compare the overall trends of the mediated women’s movement, it had a slow and steady rise in the US, and a short and quick one in the UK. For reasons that are difficult to ascertain without interviewing editors or journalists during the time period, the UK movement was not as newsworthy as its US counterpart. This could be partly explained by the fact that UK newspapers had fewer pages (roughly around 40-50 pages per edition), where depending on the day of the week in the US, editions could have as many as 140 pages, plus special inserts and magazines. Such differences are likely the result of historical remnants of paper rationing which occurred in the UK after WWII, which the US did not experience. Because US newspapers generally had more space for articles, there was more opportunity and space for stories on the women’s movement to be included. Such information is important to bear in mind in cross-national studies because it provides one practical explanation for why the UK had fewer articles than the US. This information therefore prevents me from claiming that the movement was more important in the US than the UK, though it is fair to claim that it was more newsworthy in the former than the latter. Now that I have examined when articles

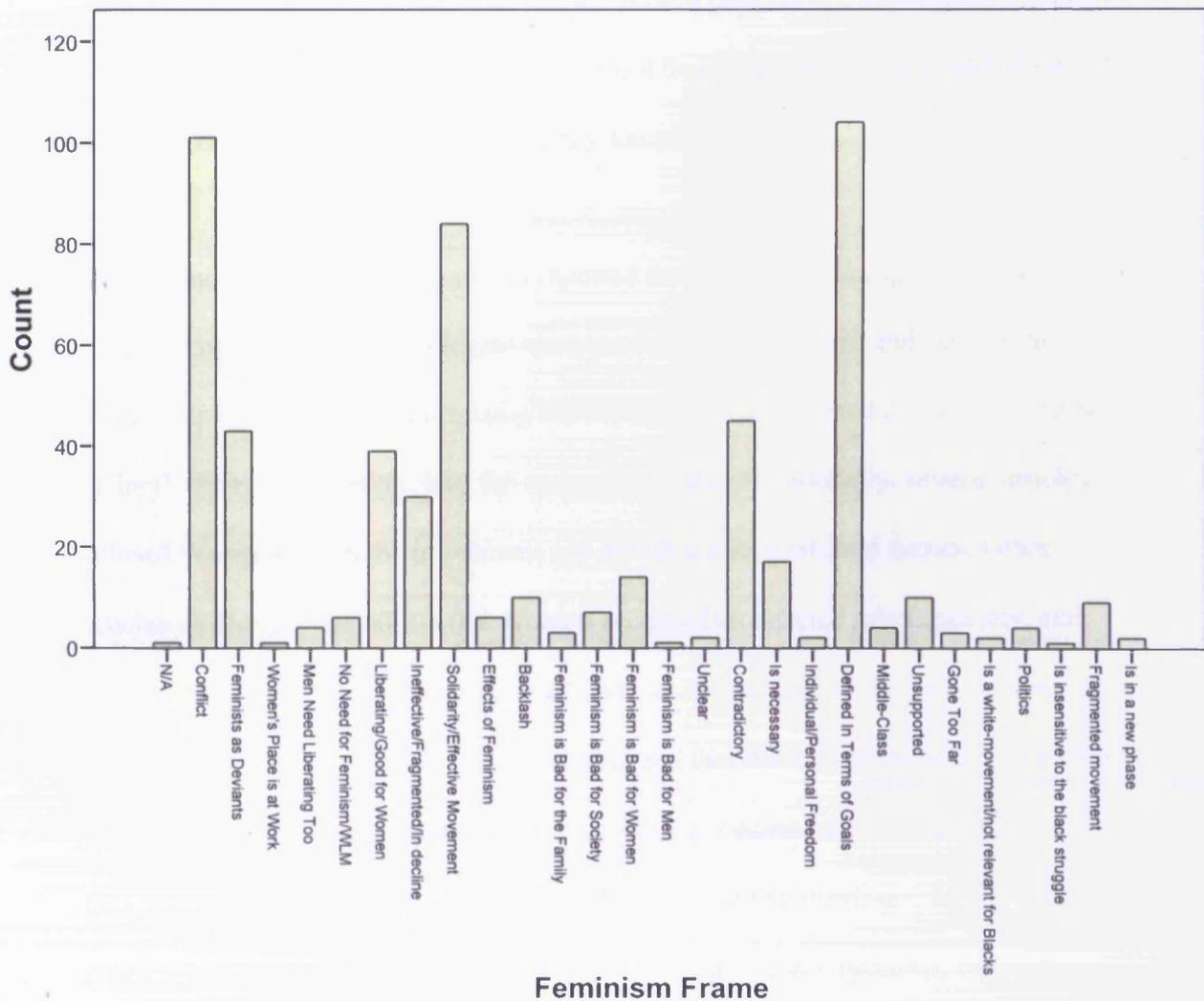
appeared, and what sparked them, it is time to examine how discourses emerged, changed or remained constant over time.

Discourses over Time

Discourse analysis is a useful tool in identifying ideologies and discourses surrounding the women's movement and its members. Discourse analysis involves an analysis of texts as they are embedded within, and relate to, social conditions of production and consumption (Richardson 2007). Because this research is meant to be a *critical* examination of representations of the movement, its members and their goals, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a useful tool for engaging and critiquing social power, arguing for improvements or changes. CDA takes a political approach to discourses and argues for improvements or changes in news accounts and reporting. Therefore, CDA requires certain questions be asked about not only the text, but about the societies in which they are produced. While content analysis is useful for identifying explicit messages, CDA is more geared towards uncovering implicit ones, which, according to Fairclough et al. (2007), reflects unconscious, commonsensical assumptions about the topic at hand. When examining all 555 articles, it became apparent that discourses were constructed through several means, framing being an important one. Frames help to create discourse as they determine which questions are asked, the story angle taken, the voices used (or ignored), and the problems or solutions given. By assessing these factors, the overall story tone can be broadly stated as positive – or supportive of the movement, members and goals – or engaging with their problems and solutions; negative – as unsupportive, de-legitimising or be-littling of the movement, members, or goals, or dismissal of their problems, concerns or solutions; as neutral – if it presented “both sides of the story,”

in a manner that gave each side equal space to express their views, and ended with no apparent judgement on the topic; or as contradictory – as presenting one perspective through most of the article, but include one or two quotes, arguments, or statements supporting an opposing view, which served to counteract the main statements.

Figure 5 – Total Frames in All Four Publications, 1968-1982



How have discourses emerged, changed or remained constant over the 14 year time period in each of the publications and/or countries? When examining all articles on the women's movement in my sample, I argue that it is difficult to make overall,

conclusive remarks on movement coverage other than to say it was fragmented and contradictory. The only exception being the *Daily Mirror*, where the women's movement and feminists were consistently constructed as de-legitimate and deviant in all genres during the 14 year time period. Though discourses tended to both legitimise and de-legitimise the movement, these were constructed through different lenses, at different times, and around different issues in each publication. Discourses competed with one another, and as a result, none attained hegemony in *The New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, or *The Times* during my sample period.

Interestingly, even though the media reported the movement through different lenses, a similar set of tools and ideologies were used to both legitimise and de-legitimise it. For example, articles de-legitimising the movement often framed it and its members as ineffective, unnecessary, bad for society, or elitist. Additionally, several articles refused to engage with the movement and trivialised its goals and tactics. Other articles challenged the notion that women occupied an inferior role in society, and therefore claimed that neither individuals nor society needed to change. Another tactic was to claim that a "backlash" was occurring and that the movement and its members had "gone too far." Such discourses were powerful, because they indicated that the movement had overstepped the boundaries of acceptable behaviours, tactics and goals. While these discourses were constructed in all four publications, counter-discourses were also present, stating that the movement and its members were legitimate. These were most commonly found in *The New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune*, to a lesser extent in *The Times*, and were constructed through engaging with feminist issues, and reporting them in a serious/non-trivialising manner. Additionally, several articles framed the movement as effective, unified, or

liberating for women. Though I will discuss these “positive” and “negative” discourses separately, I want to point out that while some articles exclusively used “positive” or “negative” discourses, a significant number used a combination of the two. This suggests that both the UK and the US were unsure about what to make of this new social movement – was it liberating for women and men, or did it wrongly challenge “natural” gender roles, thereby unnecessarily de-stabilising society? This study is important because it records how these battles were played out, and suggests that if feminism is indeed seen as a “dirty word” today, it is not because such constructions went unopposed.

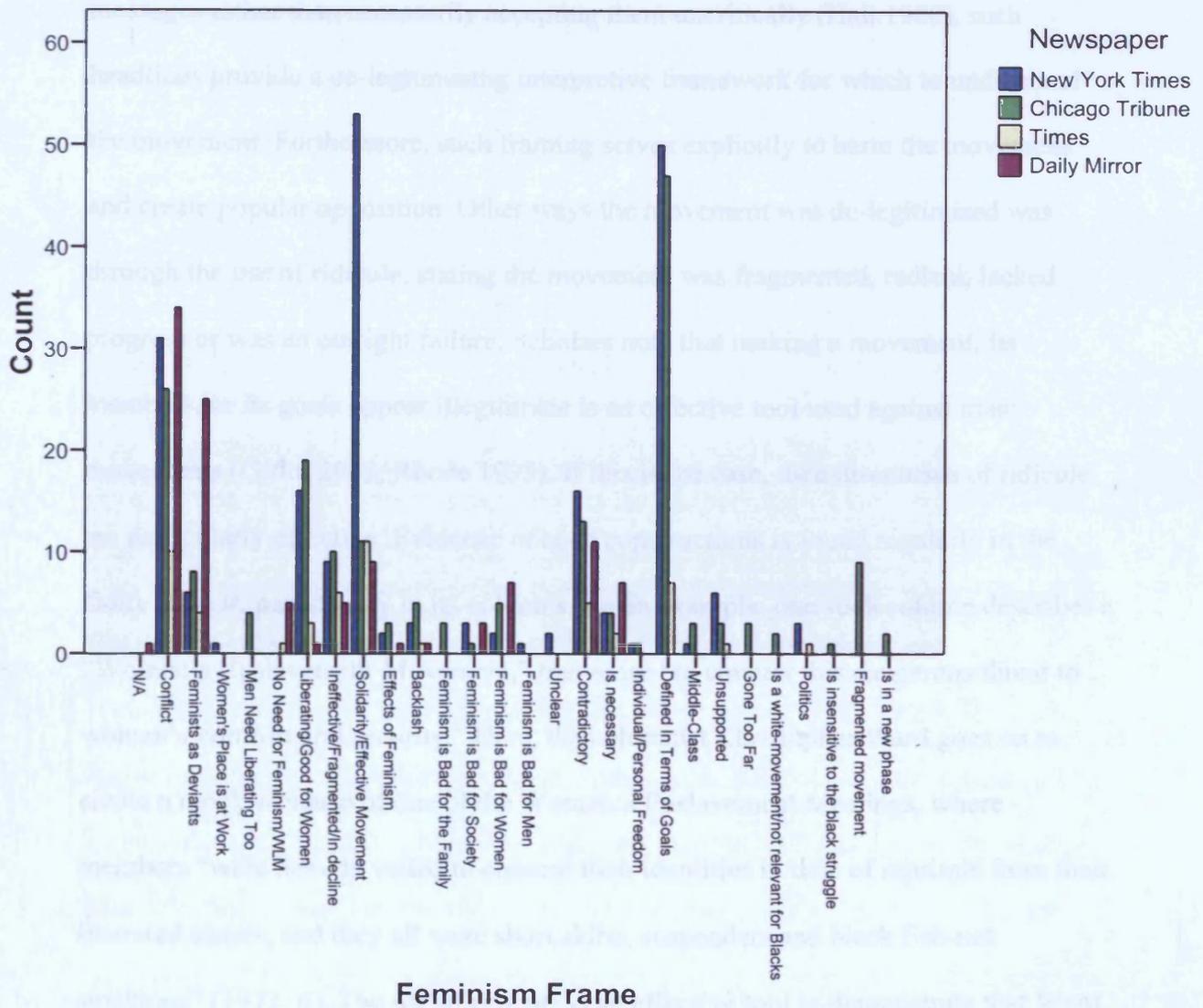
Deviant and De-legitimate Feminists – Bra-Burners, Lesbians and Militants

While discourses of deviance and de-legitimacy were found in all four publications, these were only consistently used throughout the 14 year time period in the *Daily Mirror*. Examining frames is a useful way of unpacking trivialising or unsupportive discourses on the movement and its members. When examining the overall framing data (see Figure 5), three clearly stand out above the rest. These include “conflict,” “unified/effective movement,” and “defined in terms of its goals.” Interestingly however, when breaking the figures down by individual newspaper (see Figure 6), the results change. While “conflict” still remains the most commonly used frame for all publications, “feminists as deviants” was really only common within the *Daily Mirror*. Additionally, feminism as defined in terms of its goals was mostly used in my US publications.¹⁰³ Frames were coded based on several factors, including story angle, sources used, and their statements of support/opposition to the movement, its

¹⁰³ An example of such discourse can be found in the following *The New York Times* article, “The drive to ratify the proposed Federal equal rights amendment, a goal of feminists since it was first introduced in Congress 59 years ago, failed tonight in the states, still three legislatures short of the 38 that would have made it the 27th Amendment to the Constitution” (Clymer, July 1, 1982: A12).

members or their goals. Additionally, framing included any problems or solutions given as to why women were unequal/oppressed in society.

Figure 6 – Frames per Publication, 1968- 1982



Though frames can be identified in the story body, headlines are also a good indicator of those used. Examples of headlines which constructed the movement as ineffective, unsupported, deviant and bad for society include “Long May I Stay Unequal” (No Byline, April 14: 1972: 13), “Sisterhood Is Powerful, but Not Omnipotent” (Linda

Charlton, July 17: 1977: 132), “Where Women Provide Their Own Discrimination” (Joan Lester, Dec. 8, 1981: 9), and “All Women’s Liberationists Hate men and Children” (Dale Wittner, May 20, 1973: H12). Though audiences negotiate media messages rather than necessarily accepting them uncritically (Hall 1980), such headlines provide a de-legitimising interpretive framework for which to understand the movement. Furthermore, such framing serves explicitly to harm the movement and create popular opposition. Other ways the movement was de-legitimised was through the use of ridicule, stating the movement was fragmented, radical, lacked progress or was an outright failure. Scholars note that making a movement, its members, or its goals appear illegitimate is an effective tool used against many movements (Gitlin 2003; Rhode 1995). If this is the case, then discourses of ridicule are particularly effective. Evidence of such constructions is found regularly in the *Daily Mirror*, particularly in its columns. As an example, one such column describes a “Women’s Enslavement Movement,” that arose “to counter this dangerous threat to women’s comfort and security.” Here, the columnist Christopher Ward goes on to create a mock scenario of one of the Women’s Enslavement Meetings, where members “were heavily veiled to conceal their identities in case of reprisals from their liberated sisters, and they all wore short skirts, suspenders and black fish-net stockings” (1972: 6). The use of ridicule is an effective tool to demonstrate that Ward (and countless others) believes that women have nothing to be liberated from, and actually have a comfortable lifestyle as stay-at-home wives:

A ‘Mistress’ whose mini-skirt wasn’t quite long enough to conceal her black satin panties was the next to speak. She said: “I entirely agree with our Chairlady.

“My husband came home from the office one night last week and burst into tears. He said he couldn’t bear to exploit me any longer and pleaded with me to get a job too.

“How could I tell him that if I worked I wouldn’t be able to spend afternoons with my lover?”

Though humour was one tool used to ridicule the movement and its goals in the *Daily Mirror*, other publications used more direct statements of objection. One *Times* editorial states: “I would question some of their most publicised priorities and others, I would say, were downright silly” (Glyn, April 2, 1981: 9). While journalist’s voices were used to construct opposition in such “soft” news articles, many others used feminist voices to reinforce the movement’s downfall – a tactic that was even more powerful and frequently used than using voices of anti-feminists or pro-family members (See Table 6). The *Daily Mirror* carried one story, which included a quote from Betty Friedan, often labelled the mother of the women’s movement, declaring the movement was dead:

“Betty Friedan, the woman who twenty years ago tried to set the female world alight with burning speeches and burning bras, admits today that she’s bitter, utterly disappointed and near to despair.

Two decades after the bright and hopeful beginning, she (Betty Friedan) says of the feminist revolution: “From all sides, now, they are tolling the bell to mourn the death of the women’s movement in America...” (Proops, July 5, 1977: 9).

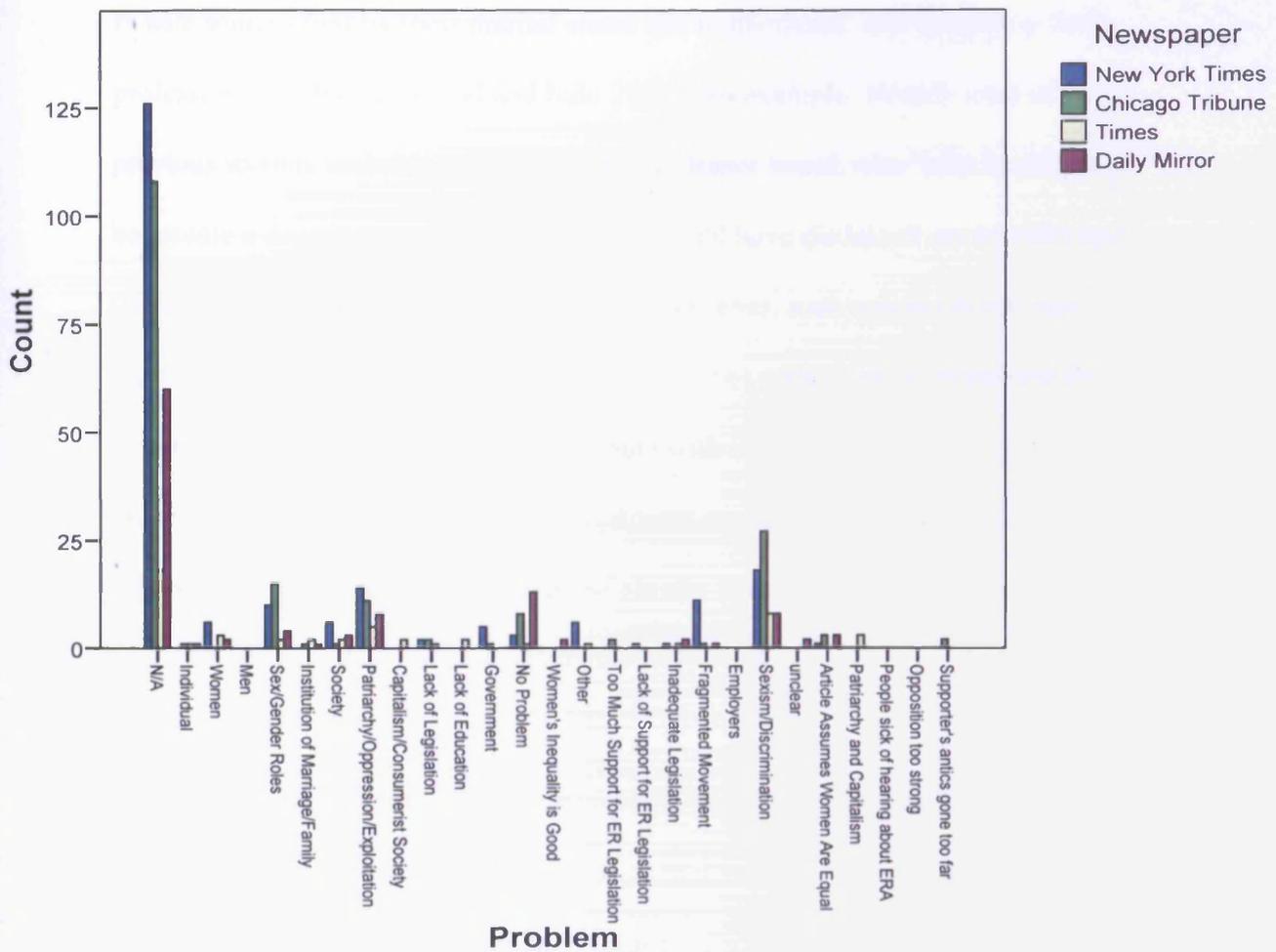
The statement was even more damning, as Marjorie Proops was a female journalist.

The use of female voices therefore helps to legitimise a rejection of the movement because women *themselves* do not want it. The “painful backlash against the violent feminist tactics,” was seen to make “Ms. Friedan so miserable and bitter.” British newspapers often used the American movement as a warning for what will happen in the UK if the movement is allowed to continue.

Table 7 – Frequency of Select Sources in all Six Source Slots, 1968-1982

	Source 1	Source 2	Source 3	Source 4	Source 5	Source 6	Total
Women's Movement Member	124	83	64	54	41	37	403
Anti-Feminist/Pro-Family Member	14	15	11	8	2	6	56
Members of the Public	63	46	42	29	25	24	229
Politician	45	33	32	30	24	15	179
Journalist (use of scare quotes)	70	45	36	22	22	14	209
Wife/Mother/Husband/Father	13	9	6	1	4	3	36

Figure 7 - Problems Cited, 1968-1982



Columnists, letters to the editor, and feature writers, wrote many articles with discourses of opposition to the women's movement. In order to construct such oppositional discourses, most articles used quotes or thoughts from members of the public. While elite voices (mainly politicians) were occasionally heard, the majority of voices were from "ordinary" women. However, it is important to note that many such sources were not "ordinary" at all, particularly in the broadsheet newspapers, where many sources actually held political and social power. This finding is

corroborated by recent research indicating that news articles are likely to identify female sources first by their marital status and motherhood, and second by their professional credentials (Lind and Salo 2002). An example, already used in the previous section, includes NOW's president Eleanor Smeal, who "bills herself as a housewife a description any good feminist would have disdained seven years ago" (No Byline, May 3, 1977: 40). Interestingly however, such constructions were not found in the *Daily Mirror*, where "ordinary" voices often truly were homemakers, wives, or husbands – in other words, people with little or no social or political clout. This is unsurprising, as scholars write, tabloids are likely to include a wider range of voices than broadsheets, including those closely involved with the events, and those who wish to share their views on them (Wardle 2004: 7).

What is also worth noting is that in all four publications, very few voices were from what, Ehrenreich (1995: 40-41 cited in Richardson 2007: 137) describes as "working-class" – or "all those people who are not professionals, managers or entrepreneurs; who work for wages rather than salaries; and who spend their working hours variously lifting, bending, driving, motoring, typing, keyboarding, cleaning, providing physical care for others, loading, unloading, cooking, serving, etc." This finding is supported by other scholars who claim that the working-class are consistently under or mis-represented in the news (Richardson 2007). The failure to include working-class voices is particularly noteworthy in the *Daily Mirror*, a publication whose readership was predominantly working class.¹⁰⁴ The use of middle-class voices however, were effective in making it seem that women's liberationists were a bunch of women "discontented with their marriages, their families and sexual conventions"

¹⁰⁴ This could be explained in part by the tendency for the working-class to adopt certain middle-class values, rendering it natural to include their voices on certain topics.

(Baker, June 24, 1978: 19), and out to ruin housewives' good deal. In addition, by excluding voices that support the movement, articles constructed a view that women's liberation was not only bad for women, but that it was unwanted as well.

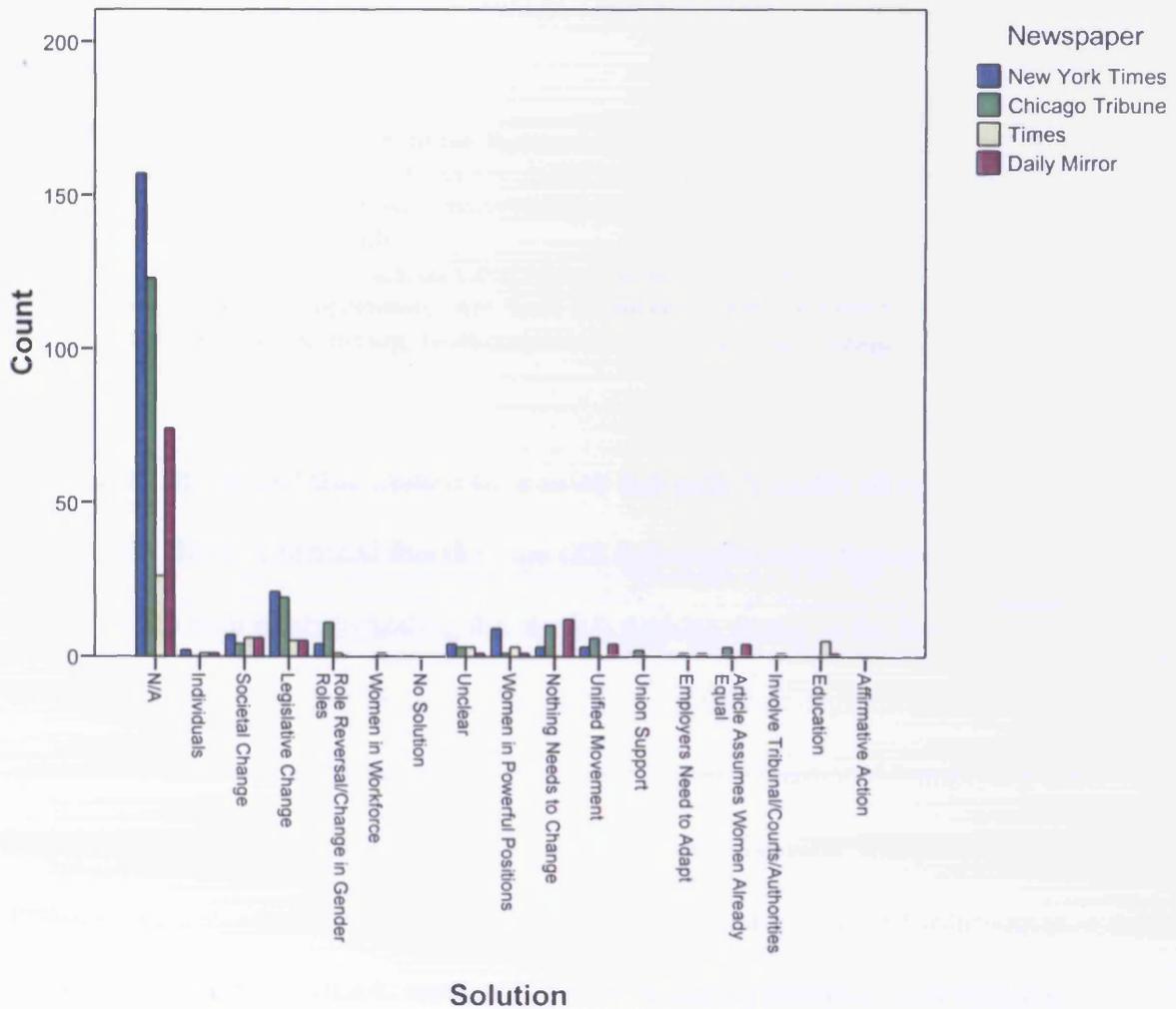
Labelling the movement as unsuccessful is perhaps one of the most effective tools used to de-legitimise it. Because the UK movement did not focus on concrete legislative changes as occurred in the US (with regard to the E.R.A.), there were fewer opportunities to discuss the movements "success" or "failure." In the US however, several national conferences, Ronald Reagan's 1981 US Presidential Electoral victory, and the eventual defeat of the E.R.A. provided the impetus for articles to discuss the movement in terms of failure. By stating the movement is dead, the discourse served to limit the ways it could be talked about, and allowed for an easy dismissal to any counter-discourse. This meant that any legitimate breakthroughs and changes (both in the law and in people's consciousness) could be more easily ignored.

Women's Inequality? No Problem

One way of trivialising the movement and constructing it as de-legitimate was through a refusal to engage with its concerns about women's (inferior) role in society and their solutions on how to change them. When analysing each article, both the "problem" of women's inequality/oppression, and "solutions" of how to change it were recorded (see Figures 7 and 8 respectively). When examining this data, it becomes clear that 312 articles in total (56.2%) failed to cite the cause of women's inequality/oppression, and 380 (68.5%) failed to cite a solution. However, when examining the problems and solutions cited within each publication, a different picture emerges. For instance, within the *Daily Mirror*, the only publication to

overwhelmingly de-legitimise the movement and its members, the most likely problem cited was that there was in fact, “no problem” at all (13 articles, or 26% of all “problems” cited in this publication). This was followed in second by sexism/discrimination (8 articles or 16% of all problems cited in this publication). Interestingly, articles stating that there was no problem were most likely to be found in features, columns and letters to the editor rather than news reports, where sexism/discrimination was most commonly cited.

Figure 8 – Solutions Cited, 1968-1982



This discrepancy could be because “soft” news articles such as letters to the editor and columns embrace subjective views, whereas news reports strive for objectivity. While few *Daily Mirror* articles cited reasons why women were unequal, even fewer provided solutions (36 articles or 33% of total articles). Of those that did, 12 articles stated that nothing needed to change, followed next by calls for societal change (6 articles), and then for legislative change (5 articles). Though few articles engaged in the problems and solutions of women’s inequalities, those that do are ideologically rich, and are worth examining. An example of a letter to the editor, which states that there is both no problem and no solution to women’s inequality exemplifies a discourse of de-legitimisation:

We hear a lot about the Women’s Liberation Movement. Liberation from what? Don’t these women, mainly young and unmarried, enjoy being feminine?

I’m 44, and I have always thought that women enjoyed being as attractive and desirable as possible.

And from a financial viewpoint, women have never been so well off, nor had such equality of opportunity. Are these liberationists merely frustrated females? – (Mrs.) D.M.M., Kettering, Northants (No Byline “Free For Nothing” *Daily Mirror*, 1971:9).

By focusing on the fact that women have never had such “equality of opportunity” than on why these “frustrated females” are still fighting for what they want, the article de-legitimises their goals by stating that there is nothing wrong in the first place, and therefore nothing needs to change. Additionally, the article de-legitimises the feminists by stereotyping them as unfeminine, single, and “frustrated,” implying that femininity should be their primary concern. Though this discourse was present in a limited number of articles, the absence of a discussion of problems and solutions to women’s inequality is a significant finding in itself, and signals an overall failure to engage with the women’s movement and their goals. Similar findings have been recorded in media coverage of the US Civil Rights Movement, where omitting a movement’s causes and backgrounds was seen to be an effective way of de-

legitimising it (Martindale 1989). Rather than focusing on substantive issues, the *Daily Mirror*, and my other mainstream publications often focused on surface level details such as appearance, sexual preference, and other actions (such as supposed bra-burning). Such “deviant” behaviour will be examined next.

Though the majority of articles ignored the causes of women’s oppression, a few did engage with notions of patriarchy, but quickly rule it out as a real reason for women’s unequal status in society:

The Boiler Suit Brigade would have us believe that men are to blame for every grievance under the sun. They happily ignore the fact that most women actually *choose* to share their life with a man. What’s the point of fighting a war if most of us are on the other side of the barricade? (Driscoll, Dec. 11, 1971: 7).

Once again, by stating that most women are happy with how society is structured and that feminists are fighting a losing battle, the article de-legitimises their cause. Other articles also engaged with the issue of women’s relationship with men – often their rejection of them. This was often closely tied in with discourses surrounding lesbians. One *Times* article argued that the extreme feminists feel so affronted by men, that they choose to cut themselves off from them altogether, and form all-female groups (Winton, Oct. 19, 1970: 9). While the “lesbian” issue is one which is noticeably absent from most articles, when discussed, it always carries with it rich discourses of deviance, and is a powerful tool for de-legitimising the women’s movement. This conflict is recognised in one article that stated:

“The antifeminists are trying to stress the most controversial aspects of feminism, such as its support for homosexual rights, in an effort to paint the feminists as primarily supporters of lesbianism who are hostile to family life
...Privately, the feminists concede that if their foes can successfully portray the women’s movement as ‘antifamily,’ the political problems of feminism will be all but insurmountable” (Margolis, 1977a: 6)

Discourses of lesbianism were generally only used when anti-feminists and pro-family supporters raised the issue, as many (non-radical) feminists avoided the topic, recognising that supporting homosexual rights was considered “dreadful politics” (Margolis Nov. 23, 1977b: 2). Further, the lesbian issue was a topic seen to both turn people off feminism, and to cause splits within the feminist movement itself:

The early 1970s saw the rapidly growing movement brutally split by what became known as ‘the lesbian issue.’ Heterosexual women who felt uneasy about the new openness and militancy of lesbians began to withdraw from the movement...
...Today, the split has almost healed, although Jean O’Leary, of the National Gay Task Force, said she thought some black and other minority women still had difficulty accepting lesbians in the women’s movement (Klemsrud, Nov. 15, 1977: 63).

Even though lesbians are sometimes *discussed* in news articles, their *voices* are rarely used, giving evidence to the argument that the media marginalise and de-legitimise voices outside dominant and elite circles (Shoemaker and Reese 1991).¹⁰⁵ Additionally, when the lesbian issue was raised, it was often expressed by others who ignored the substantive issues lesbians raised in favour of focusing on surface level details such as their “deviant” lifestyles or appearances.

Another discourse engaging with women’s relationship with men is that rather than hating them, women want to *be* men: “But the trouble with the Workshop ladies – a word they detest – is that they are in danger of becoming a freakish joke and their genuine grouses ignored while they concentrate on turning into imitation men” (James, April 1, 1970: 12). One *Times* article acknowledged such discourses and attempted to combat them: “They (feminists) are constantly misrepresented as ugly, unsuccessful, maladjusted women who either hate men or want to be men” (Brittain

¹⁰⁵ Additionally, lesbian’s absence from the mainstream press could be the result of a conscious decision, as many lesbians actively rejected mainstream media coverage. While their refusal to engage with the media surely accounts to an extent for their absence, it is likely that the media also chose to ignore their voices.

1971b). By constructing feminists as deviants (whether its visually or behaviourally), these discourses reinforce patriarchy by firmly maintaining gender differences, and are quick to ridicule or marginalise anyone who seeks, or is seen to challenge them. Though this article discussed women's desire to cut themselves off from men, the discourse failed to discuss *why* women felt affronted in the first place, instead suggesting they were "deviant" for being unhappy with how society is structured.

Though discourses of deviance were most noticeably used in the *Daily Mirror*, feminists were described as confrontational, aggressive or militant in all four newspapers. While aggression was not always seen in a negative light (particularly in cases where women were seen to be "battling" oppression), other terms such as "militant" were nearly always used to de-legitimise and demonise feminists. One article titled, "How Militant Feminists are Killing the E.R.A." (Dermody, May 16, 1982: 26), sought to de-legitimise feminists not only by labelling them as "militant," but through stating that their drive for passing the E.R.A. is actually not what most feminists want: "The strange and sad part of the whole unhappy recent history of women's rights is that most of us women who oppose the amendment (E.R.A.) consider ourselves *feminists*." Once again, this discourse de-legitimised feminists by suggesting that few women actually support the E.R.A., and that these so-called-feminists are fighting *against* what most (normal) women want. While most articles are rife with discourses of de-legitimacy, counter-discourses appeared in several articles, stating it is ok to be a "feminist," so long as it was not of the "militant" kind. This supports Gitlin's (2003) finding that the media have a tendency to split the movement into legitimate and illegitimate sections, making this division seem like common sense. One *Times* article quoted Dame Patricia Hornsby, M.P. who described

herself as “a feminist not a militant feminist.” This form of differentiation between “acceptable” and “unacceptable” feminism tends to come from feminists themselves. The need to differentiate a “feminist” from a “militant” feminist also suggests that this type of extremism was seen as prevalent. However, it could be argued that by making their non-revolutionary stance clear, these women were trying to salvage feminism from being completely demonised – it is just unfortunate that such salvation was made at the expense of marginalizing those who embodied any form of “unacceptable” feminist characteristics. It is also worth noting that what counted for “militancy” changed over the years, as one news article recognised “While in the beginning, women’s demands for equal pay were seen revolutionary and militant, over time they became accepted.”

Though the above examples demonstrate various ways the women’s movement and its members were de-legitimised, one of the most powerful, and pervasive tools found within all four publications, but particularly within the *Daily Mirror*, were discourses of feminists subverting “natural” gender roles. While I focus specifically on two *Daily Mirror* articles, I could have easily substituted them with countless others and drawn similar conclusions. The first article used is a feature interviewing 11 year-old Linda Greally (see Appendix 3), who argued that that women and men were different, and the second article is about housewife Adrienne Roosenbloom, who, as the headline states, does not want to be a man (see Appendix 4).

Case Study 1 - *Daily Mirror* and Women’s “Natural” Role

In order to conduct a discourse analysis on this article, I will begin with its overall page placement. Located on page 12, next to an advertisement for stencils, above a

cartoon, and next to a centrefold article, this article has prominent placement within the page, as it is about a third of a column wide and runs from the top of the page to the bottom. At the top of the article sits a photo of Linda Greally, the 11 year-old who thinks that “it’s wrong to be equal,” as the article headline states. In the photo, Linda is looking off camera wistfully, chin on her hand. She looks innocent, and the caption reads, “women are different.” The combination of headline, photo, and caption sets the tone for the article, and sums up a major discourse within both this article and this publication in general – that men and women are innately different – and that it is therefore wrong for women to try and change their “natural” gender roles. This discourse is prioritised in the article, as Linda’s is the only voice present, resulting in an unchallenged opposition to “women’s libbers” and the defence of current gender roles:

‘Men would be hopeless at home. They wouldn’t know how to work the electrical things and it would be very unfair to children to have men around them.

Mothers understand children better. If a boy ran home crying because he’d had a fight and got hurt a father would tell him to go back and hit harder next time, whereas a mother would have the sense to comfort him and tell him not to fight if he’s going to lose...

...Men and women are very different you know. Women like to talk about cooking and fashion and men like to discuss football and money, which is best talked about outside the home.’

Linda here (re)produces ideology surrounding traditional gender roles, and the belief that men are poor nurturers (“it would be unfair to children”), are helpless around the house with domestic duties, and that they (and certain topics of discussion) belong in the public sphere. Not only does Linda argue that equality is bad for women and men, but for the children who have no choice in the matter, yet have to suffer the consequences. The use of women’s “natural” gender role frame is dominant within this publication and could be referred to as a “metanarrative” or a “master frame.” These remain hegemonic because they are both pervasive and credible beyond

empirical scrutiny (Koenig 2004: 3), and are seen to stem from biological differences between the sexes, rather than as social constructs. Additionally, the use of a “natural” gender role frame supports an overarching discourse present within this article in particular, but the publication in general, constructing the women’s movement, its members, and sometimes, their goals as de-legitimate and deviant.

A similar ideological construction can be seen in a second (of many) *Daily News* articles. This article, titled “Why Adrienne doesn’t want to be a man,” features housewife and mother, Adrienne Roosenbloom, who stated that a woman’s job is to stay home and care for her husband and children. This is one of three articles on a page titled “inequality: part two on how women lost the sex war” with a photo of a thumb pointing down, indicating the publication’s opposition to equal rights. Next to the article on Adrienne is a column titled: “I’m a pig and proud of it!” When examining the overall page then, the context in which this article is placed already positions it in opposition to women’s liberation. The article features a photo of Adrienne and her two small children, with the caption: “Adrienne Roosenbloom: ‘A mother’s job is with her children.’” Such a caption sums up Adrienne’s argument that men and women have different roles to play in society (men provide for the family while women nurture it). Additionally, she states that men and women should be content with such roles:

Adrienne Roosenbloom is a housewife and a mother. And proud of it.
She doesn’t want to be independent or equal and says: ‘I’ve no time for women who dump their kids and go out to work.’

She would rather be at home, caring for her family, than out fighting for female freedom....

...‘It is most important for a mother to bring up her own children. A mother’s job is with her children and wife’s is with her husband.’ (“Why Adrienne doesn’t want to be a man” Oct. 5, 1976, p.7)

get married and look after your family.” Additionally, Adrienne suggests that though women might not have equality, they are certainly not second-class citizens. Instead she contends that, “We have a different role to play and we should be content with it” once again demonstrating a belief that women’s role is within the home. When examining the narrative and “what makes the story hang together” (Deacon et al. 1999), it becomes clear in both articles that it is an overall opposition to the women’s movement, based on the principle that women are not suited to take part in the outside world, as their place is within the domestic sphere as carers or nurturers.

These articles also provide further evidence that, within this publication, voices of opposition to “women’s libbers” (as they are most often referred to) are not separate from anti-feminist or pro-family movements. This is particularly true with regard to *The New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune*. Such voices are typically those of ordinary citizens (such as Linda or Adrienne), or members of the public.¹⁰⁶ As scholars state, the use of sources is important in a story’s construction, as it helps indicate the view being supported (Ross 2007; Tuchman 1972). If read in this way, then not only does the use of Linda and Adrienne’s voice tell us that the women’s movement is rejected and seen to be unnatural, but that this is a view widely held by

¹⁰⁶ When adding up the total number of sources in all six source identity spots within this publication, members of the public were the most frequently used (62 sources), followed in second by feminists or members of women’s organisations (40 sources)

also firmly entrenched within the working-class population, perhaps more during this time period as unemployment rates were high. Also important to note, is the fact that the Conservative government perpetuated ideologies about the importance of the family, blaming juvenile crime, divorces, family violence and growing dependence on social services on married women working outside the home (Coote and Campbell 1982: 84). As a result, a discourse emerged in the wider public stating that women belong in the home, where they get the “better end of the bargain,” in terms of having men take care of them. These discourses led many people to ask what women need liberating from in the first place. As Linda Greally put it:

‘I really don’t see why those liberation ladies are so unhappy and want to change everything. If they can vote for who they want to be Prime Minister and choose the man they want to marry, then, really, they’re having their fair share, aren’t they?’

However, at one point, Linda briefly suggests that it would be nice to have economic independence (which she views as being the result of necessity rather than choice), though she quickly asserts that the benefits do not outweigh the costs:

‘Some women of course have to find a career for themselves. In a way, it’s nice for them since they can just go out and buy a carpet without having to ask anybody.

But those ladies must feel envious of wives who have nice husbands who would buy the carpet for them.

I think those liberation ladies are a little bit silly.’

While this article is not latent with explosive language about the “women’s libbers,” or “bra-burners,” it is ideologically rich in other ways, and is a good example of how

sample period, actively opposed the women's movement and its members in favour of upholding patriarchal and capitalist ideologies. It suggests that women's role is to serve men (and their families), and that their labour is only acceptable within the private sphere, though it can be tolerated in the public sphere only as a result of necessity or in a volunteer capacity. This discourse therefore serves men, who benefit from free labour, exploitation, and power over women in the home. By keeping women in the home, the discourse serves men, whose jobs will not be threatened by women, and their masculinity, which is reinforced by being able to provide for the family and therefore maintain their position as the head of the household. These ideologies are constructed and reinforced using "ordinary women" such as Linda or Adrienne, who recognize the "silliness" of trying to change women's already privileged position. Though the use of deviance was one effective (and highly used) way of de-legitimising the movement and its members in the *Daily Mirror*, it is time to examine tools commonly used in my other three publications, including framing the movement as white, and middle-class.

Feminism is a White-Middle Class Movement

One discourse of de-legitimacy that merits attention was found most often within the *Chicago Tribune*, though to a lesser extent in *The New York Times* and *The Times*.

Here a discourse emerged stating that the women's movement appealed only to whi

impact by suggesting that it only appeals to certain limited number of (already privileged) women who have nothing better to do with their time than to rally for equal rights. It is also worthwhile to note that class critiques were not evident in the *Daily Mirror*, whose readership is largely working-class, confirming Richardson's (2007: 134) assertion that ideologies naturalise the contradictions and exploitations capitalism for those whom it matters most.

Within *The New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune*, a discourse emerged arguing that feminism has a different meaning for black women, and the feminist movement insensitive to the black struggle. While race and class are discussed in both publications, *Chicago Tribune* articles tended to probe deeper into *why* the movement lacked appeal for black women (or men). One article stated:

'Black mothers are generally even more against the movement than white mothers; they yearn to sit back and relax, since so many of them have had to work hard with no man to help,' Thelia Munsey said. 'Black girls are also under pressure to unite with black men to improve conditions for all black people, she said' (Toll, *Se* 19, 1972: A9).

Here, the article discusses multiple axes of oppression for black women – both in terms of race and gender, and notes that rather than striving to take part in the paid workforce, black women seek a break, as they have always been expected to work. In addition, this article de-legitimises the white movement for being racist and privileged in comparison to the black struggle. Other articles emphasize this privilege by contrasting and emphasising the significance of white women's goals:

certain members of society (white, middle-class women), and that its goals are frivolous (“We aren’t hung up on defining ourselves as Ms., Mrs., or Miss. This is another label to us.”). A final example of such de-legitimising discourses in the *Chicago Tribune* is evident in a more in-depth look at the interlocking forms of oppression affecting the black woman. Here, the author is intent on distinguishing the black women’s struggle from the white women’s struggle, and argues that the two can never work together because of a white women’s history of oppressing black women.

There is a vociferous segment of the Women’s Liberation Movement – primarily a middle-class white movement – which compares the role of women, i.e. white women, to that of blacks in our society.

Sexism, they say, is analogous to racism. The argument goes that both females and blacks have been forced to accept positions of inferiority in our culture; both are denied equal job opportunities, equal pay, equal education and above all positions of leadership and responsibility.

And in both instances the oppressor, by stereotyping blacks and women as dependent, child-like and docile creatures, has been able to falsely justify their oppression. Given these parallels, it appears at first glance that blacks and women share a common concern.

This however, is not necessarily the case....Black women worked their fingers to the bone and black men were lynched to pay bloody homage to white ladies. Hence, it’s hard to conceive how these very women could expect blacks to empathise with members of the most privileged class cults in American history – “sacred white womanhood.” White women as well as white men are the oppressors. (Poussaint, June 6, 1971: E12).

This article is contradictory. On one hand, it actively engages with problems and concerns of black women, but it does so at the expense of de-legitimising the white women’s movement (though I would argue their criticisms are fair). In a sense therefore, the discourse once again creates a demarcation between “legitimate” and “illegitimate” feminisms, suggesting that one is more authentic and urgent than the

to witness a backlash and increased hostility from some members of the public.

Whether the women's movement backlash occurred because of its success or not is difficult to confirm, but it is clear that such a discourse was clearly present in *The New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and *The Times*, while the discourse of the movement as having "gone too far," was present in all four publications. The discourse of backlash was likely not present in the *Daily Mirror* because there was never enough support for the movement in the first place to witness a change in view on it. What is significant about the backlash discourse is that here, for the first time, anti-feminists (or members of the pro-family movement) had their voices prioritised. Additionally, news stories began to focus on the supposed demise of the women's movement, suggesting a shift in frame from being supported and rising, to unsupported and declining.

While discourses of backlash can be found throughout the sample period, it became much more prominent towards the early 1980s, particularly in the *Chicago Tribune* and *The New York Times*. The backlash discourse is evident in the US publications of the 1980s, first when Republican candidate Ronald Reagan was elected President of the United States, and second, in 1982 when the E.R.A. was defeated. Reagan's ascent into power was an indication of a return towards conservative values and beliefs, such as the importance of the family, and family values. Throughout my

(Bennetts, Nov. 7, 1980a: A13). It begins with a discussion about how the election of Reagan was “a total disaster” for advocates of women’s rights, and was followed by quotes from feminist and pro-family leaders who debated what the election meant for the women’s movement. While Phyllis Schlafly, leader of an anti-E.R.A. campaign proclaimed the election was: “a decisive defeat for the E.R.A. and for the feminist movement,” even equal rights proponents agreed. Senator McGovern, who lost his seat in the election and was a supporter of women’s rights added:

People were reluctant to come out and admit they wanted to put women in their place, but there was a strong current of that running through much of what happened...The ‘family’ issue raised by the right wing was a code word for putting women back in the kitchen and stripping them of any decision on the question of abortion, and forcing them back into the old orthodox roles.

Several articles framed Ronald Reagan’s participation in the Presidential election as evidence of a backlash towards women. One article stated: “New York Officials of NOW assailed Mr. Reagan and what they termed an “anti-woman” Republican platform for opposition to the proposed rights amendment and support of a constitutional ban on abortion” (Bennetts, Oct. 24, 1980b: A16). By framing Reagan and the Republican Party’s policies as evidence of a backlash, the newspapers polarised the debate and marginalised Republican feminists, making it seem that the two were incompatible. One article, published before the presidential election, discussed how the National Organisation for Women (NOW) chose to support a male Democratic candidate over a female Republican who supported feminist issues such

injustice of supporting a male candidate over her. By focusing on the seeming hypocrisy of the women's movement, the article ignores the larger reasons for opposing the Republican Party, and particular reasons for supporting the Democratic candidate. This is one example of many articles which fail to cite a reason why the E.R.A. was defeated, or why Reagan was elected, other than arguing it was a "backlash" to the movement in general. Other scholars note this lack of context for explaining the issues in social movements as well (Kerner 1968; Martindale 1989).

While it is accurate and reasonable to report that there was opposition to the movement, discourses of *backlash* were different, and more severe because they served to discredit the movement and its members by claiming that they had "gone too far." Additionally, a backlash indicated that society was finally willing to fight back against feminism's "irrational" claims. A difference between articles citing backlash and those citing that the movement went too far is that while the former rarely discussed why a backlash occurred, the latter often did. The discourse of feminists having gone too far was most common in both the *Daily Mirror* and the *Chicago Tribune*, and is summed up well by the column "One Big ERA Problem: NOW's Manners Turn People Off" (Thimmesch, June 5, 1978: C2). In this column the author discussed how the E.R.A., a promising piece of legislation, was losing support. It was doing so, not because of anything innately wrong with the amendment

the E.R.A. is desirable, feminists and their tactics certainly are not. This ties in with another discourse, which will be discussed at the end of this chapter, stating that while the movement's goals were often supported, the members themselves were not. Born of the sentiment that feminists have gone too far, and that their goals were supported while feminists were not is found within one *Chicago Tribune* article:

Dolly Malloy is a bright 21-year-old who is studying hotel management at the University of Houston. She believes in equal legal and economic opportunities for women, and in the right of women to make their own choices, including the choice of whether to have an abortion.

'But I'm not for women's lib,' she said as she served drinks during a feminist fund raiser. 'Those people are way out.'

'I was serving a drink with orange juice a few minutes ago,' she said, 'and this woman told me I was condemning a homosexual to a concentration camp.'

The reference was to Anita Bryant, who plugs orange juice and opposes gay rights. The connection was a bit tortured, and to Malloy it was proof that 'libbers are peculiar' (Margolis, Nov. 23, 1977: 2).

Articles such as these are a signal that the women's movement, which fought for the very same legal and economic opportunities that Dolly Malloy supported, was rejected because they became associated with fringe lifestyles, and aggressive behaviours. While it is true that the media often focused on conflict, "deviant behaviours, lifestyles, or appearances of its members, and framed the movement as unsupported, counter-discourses emerged, constructing the movement and its members in a more positive light. These will be examined next.

and supportive of the movement. These discourses of legitimacy were frequently constructed in each of my four publications except for the *Daily Mirror*. Articles constructed the movement and its members as legitimate when they engaged with its issues and concerns, when they took them seriously and avoided including trivialising details (such as appearance, marital status, and so forth), and when they represented the movement as effective, unified or liberating for women. Overall, if we examine story tone (see table 8), it becomes apparent that most articles were “positive” followed in second by those that were “contradictory” in tone. Articles that were contradictory involved some elements of “positive” and “negative” reporting, and are evidence that competing discourses were present during my sample period. Additionally, 21.8% of articles were neutral, indicating that I could not determine which “side” was supported.

Table 8 – Overall Article Tone, 1968-1982

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Positive	180	32.4	32.4
	Negative	111	20.0	20.0
	Neutral	121	21.8	21.8
	Contradictory	143	25.8	25.8
	Total	555	100.0	100.0

As previously stated, the prevalence of positive or neutral reporting could in part be attributed to the high numbers of female reporters in this sample. Of 555 articles, men wrote 168 stories, women wrote 258 articles, and it was unclear who wrote the

reported in a negative light (Bradley 2003; Freeman 2001b; Molotch 1978; Pingree and Hawkins 1978; Thom 1993). While negative discourses or coverage certainly existed, this section is meant to explore how “positive” articles were constructed – that is, what frames, voices, journalistic tools or discourses were used to allow for the mainstream media to, at its best, engage with the women’s movement, their member actions or goals, or at its worst, report them in a manner that was not trivialising, degrading or sarcastic. As a result, I will break this section down into three parts. The first will examine how articles engaged with women’s issues, looking specifically at the problems and solutions proposed. Second, I will take a closer look at how frames were used to legitimise the movement, and will examine how those frames were constructed. Finally, I will end with a case study highlighting some of the ways feminists were legitimised.

Engagement with Issues

One way that the media legitimised feminists and the women’s movement was to engage with their issues, problems and concerns regarding women’s place in society. As demonstrated back in Figures 7 and 8, 56.2% of all articles failed to engage with problems, and 68.5% failed to cite solutions to women’s inferior position in society. Though these absences are significant, and are further evidence to how the media

¹⁰⁷ Articles were coded as unclear if the journalist had a name that could be for a male or female (e.g. Leslie), if there was no byline, or in cases when the article was a letter-to-the-editor.

		Times	Tribune	Times	Daily Mirror
Problem	N/A	126	108	18	60
	Individual	0	1	1	1
	Women	6	0	3	2
	Sex/Gender Roles	10	15	2	4
	Institution of Marriage/Family	0	1	2	1
	Society	6	1	2	3
	Patriarchy/Oppression/Exploitation	14	11	5	8
	Capitalism/Consumerist Society	0	0	2	0
	Lack of Legislation	2	2	1	0
	Lack of Education	0	0	2	0
	Government	5	1	0	0
	No Problem	3	8	1	13
	Women's Inequality is Good	0	0	0	2
	Other	6	0	1	0
	Too Much Support for ER Legislation	0	2	0	0
	Lack of Support for ER Legislation	1	0	0	0
	Inadequate Legislation	1	0	1	2
	Fragmented Movement	11	1	0	1
	Sexism/Discrimination	18	27	8	8
	Unclear	0	0	0	2
	Article Assumes Women Are Equal	1	3	0	3
	Patriarchy and Capitalism	0	0	3	0
	Supporter's antics gone too far	0	2	0	0
Total		210	183	52	110

When examining the overall figures (see Table 9), we can see that

“sexism/discrimination,” “gender roles” and “patriarchy/exploitation” are often

mentioned. A brief example of the idea that “bias is the problem can be found in *The*

New York Times headline “Barnard Class Told to Battle Bias” (Cook, May 15, 1980:

identified by radical and socialist feminists, suggesting that they would be most common in the UK press. However, coverage was not split along these lines, as is evident when examining the results in each publication. Here, we can see that “sexism/discrimination” was cited more than “patriarchy/exploitation/oppression” in *The Times* (8 vs. 5 articles), though both were mentioned equally in the *Daily Mirror* (8 articles each). In the US articles, sexism/discrimination were mentioned more frequently than patriarchy/exploitation/oppression, though in the case of *The New York Times*, the gap was relatively close (18 vs. 14 articles). In part, the use of liberal critiques such as sexism/discrimination result from newspapers’ and/or feminists’ tendency to de-emphasise revolutionary aims, instead focusing on reformist goals (Morris 1973b: 540). Van Zoonen (1992) similarly found an abundance of liberal critiques in her examination of coverage of the Dutch women’s movement, despite the fact that most feminists subscribed to Marxist or radical critiques. The overwhelming presence of liberal feminist critiques therefore suggests that this paradigm was not at odds with the mainstream media, whereas socialist and radical theories were unsuccessful in engaging with the mainstream press. Additionally, such discourses such as access to education and equal opportunity were likely well supported because they were already part of the (US) value structure (Robinson 1978). Alternatively, the emphasis on reformist aims could have resulted from attempts to salvage feminism, and report it in a “positive” light, as people might be more willing to accept it if it

they are worth examining when present. For example, one *Times* article titled, “France’s feminine feminist” (Matthews, May 14, 1969: 11), included a paragraph quoting feminist Evelyne Sullerot, who discussed both patriarchy and capitalism in France:

Typical of Evelyn Sullerot’s approach is the way she looks at the role of the housewife. Although this role has little economic justification in the modern world, much pressure is brought upon her to maintain it. In an increasingly technological society, it is reassuring for men to keep women as their link with traditional values, bending over stewpots as their mothers and grandmothers did. And in capitalist countries, where productivity is the highest goal, women are urged to stay at home, the principal consumers in a consumer society.

Not only does this article identify patriarchy and capitalism as the causes of women’s oppression, but it also argues that in order for things to change, society must *reorganise* itself in women’s favour. Perhaps these discourses are so few because the truly would pose a challenge to the dominant values. Though such critiques are rare, it is positive to note that every once in a while, the mainstream media gave space to such critiques. Before moving on, another *Times* article that is worth analysing is a column, written by Dr. Ann Oakley, a feminist sociologist who explodes the “myths surrounding today’s feminist woman,” as the headline states, and addresses negative feminist stereotypes:

The feminist stereotype consists of a set of assumptions about the personality and life-style of people who call themselves feminists. A feminist is not married, or if she ever was, the experience must have been an unhappy one. She is anti-children, and usually has none herself; if she has, she has rejected (and hence knows nothing about) their day-to-day care.

Here, Oakley identifies several popular stereotypes circulating about feminists, and by grouping them all together in this manner, she demonstrates their absurdity. Yet at the same time, it is clear that, if this is how feminists are continually represented, then it is no wonder so many women (and men) reject them. While pointing out their existence is useful, Oakley's analysis strikes at the ideological heart of such stereotypes – stating that they are the result of our patriarchal society's need to keep women in their place:

The feminist stereotype, like all stereotypes, has a few grains of truth in it, but also, like most stereotypes, it has a more subtle function: it serves to keep women in their place. A male-oriented society such as ours has an overriding need to define the nature of women. Men are people and women are women, as somebody once put it. The creation of idealised models – the housewife, the wife, the career-woman – fulfils this purpose by putting firm boundaries around women's social, economic and behaviour. The feminist woman is a clear threat to this framework. Hence the rationale for the feminist stereotype.

What is significant here is the level of analysis that Oakley uses. By stating that feminist stereotypes are grounded in a “few grains of truth”, Oakley affirms MacDonald's (1995) claim that they effectively mask their own ideologies. Further, Oakley identifies these specific ideologies as patriarchal, noting that such stereotypes are necessary if men want to retain their dominant position in society. Such articles are therefore a positive sign that, occasionally, alternative, truly critical discourses were disseminated in mainstream publications. Moreover, while this represents a small victory, it is one worth noting.

1973: C15), the journalist reported the first Eastern regional conference on black feminism, sponsored by the National Black Feminist Organisation (NBFO). The article quoted Beth Rawles, a minority programme director for a local TV station, who stated that black women must join together to fight a three-fronted battle:

We have to continue to work with black men to develop human rights for black people. We have to work with black women to educate ourselves that we have certain rights as women. And we have to work with the white women's movement because we have a special interest vital to our survival.

This, and other articles are “positive” in that they explore how black women’s issues differ from those facing their white sisters (and black men), indicating depth and context, which are important for gaining support. As a NBFO founder stated, “Black women in America have the problem of being both black and female in a country that is both sexist and racist” (Eason, Dec. 2, 1973: 32). Furthermore, several articles include frameworks and solutions for how to overcome these issues, including asking women to re-evaluate their roles in society, while others urge more organised support and campaign women to join in with the black feminist movement. Additionally, several articles legitimised the black women’s movement by focusing on the positive effects feminism has had on their lives. One article ended with a quote from Carolyn Reed, a NBFO founder, who proclaimed, “Feminism has made such a difference in my life. I feel that I was just playing a role before.”

been used to de-legitimise the movement and its members, as demonstrated earlier in this chapter. This is significant because it signifies the importance of having “traditional” feminine women support ones side. In these “positive” articles therefore legitimacy was often created through representing feminists as attractive, educated, heterosexual, married or as mothers. In addition, feminists’ class, age, and appearance were often used as a way of normalising and legitimising them. A common example of such normalisation includes a description of the following feminist: “Leonora Lloyd is married with two children” (Winton, Oct. 19, 1970: 9). It is worth pointing out that similar information is still used today when describing women (and sometimes men), suggesting that such detail is still used to determine where a person fits in with regard to social norms. Additionally, in many of my “positive” articles, women were legitimised if they were attractive, good-humoured, were accepting of men, and accepted by men. This last point is important; men’s support is often seen as a sure-fire way to gain credibility. To begin, it indicates that perhaps women’s interests do not directly conflict with men’s, and that the two sexes can work together to improve women’s situation. An example of such support can be found in a *New York Times* article, where a man supportively discussed his wife’s involvement with the movement:

‘I understand what the women are saying,’ said Henry Wortis, a harried medical researcher whose wife, Rochelle, delivered a speech on child rearing. ‘They want to be taken seriously,’ he said. ‘I certainly take them seriously’ (Weinraub, March 2, 1970: 3).

establish who can “speak” for the movement, and therefore, how representative their views are. Interestingly, another technique found in some publications was indicating the diversity of members, rather than typecasting them into particular roles (middle-class, lesbian, deviant, etc.). This was found in one *New York Times* article, which noted:

For two and a half days, the women – students, socialists, Marxists, trade unionists, housewives, professionals, radicals – made speeches and argued over equal pay, equal jobs and equal rights (Weinraub, March 2, 1970: 3).

Finally, though perhaps most importantly, feminists were framed as legitimate when described as heterosexual or as housewives:

NOW’s new president, Eleanor C. Smeal, bills herself as a housewife, a description any good feminist would have disdained seven years ago. Mrs. Smeal’s view, which is emerging in the organisation, is that the work women do, whatever it is and wherever it is done, has value that must be recognized (No Byline, May 3, 1977: 40).

Framing the Movement – Unified, Effective and Liberating for Women

When examining the range and variety of frames used for feminism and the women’s movement (see Table 10), along with “conflict,” and “defined in terms of its goals,” “unified/effective” and “liberating for women” were widely used in *The New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and *The Times*. In quantitative terms, the prevalence of these frames indicates that these publications positively engaged with the movement and constructed it in terms of its liberating potential, its effectiveness, or the unity of its members in striving for their goals. When examining how these frames were

		New York Times	Chicago Tribune	Times	Daily Mirror	
Feminism Frame	N/A	0	0	0	1	
	Conflict	31	26	10	34	
	Feminists as Deviants	6	8	4	25	
	Women's Place is at Work	1	0	0	0	
	Men Need Liberating Too	0	4	0	0	
	No Need for Feminism/WLM	0	0	1	5	
	Liberating/Good for Women	16	19	3	1	
	Ineffective/Fragmented/In decline	9	10	6	5	
	Unified/Effective Movement	53	11	11	9	
	Effects of Feminism	2	3	0	1	
	Backlash	3	5	1	1	
	Feminism is Bad for the Family	0	3	0	0	
	Feminism is Bad for Society	3	1	0	3	
	Feminism is Bad for Women	2	5	0	7	
	Feminism is Bad for Men	1	0	0	0	
	Unclear	2	0	0	0	
	Contradictory	16	13	5	11	
	Is necessary	4	4	2	7	
	Individual/Personal Freedom	1	1	0	0	
	Defined In Terms of Goals	50	47	7	0	
	Middle-Class	1	3	0	0	
	Unsupported	6	3	1	0	
	Gone Too Far	0	3	0	0	
	Is a white-movement/not relevant for Blacks	0	2	0	0	
	Politics	3	0	1	0	
	Is insensitive to the black struggle	0	1	0	0	
	Fragmented movement	0	9	0	0	
	Is in a new phase	0	2	0	0	
	Total		210	183	52	110

that were not as likely to attract media attention.

Examples of this international coverage includes “Pioneer Women” (Menkes, June 4 1968: XI) about women’s lib groups in Israel, “In A Way Egypt Has Been the Cradle of Women’s Lib” (Frenchman, May 18, 1972: II) addressing how Egypt was one of the first nations to form a women’s movement, and “Dawning Of A New Era for Iranian Women” (No Byline, May 21, 1974: VII) about the movement’s impact in Iran. Upon closer examination, we can see how these frames were used to legitimise the movement. In the article “Women of the world unite – in song, laughter, work and protest,” (Puddlefoot, July 2, 1973: 8), the journalist discussed how feminist organisations from 28 countries worked together effectively during their three-day conference to achieve positive results:

“The conference was a cheerful chaos of song, laughter, endless discussion and punishingly hard work. It resolved itself efficiently during the last day-and-a-half into the election of an ad hoc operating committee to initiate planning for a world feminist congress in the autumn of 1974, the establishment of policy guidelines on programme and content, and the selection of possible locations.”

Here, feminism is seen to unify women around the globe, and is an effective organiser of future events. Evidence of solidarity between feminists is also found in the article with statements such as:

“(T)he task force discussing topics for the agenda had no difficulty outlining 15 main issues. These included sex-role stereotyping, the image of women, alternative life-styles, need for solidarity and joint action, health and welfare,

movement is quoted as proclaiming:

Our revolution is unique. It can't be seen in terms of class warfare or race warfare – though it intersects, is linked with, and has learned from other revolutions of the oppressed. It transcends orthodox political lines of right, left, centre – it confronts all our different economic systems with profound challenges. Before it is finished every institution of society will be radically restructured.

In addition to constructing the women's movement as efficient, effective and unifying, this article legitimises the movement by addressing feminist's goals, and giving context to their plight. Finally, this article is legitimising because rather than focusing on the style of the movement; it focuses on its substance, and is evidence that the media, at times, took the movement seriously. In this section I hope to have demonstrated how articles within my sample both engaged with the movement's issues, and framed them as legitimate. I will now proceed to go more in-depth with such coverage in Case Study 2 below.

Case Study 2 – Legitimacy in *The New York Times*

This case study will focus on the very first *New York Times* article in my sample, which constructed the movement and its members as legitimate and liberating for women. Titled, “What do these women want? The Second Feminist Wave” (Lear, March 10, 1968: SM24), the article is a 10-page feature within the supplementary *New York Times Sunday Magazine* (see Appendix 5). I chose to do a case study on

found near the beginning of my sample period, than at the end, perhaps a result of the media's initial attempt to place the movement in context. Because the digital databases I used to collect *New York Times* articles only brought up the individual article rather than the entire page, it is not possible to analyse where the article is positioned within each page. The article's length indicates that the movement is an important topic that merited close attention. Underneath the headline are four columns of text, and beneath them, photos of well-dressed, middle-aged women marching with signs. One reads, "Women can THINK as well as TYPE," while another proclaims, "It is a woman's civil right to bear only wanted children." The article opens with the introduction to members of the newly formed National Organisation for Women (NOW), which wants "full equality for all women in America, in truly equal partnership with men", and describes a recent demonstration:

It was billed as a black comedy, nothing elaborate. Twelve comely feminists dressed for cocktails would crash the hearings of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission on sex discrimination in employment. They would make some noise, possibly get arrested, certainly get thrown out, meet the press, and all the while give prominent display to large, home-lettered signs, of which my favourite read: 'A Chicken in Every Pot, A Whore in Every Home' ... To the press, they would explain that they were protesting all those prejudices and laws of the land which keep women at home and in the bottom of the job market, but exclude them from jobs that utilise intelligence in any significant way.

This makes it clear, they would say, that women are valued not for their intelligence but only for their sexuality – i.e. as wives and mothers – which, stripping the matter of its traditional sacred cows, reduces the Women's Role to a sort of socially acceptable whoredom.

reports on them in a matter of fact way, without judgements on how such differences could positively or negatively affect the movement. Perhaps such discourse was not employed because the movement had not yet had time for such oppositional discourses to form. What is also significant about the article is the large amount of space allocated allows the journalist to go in depth and explore not only the feminist grievances, but their goals as well:

What NOW wants, but way of immediate implementation of its goals, is total enforcement of Title VII: a nationwide network of child-care centres, operation as optional community facilities; revision of the tax laws to permit full deduction of housekeeping and child-care expenses for working parents; maternity benefits which would allow some period of paid maternity leave and guarantee a woman's right to return to her job after childbirth; revision of divorce and alimony laws ("so that unsuccessful marriages may be terminated without hypocrisy, and new ones contracted without undue financial hardship to either man or woman"), and a constitutional amendment withholding Federal funds from any agency, institution or organisation discriminating against women.

The breadth and depth of the movement's goals were rarely reported in future articles as mediated representations of the movement became associated with single-issue campaigns such as the E.R.A. and abortion in the US.

Not only did coverage legitimise the movement by taking an in-depth look into its formation and goals, but it also combated stereotypes surrounding feminists, "When I finally prepared to do an article on this new tide, I prepared to be entertained; it is the feminist burden that theirs is the only civil-rights movement in history which has been put down, consistently, but the cruellest weapon of them all – ridicule." The article

fraud,” as it “devolves ultimately on which breakfast food to buy.” Additionally, the feminists note that even though education is open to women, gender roles are so firmly entrenched that most, in the end, choose to stay home. Discourses engaging with the movement’s complaints such as this legitimise the movement by contextualising its actions and validating them, rather than just reporting them. This is particularly useful as the article moves on to discussing the radical segment of the movement. Rather than framing them as deviant, the article states: “Not all of the new feminist activity is centred with NOW. To its left is a small group called Radical Women – young, bright-eyed, cheerfully militant –which recently splintered off from Students for a Democratic Society.” Though still defining its members as “militant,” the word “cheerfully” in front of it takes the edge off. Additionally, the journalist does not trivialise the radical’s goals, though it should be noted that several radicals are described in terms of their appearance (generally attractive) or marital status (mostly unmarried, but if married, then still using their maiden name). Such descriptions could be read as “normalising,” and therefore “legitimising” radical feminists – a construction that is not often seen for this group. Additionally, the article supports the movement by engaging with the radical’s revolutionary goals in a serious, non-trivialising way. One example includes a quote from radical feminist, Anna Koedt, who states: “We (radicals) believe in a total change in the social structure to achieve total equality of the sexes, so that men and women will be free to come together in

journalist tends to end with quotes or statements that are supportive rather than demeaning or damning. An example of this can be found in the discussion of the various differences between NOW and the radical the movement, particularly concerning their views on marriage, the family and the parent-child relationship. I would argue that overall, by engaging with the movement, its members and their differences, in a serious, non-trivialising manner, the article legitimises, rather than trivialises the movement and its members, if not their goals. While this article is unique both in terms of the length and depth in which it explores the movement, its members and their goals, similar engagement with the issues can be found in *The New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and *The Times*.

In concluding this discourse analysis, it is worthwhile noting that discourses were constructed exclusively using feminist voices, or statements from the journalist. It is significant that women's movement members, as opposed to anti-feminists or pro-family members framed the debate, though it should be noted that their absence might in part be because no such counter-groups had yet formed. In addition, discourses of legitimacy were constructed with the help of "positive" descriptions of the feminists, including (attractive) appearances, (heterosexual) sexual preferences and cheerfulness. If trying to analyse who this discourse serves, it is most definitely feminists, as it constructs them as an up-and-coming, positive group who aims to

top-level positions. Rather, such women are already a part of the paid labour system (and have been for a long time), and often lack the education, training or opportunities required to achieve top-level positions. So while the discourse is certainly “positive” for a specific construction of the women’s movement and its members, it is lacking in terms of addressing various issues of concern to many women. Such absences are not only present in this article, or publication, but can be found in *The Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* as well, though rarely the *Daily Mirror*, which, as already demonstrated, overwhelmingly de-legitimised the movement and its members.

While I spent most of this chapter focusing on the ways discourses either legitimised or de-legitimised feminists, I want to now turn to focus on discourses that were contradictory, as they demonstrate the ideological battles that took place in regards to the movement.

Contradictory Discourses - Legitimate Goals, Illegitimate Feminist

According to the statistics derived from my content analysis (see Table 8), one quarter of all stories (143) in my women’s movement sample were found to be “contradictory” in tone. As previously mentioned, articles were coded as contradictory if they presented a range of legitimising and de-legitimising discourses and demonstrate a battle to frame or represent the movement and its members.

it indicates that at some point, feminist goals attained support, yet the movement did not. In this sense then, this discussion is a useful bridge into the next chapter, which focuses specifically on how equal rights were represented in the press. What is also interesting to note about the legitimate goal, de-legitimate movement discourse is that as stated in my introduction, it is one that still circulates in society today with the phrase: "I'm not a feminist, but..." Such contradictions are evident in headlines, including the *Chicago Tribune* feature, "The lady is a closet feminist" (Landis, March 24, 1974: D1), which describes a woman whose husband "does the grocery shopping and the vacuuming, but she'd never admit it to her bridge group." The article goes on to state that despite her support for equal rights, "she's a model of unquestioning femininity, every hair in layered place, gleamer and lip gloss perfect, clothes not bursting her husband's budget but fashionable. No one would suspect that beneath this tranquil exterior beats the heart of a closet feminist." Interestingly enough though the article follows with:

It has taken her a long while to get where she is. When the most recent wave of feminist consciousness raising started in the early '60s, the bra burning turned her and a lot of other respectable ladies off...

Summarily, the women's libbers were dismissed as women who had failed. They were unattractive, unshapely, too smart, aggressive, demanding, altogether social misfits...

But slowly the feminist movement started taking on signs of recognition: The President and other politicians began carefully adding the words 'and women' to the speeches. Women began to enter law and medical schools in unprecedented numbers. And the media began highlighting the unique and outstanding tasks women were accomplishing outside the home. How could anyone argue with 'equal pay for equal work?'

20 years recently when she asked to be admitted to the corporation management training program. Another one, a single teacher, has submitted her application to be assistant superintendent of her school district. Both disavow any sympathy with the 'women's libbers.'

I find it quite enlightening that this journalist correctly identified the trend of rejecting feminists, yet accepting their goals. What this discourse says is that discourses of delegitimacy were effective, at least to the point of demonising those who fought for equal rights. Perhaps equal rights were not demonised because they struck a chord with people. As the journalist states in this article: "How could anyone argue with 'equal pay for equal work?'" Several other articles also carried the discourse of delegitimate feminists, but legitimate goals, such as a *New York Times* article, interviewing the winner of a mother of the year contest. The article quotes the winner Mrs. Langon, who declares, "she was 'not particularly' a feminist, even though she favours passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and prefers to be called a 'newspaperwoman' rather than a 'housewife'" (No Byline, May 7, 1977: 54).

For some women, they rejected the label feminists and the women's movement as a whole because they felt that "Women's Lib has gone off on a tangent and lost track of the really important issues" (Toll, April 30, 1972:2). Yet at the same time, the speaker notes that, "we are for women's rights, most definitely." It becomes clear in articles such as this that the women's movement has come to be associated with a radical, extreme movement that does not represent what most women want. As a result of its

disconnect with society, the article describes a woman who formed an anti-women's lib group because, "every time I talked to women they told me they believed in women's rights but couldn't stand the women's liberation movement. 'Women's lib' has forsaken the average American woman by pushing for the equal rights amendment which takes away most things most women cherish – like freedom from the draft and the right to alimony and child custody in divorce."

At times, articles demonstrated that women recognised that the women's movement suffered from "an image problem" (Herman, March 18, 1979: 11). However, rather than trying to combat it, most women continued to disassociate themselves from it. As one equal rights amendment supporter noted, "'You're a 'women's libber' – that term makes me gag – a bad person.' She says that's why she became active in the ERA ratification movement six years ago." This clear distinction between what equal rights supporters stand for and what the women's movement stands for is found throughout my US publications, and indicates either that society ignored more "positive" representations, or had limited access to such representations. I would argue that the former is more likely, as both the publications in which this discourse was found, published a large amount of supportive articles, as demonstrated in the previous section. What the prevalence of the legitimate goals, de-legitimate discourse suggests then, is that despite the circulation of "positive" representations, "negative" constructions held more ideological power, as they already fit in with accepted gender norms, making them more appealing to the public. What is also interesting to note is that while this discourse of legitimate goals, de-legitimate movement was found in my UK sample, it was much less prevalent, and was virtually non-existent in the *Daily Mirror*. While I have demonstrated this publication's dismissive stance on the

Summary

This chapter explored how feminists and the women's movement were represented in 555 articles in four publications, spread out over a 14-year time period. Overall, coverage can be described as fragmented within each publication except for the *Daily Mirror*, where discourses of de-legitimacy and deviance were hegemonic.

Additionally, when examining media coverage, it becomes apparent that the movements in the US and the UK were organised differently, in terms of size, media events, and spokespeople. Such findings are confirmed by more historical literature on the movements, and are thus unsurprising (Anderson 1991; Bradley 2003; Bouchier 1983; Ferree 1987; Huddy 1996). The most noticeable difference in media coverage cross-nationally is that US articles clearly demonstrate the highly organised nature of the women's movement, evident in articles following activities of the National Organisation for Women (NOW), the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC), and other, anti-liberation groups (e.g. Happiness of Women). Such evidence of organisation was not evident in the UK. This supports Ferree's (1987) findings that while the US movement used more lobby-like structures, informal networking groups were more common in Europe. Here, only a handful of articles constructed the movement as a cohesive organisation (such as the Six Point Group, the Fawcett Society, or smaller consciousness raising groups consisting of neighbourhood women), or

articles vs. the *Daily News* and *The Times*' 162 articles. Despite yielding fewer articles in the sample period, the UK sample is ideologically rich, revealing the circulation of popular (and not so popular) discourses within British society.

After examining the amount of articles per publication, I analysed the variance in genres present, determining that there was an almost even amount of features ("soft" news) and news reports ("hard" news). This suggests that the feminisation or "tabloidisation" of news was certainly occurring during my sample period (Franklin 1997; Harcup and O'Neil 2001). However, I am unable to tell if the women's movement was a catalyst, speeding such processes up, or if it was already occurring before my sample began. Additionally, I found certain publications used some genre more than others, at times with surprising results. For example, columns were often used in the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Daily Mirror*, suggesting that the women's movement was worthy of extra comment and analysis. Columns also often focus on important issues, and it is therefore noteworthy to see that both publications regarded the movement as such. Genre was also important to examine in terms of gender differences. Overall, I found that women wrote most stories on the movement, though when examining the gender breakdown by genre, it becomes apparent that men are still more likely to write "hard" news stories than "soft" ones, though the movement did represent a time when men were more likely to interview women over men.

predicated upon similar ideologies – capitalism or patriarchy. To analyse the coverage fully, I employed a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis, which examined how articles (failed to) engaged with the movement in terms of their goals, their grievances, and their tactics. Additionally, I spent time examining news frames. Frames of “deviance,” feminism as “bad for society” “ineffective,” or “middle-class constructed discourses of de-legitimacy, and were particularly prominent within the *Daily Mirror*. Additionally, I argued that such negative discourses tended to construct the movement either as de-legitimate or deviant, mainly through the use of “natural” gender ideologies. Such discourses are difficult to combat because they appear to be related to biology – and thus unchangeable. Associating behavioural roles to biological sex made masculine and feminine norms appear to be common sense, and therefore provided the opportunity to label anyone who challenged such roles “deviant.”

While this was one of the most powerful ways to de-legitimise the movement, other articles did so by arguing that there was “no problem,” regarding women’s inequality and therefore “no solution” needed to end their oppression/discrimination. Some use humour or ridicule to trivialise their goals, and making it appear that they were only sought after by a small (sometimes privileged) group of women, whose interests did not reflect what most women wanted. As a result, such articles de-legitimised the

(and feminists in general) as “deviant,” ugly, man-hating, radical or militant, without giving them a chance to speak for themselves. As Ross (2007: 454), points out, who (not) invited to speak in a story is significant because it indicates which voices are given legitimacy and status. Therefore, in noting the absence of such voices, one can conclude that homosexuals had little or no status during my sample period. Because the lesbian issue was seen as so divisive and potentially harmful to the movement, feminists often only engaged with it in order to distance themselves from it. This therefore led to a demarcation between “acceptable” and “unacceptable” feminisms, which I argue still exists today.

While discourses of de-legitimacy and deviance were common in all four publications, discourses of legitimacy were really only found in three: *The New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and *The Times*. Interestingly, when *The Times* constructed the movement in positive manner, its focus was international, rather than national in scope, a finding supported in previous UK research (Morris 1973a). Conversely, articles in *The New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* focused almost exclusively on the US movement. In part, this difference could be because the US movement was so successful at attracting media attention, that they produced enough material to prevent publications from searching for movement stories worldwide. The movement’s visibility was likely a result of its highly organised nature, comprising o

feminists' issues, reporting them in serious, non-trivialising manner, and using frames constructing feminism as a unifying, effective and liberating. Because previous scholars rarely mention such "positive" coverage (Ashley and Olson 1998; Barker-Plummer 2000; Bradley 2003; Costain et al. 1997; Freeman 2001a; 2001b; Goddu 1999; Pingree and Hawkins 1978; Rhode 1995), I felt it deserved special attention here. However, despite supporting the movement and engaging in its goals, I cannot help but be critical of the fact that much coverage legitimised "normal" feminists at the expense of marginalizing "deviant" ones – or those who challenged traditional gender norms. It is therefore in the coverage's overall failure to deconstruct gender ideologies that I must argue coverage was unsuccessful in truly liberating women, and was not as helpful as it could have been. Through employing liberal critiques, discourses stated that equality was available, yet women themselves were self-limiting (this topic will also be further explored in the next chapter). Therefore, while women were granted "equal rights," their lives were still limited and oppressed by capitalist and patriarchal ideologies, which were rarely, if ever challenged.

While in this chapter I focused heavily on discourses that were either "positive" or "negative," I also wish to point out that contradictory discourses were common, and represent the battle between discourse hegemony. Rather than focusing on the specific ways articles positioned contradictory discourses, I decided instead to focus upon a

disconnect will be explored in the next chapter, which will follow a similar structure to this one. It will begin by discussing the overall trends in coverage, including frequency per publication, genres used, journalist and source gender, and peaks and ebbs of coverage. It will then explore the ways equal rights were legitimised, using examples and case studies to illustrate my arguments along the way. The chapter will then focus on ways equal rights were de-legitimised, and will conclude with a discussion about how equal right stories were “contradictory” in both tone and framing.

US and the UK. Similar to the last chapter, I argue that discourses of equal rights were contradictory and fragmented within all four publications, though, once again, discourses of de-legitimacy were hegemonic only within the *Daily Mirror*. Out of the total 807 articles gathered using a combination of search terms for the movement and equal rights, 747 dealt with equal rights. This means that only 60 of all articles gathered for this research, did not mention equal rights (this is in contrast to the 251 articles that did not mention the movement or its members). This difference is significant in that it demonstrates that while the movement was considered newsworthy, their goals were seen to be more so. Perhaps because while feminists and the movement were often discussed by those directly involved, equal rights were a topic that were dealt with by many groups, not just feminists (van Zoonen 1992).¹⁰⁸ Though I could have discarded those articles that did not discuss the movement, I argue that they are still useful for providing insights into equal rights discourses.

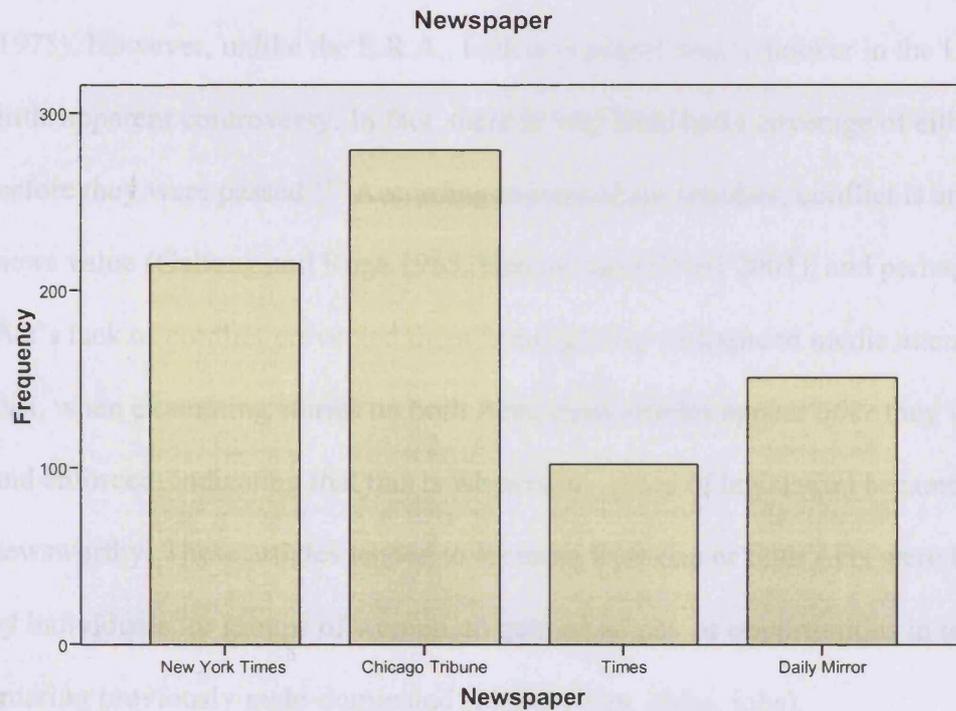
Similar to articles on the women's movement in the previous chapter, the number of equal rights stories varied per publication (see Figure 9), with cross-national differences apparent in terms of prevalence. In the previous sample, *The New York Times* had the highest number of articles. In this sample, the *Chicago Tribune* found equal rights most newsworthy with 279 articles (33.3%), followed in second by *The*

¹⁰⁸ Additionally, not long before the women's movement began, the US witnessed a civil rights movement, which brought such issues to the public's attention.

discuss the latter topic. Similar findings were present in the other three publications. For example, in *The New York Times* only 4 articles did not discuss equal rights (1.0% of all articles on both topics in this publication), as did 26 *Daily Mirror* articles (14.7% of all articles on both topics in this publication), and 26 *Chicago Tribune* articles (9.1% of all articles on both topics in this publication). This suggests that, relative to articles on the women's movement, the topic of equal rights were seen to be very newsworthy in all four publications. I would argue that there are two main reasons for the discrepancy in number of articles on the two topics. To begin, I would argue that unlike the women's movement, which directly targeted women, equal rights are a broader topic and can be seen to affect all members of society. Second, because of the broad reach of equal rights, organizations aside from the women's movement became involved or interested. In fact, the women's movement could be said to pick up on this issue from the Civil Rights Movement, which raised issues of inequality to the public's attention in the mid 1950s. Therefore, feminists were only one of many groups involved in equal rights campaigns. In both countries, trade unions, men, housewives, employers, teenagers, the military, and government became involved in the debate, therefore increasing the number of ways the topic could be broached.

¹⁰⁹ In fact, this number for the *Chicago Tribune* represents a sample of total articles found within this publication. To reiterate, I consciously chose to limit my sample of *Tribune* articles so as not to skew the content analysis too much.

Figure 9 - Equal Rights Articles per Publication, 1968-1982



When examining other characteristics of coverage, further trends stand out. To begin, when reading through the articles initially, it became apparent that equal rights were addressed through different lenses in the US and the UK. In the US for example, equal rights were most often addressed through a discussion of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), a Constitutional amendment that would eliminate discrimination based on sex. Because the issue was intertwined with federal and state politics, and took 10 years to defeat (1972-1982), it was eventually included as a regular part of the media-issue cycle, and considered to be a “news beat,” thus providing impetus for continual coverage (McCarthy et al. 111996; Mills 1997: 50). The UK however, lacked such an ongoing equal rights news peg, and therefore addressed it only as certain issues or events arose, likely accounting for the fewer overall amount of

news value (Galtung and Ruge 1965; Harcup and O'Neil 2001), and perhaps these Acts' lack of conflict prevented them from gaining widespread media attention. In fact, when examining stories on both Acts, most articles appear *after* they were passed and enforced, indicating that this is when either piece of legislation became newsworthy. These articles tended to focus on how one or both Acts were being used by individuals, or groups of women, to gain equal pay or opportunities in terms of entering previously male-dominated spheres (bars, clubs, jobs).

Such socio-political differences automatically result therefore in a difference in the amount of news stories on equal rights in each country, and are important to keep in mind throughout this analysis.

Genre

As stated in the previous chapter, genre is an important feature to analyse in newspaper research, because it affects the style in which the story is written, the presentation of information, which page or sections it occupies, style and narratives used. When examining the overall figures in genre, news reports and features once again dominated the statistics. However, as opposed to women's movement articles,

¹¹⁰ Though it is unclear from reading up on the Acts or through newspapers articles why it passed much quicker than the E.R.A., it is likely that this was partly the result of the UK's longer tradition of socialist ideologies, stating that people should receive equal compensation for their labour. Additionally, it is likely that both British Acts passed quickly because they were straightforward laws whereas the E.R.A. was attempting to amend the US Constitution, which is a very long and drawn-out process, requiring 38 of 50 states to approve of the changes.

for *The Times*, where there were almost three times as many features as news reports (60 vs. 24 articles). Though I am unclear why this publication included more features than news reports, it is worthwhile to point out that unlike the *Daily Mirror*, which frequently reported women's use of the equal rights legislation, such coverage was absent in *The Times*. Rather, this publication tended to focus on the *effects* of equal rights, and often used case studies to explore such issues. This is quite an unusual finding, as previous studies argue that the media are more likely to be event, rather than issue oriented (Martindale 1989). What is also striking about *The Times* coverage (mostly in features, but to an extent in news reports), is that a vast majority do not focus on equal rights in the UK, but in an international context. This was also true for stories on the women's movement in the previous chapter. For example "Women: equality in cities but not in rural areas" (Mukherji. Feb. 19, 1973: XI), examines women's status in India, and "Principal Roles For Women" (Appiah. Oct. 22, 1969: VII) focuses on women in Ghana. Other countries examined include: Bangladesh, Belgium, Canada, China, Egypt, Finland, France, Iran, Japan, Lebanon, Kuwait, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, and the US.

Similar to the previous chapter, the prevalence of discourses around equal rights remained consistent within each publication. What I mean by this is that within *The Times*, the largest percent of articles within all genres were more likely to be

		New York Times	Chicago Tribune	Times	Daily Mirror	Total
Genre	News Report	86	100	24	48	258
	News Brief	19	9	2	6	36
	Feature	81	64	60	41	246
	Column	9	39	12	31	91
	Letter to the Editor	8	49	0	11	68
	Editorial	8	10	4	6	28
	Backgrounder	1	0	0	1	2
	Agony Aunt	0	1	0	2	3
	Photo	1	0	0	0	1
	Women's/Lifestyle Section	2	7	0	5	14
Total		215	279	102	151	747

In relation to the overall number of male and female journalists, it is apparent that the significant divide in the previous chapter has closed (see Table 12). In total, women authored 312 articles (41.8%), compared to 235 authored by men (31.5%).¹¹¹ This indicates that while equal rights were still to a degree seen to be a “woman” story, more men reported this topic than the women’s movement. What is also significant is that traditional gender divides in regards to genre are very clear. Men wrote 110 news reports (42.6%), compared to 72 authored by women (27.9%). Conversely, men wrote 69 feature stories (28%) compared to 139 authored by women (56.5%). Interestingly, women also wrote more letters to the editor than men (37 vs. 9), as well as columns (49 vs. 38), though men wrote more editorials than women (4 vs. 0). Though these figures are small, they could be read as indicative that women had still yet to achieve

¹¹¹ It was unclear who authored a further 200 articles (26.8%), either because there was no byline included, or the journalist’s name was ambiguous.

were not as fruitful.

Table 12 – Journalist Gender Cross-Tabulated with Genre, 1968-1982

		Journalist Gender			
		Male	Female	Unclear/Unknown	Total
Genre	News Report	110	72	76	258
	News Brief	3	1	32	36
	Feature	69	139	38	246
	Column	38	49	4	91
	Letter to the Editor	9	37	22	68
	Editorial	4	0	24	28
	Backgrounder	0	1	1	2
	Agony Aunt	0	2	1	3
	Photo	0	0	1	1
	Women's/Lifestyle Section	2	11	1	14
Total		235	312	200	747

Table 13 - Articles per Publication and Year, 1968-1982

		Newspaper				
		New York Times	Chicago Tribune	Times	Daily Mirror	Total
Date	1968	2	0	9	1	12
	1969	0	0	10	5	15
	1970	6	5	6	20	37
	1971	8	5	9	16	38
	1972	16	16	8	16	56
	1973	7	14	8	12	41
	1974	5	36	10	5	56
	1975	20	63	15	13	111
	1976	20	15	6	23	64
	1977	27	31	1	17	76
	1978	13	25	4	5	47
	1979	29	15	0	6	50
	1980	25	14	6	2	47
	1981	11	10	6	6	33
	1982	26	30	4	4	64
Total		215	279	102	151	747

more newsworthy than others, though in examining the figures per publication (see Table 13), the dates alter depending on the country and publication. For example, equal rights became most newsworthy in *The New York Times* after 1975, when pro and anti-E.R.A. forces stepped up their campaigns. Similar statistics can also be found in the *Chicago Tribune*, though at its peak (1975), it published three times as many articles as *The New York Times* that year (63 vs. 20 articles).¹¹² As equal rights stories generally became more newsworthy in the US as my sample period progressed, a similar pattern is not found within my UK sample. Here, equal rights stories emerged at different times and in frequencies in *The Times* and *Daily Mirror*, and my sample period both began and ended with a small number of articles. This indicates that the newsworthiness of equal rights had a shorter life span in the UK compared to the US. However, as discussed earlier, this is almost certainly linked to the ongoing E.R.A. issue in the US, which the UK had no equivalent. Additionally by the beginning of the 1980s, the UK women's movement as such was in decline, as women became more involved in single-issue campaigns such as the peace and environmental movement. As a result, equal rights coverage in my UK publications "peaked" in the middle of the sample, and was followed by "lows." Another difference is that where UK articles post-1975 tended to trace *individual* women's use of the new legislation to demand

¹¹² I want to remind readers that peaks and lows should be read as suggestive rather than representative within the *Chicago Tribune* only, where my use of systematic sampling meant that the peak and low years might actually have had more articles than is represented within these statistics. Such articles would have been removed in an attempt to reduce the amount of *Chicago Tribune* sample size so as not to dominate the statistical figures overall.

to attain equal pay or access to previously banned venues (see Table 14). Examples such court cases, tribunals or hearings include: “Waitress clears up pay dodge” (Davies, Oct 13, 1976: 5) reporting on female hotel employees’ demand for similar pay as their male colleagues¹¹³, and “Battling blonde calls the law in to fight for equal pay” (Daniels, Jan. 9, 1976: 7) about a woman’s demand for a pay rise under the new equal pay laws. In contrast, using feature stories (32 articles), and government campaigns (9 articles), *The Times* explored women’s new roles in society, particularly in an international context. Additionally, while the *Daily Mirror* was likely to focus on how “ordinary” women were fighting for equal pay, *The Times* reported on equal rights stories involving elite members of society (particularly if the focus was within the UK). Such differences support the distinction between tabloid and broadsheet formats in the UK, where the former tends to report on personal stories, while the latter focus on the institutional or social ones (Macdonald 2000). Examples of this elite focus in *The Times* includes coverage of how government campaigns were established to evaluate women’s roles in British society, assessing what could be done from a policy angle to improve them. One such article, titled: “Women at work: the five wasted years” (Gibb, June 11, 1981: 11) discussed a House of Commons session examining how the government’s past economic and social policies have marginalised women, and what could be done to improve their situation.

¹¹³ Their raise was refused because the few men who held the same position as women were given a new title, thus removing the claim that men and women were conducting similar work, and justifying the pay difference.

ER Legislation	16	90	5	9
Government Campaign	6	1	9	4
Feminist Campaign/Activity	37	15	5	14
Anti-Feminist Campaign/Activity	6	2	1	1
Trade Union Activity	0	1	2	3
Intl Women's Year	1	1	8	1
Politics	33	10	7	1
Effects of Women's Liberation/Equality	1	5	2	8
Other	5	2	2	12
Anniversary/Landmark	8	5	3	1
Conference	17	23	8	9
ER Campaign	16	20	5	9
Anita-ER Campaign	0	6	0	0
Survey/Report/Book	1	4	1	9
Press Conference	0	1	1	0
Letter to the Editor/Response	7	51	0	9
Total	215	279	102	151

While in the UK, equal rights were often discussed in terms of individual campaign or court cases, the opposite was true in the US. Few articles examined individual women's quest for equality, and instead focused on how groups of women (and men) came together to fight for (or against) equal rights, most often in the form of the E.R.A. This focus on the societal effects of equal rights once again confirms research stating that broadsheets tend to focus on this type of coverage (Macdonald 2000). When examining my US publications, it became clear that news pegs differed in both range and frequency. This is likely a combined result of differing geographic settings and focus (national vs. regional), differing audiences (working-class for the *Daily*

campaigns were the catalysts for 37 *New York Times* articles, but only 15 in the *Chicago Tribune*. While I would argue a significant reason for this difference lies in the differing events and issues affecting the news cycle in each place, the coding process can also be responsible for some of the discrepancies. In several cases, articles discussed equal rights legislation as part of feminist campaigns or activities. However, because my coding sheet allowed me to record only one variable, only one news peg could be coded (I decided that this should be based on whichever topic was mentioned first). Therefore, rather than focusing too heavily on news pegs, it is more useful to look at the particular events that constitute the “peaks.”

Equal rights were a very newsworthy issue in the *Chicago Tribune*, throughout several periods, notably 1975 and again in 1982. As previously stated, both of these peaks relate to the battle over E.R.A. Incidentally, Illinois was seen as one of the key remaining states needed to pass the amendment, and therefore, a lot of space was used to discuss the issue here. Additionally, Phyllis Schlafly, leader of the anti-E.R.A. movement was from Springfield, Illinois, and perhaps because of her proximity and prominence, the topic received more attention in the *Chicago Tribune* than in *The New York Times*. In fact, Schlafly herself authored several columns and letters to the editor in the *Chicago Tribune*, and was the focus of several feature stories, and news reports. Examples include two letters to the editor under the headline “Phyllis

further in the chapter.

Discourses over Time

In both the US and the UK, equal rights discourses were fragmented and framed in contradictory ways. At times, they were seen to empower women, men and society general, while in other cases, a discourse was constructed stating that equal rights would ruin the family, force women into the army, and entail coed restrooms. Sometimes, mixtures of these constructions were present in one article, making it unclear what the overall message was. However, I also found that certain discourses (notably “liberal notions of equality”), though supportive of equal rights, failed to challenge patriarchal and capitalist ideologies that can only be removed through social change. In this sense, I do not wish to dismiss them outright, yet at the same time, I cannot help but be critical of their failure to address and challenge oppressive ideologies. On the other hand, though such discourses failed to deconstruct these ideologies, their link with previously established discourses of liberalism were also likely the cause of their widespread acceptance, which is something that should not so easily dismissed.

Women's Opportunities in Public Sphere	5	8	22	10	4
Women's Opportunities in Powerful Positions	1	0	1	2	
No Need for Feminism/Liberation/Equality	0	0	1	7	
Equal Rights Good for Men	1	2	0	3	
Equal Rights Bad for Men	0	1	0	7	
Frivolous Goals	0	0	2	12	1
Progress for Equality is Slow	5	2	6	2	1
Capitalist and Patriarchal Critiques	0	1	0	2	
Unclear	2	0	2	3	
Contradictory	20	73	2	6	10
Is Only Fair	1	5	1	6	1
Is the Law/Women Entitled To It	1	0	0	2	
Has Negative Consequences	0	1	1	4	
Being Denied to Women	1	2	0	3	
Sexual Rights	0	0	0	6	
ER Bad For Society	1	5	0	5	1
ER Bad For the Family	3	4	0	2	
Economic	0	1	5	0	
ER=Equal Responsibility	3	9	1	4	1
Middle-Class	1	0	0	0	
Supported	21	59	2	0	8
No Support	14	20	0	0	3
Means different things for black and white people	0	1	0	0	
Gives federal government too much power	0	1	0	0	
Support for ER, but not ERA	0	4	0	0	
Total	215	279	102	151	74

That said, supportive discourses were most apparent in *The New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and *The Times*, while oppositional discourses were most common

articles used a wider variety of frames than those articles on the women's movement and as a result, the analysis in this chapter is at times more nuanced. To begin then, I will discuss "positive" discourses on equal rights, examining how these have been constructed through the idea of liberal notions of equality¹¹⁴, supported by the public and as being good for society. I will then move on to discuss "negative" discourses, constructing equal rights as unnatural, harmful to the family, men, women and society, as unsupported, and having negative consequences. I will then conclude the chapter by highlighting how many of these discourses are used within the same articles and publications, and therefore produced contradictory discourses.

Equal Rights – Supportive and Engaging Frames

When trying to assess the various ways equal rights were supported or legitimised, similarly with the previous chapter, two main features of coverage are apparent. First, certain articles legitimised the fight for equal rights using supportive frames, which at times engaged with the causes and solutions to women's inequality. Second, certain voices were used to construct equal rights as legitimate, particularly when they directly supported equal rights or equal rights legislation. To begin, in examining the frames used in equal rights articles (see Table 15), it becomes clear that they were supported

¹¹⁴ This involves a liberal critique of women's roles in society, stating that all humans are born equal and it is thus unfair to limit women's potential through discriminatory behaviour and legislation. Liberal notions of equality therefore state that women are entitled to equal rights, which can increase their opportunities and presence in the public sphere.

and “E.R.A.: keystone to other rights” (No Byline, April 5, 1978: A28) in *The New York Times*. Though articles using frames of support for equal rights were useful, others were more specific. For instance, 27 articles (3.6% of total) specifically constructed equal rights as good for women. Another 6 (less than 1% of the total) constructed it as good for men. One article that combined both frames interviewed suffragette Hazel Hunkins Hallinan, who argued that the E.R.A. is, “just as much for men as it is for women. A society that is more just and fair and equitable is going to help men just as much as it is going to help women” (No Byline, Aug. 26, 1977: 41). Though these frames clearly are not dominant (nor statistically significant), they demonstrate the various ways news articles supported equal rights in my sample period.

A more detailed examination of the equal rights as “supported” frame is found with *Chicago Tribune* editorials. Though only 10 editorials were published, they all supported the E.R.A. (though some de-legitimised its supporters’ tactics, as will be further discussed at the end of this chapter). Having editorial support is significant because in theory, the editor is largely responsible for the overall tone of the publication.¹¹⁵ Therefore, if the editor openly supports the E.R.A., it is likely that

¹¹⁵ I will however note, that this does not always happen in practice, particularly if sub-editors who might have their own position or view on the matter run other sections. Additionally, while counter arguments certainly get published, the editor has a lot of control as a gatekeeper, and has a degree of influence over how journalists frame certain stories.

March 4, 1975: A2). This paragraph clearly demonstrates support for equal rights, only from the editor's perspective (therefore representative of the publication), but from the other 34 states that already ratified the amendment. The article further constructs supportive frames through engaging with its reason for support: "We have heard the rhetoric, pro and con, and find no compelling reason why E.R.A. should be rejected." Though perhaps this endorsement sounds half-hearted, the editor argues that it should ultimately be supported because of substantial public approval: "The people of Illinois approved this constitution in December, 1970. If there were objections to the equal rights provision, they were next to inaudible." Another editorial also used determined supporters as a reason to pass the E.R.A.:

"The E.R.A.'s supporters have five more years in which to get the necessary total of 38 states to ratify it. If they fail to win approval this year, they will keep coming back until they succeed. A great deal of valuable legislative time will be wasted in needless debate and rancor in the meantime. Why not approve E.R.A. this year?" (Editorial April 19, 1974: 14).

Here, the editor sees the E.R.A.'s approval as inevitable, and rather than wasting time discussing it, he argues that it is better for everyone if legislators pass it sooner rather than later.

¹¹⁶ Modern day examples can be found within the CanWest newspaper chains in Canada owned by the pro-Israel Asper family, and the pro-Iraq war sentiments found within media owned by Rupert Murdoch.

Institution of Marriage/Family	0	0	4	1
Society	6	1	5	4
Patriarchy/Oppression/Exploitation	14	10	5	4
Capitalism/Consumerist Society	0	0	4	1
Lack of Legislation	2	3	1	0
Lack of Education	0	0	2	0
Government	5	1	0	0
No Problem	3	16	1	18
Women's Inequality is Good	0	0	0	5
Other	6	0	3	1
Too Much Support for ER Legislation	0	5	0	0
Lack of Support for ER Legislation	1	1	1	0
Inadequate Legislation	1	1	2	2
Fragmented Movement	11	1	0	1
Employers	0	0	1	10
Sexism/Discrimination	19	46	26	21
Unclear	0	0	1	3
Article Assumes Women Are Equal	1	4	3	8
Patriarchy and Capitalism	0	0	2	0
Supporter's antics gone too far	0	2	0	0
Total	215	279	102	151

While citing public approval was one way editorials constructed equal rights as legitimate, a tool used not only in editorials, but in other *Chicago Tribune* articles to use liberal critiques to examine women's unequal roles in society. Previous scholars (Bradley 2003) have noted the use of such frames. These articles often cited discrimination or prejudice as the key problem (46 articles or 16.5%) (see Table 1) and assumed that legislative changes could fix the problem (46 articles or 16.5%)

begin, in many cases, working-class women often hold jobs in which there is no male equivalent, therefore, women cannot earn “equal pay” because no man is performing “equal work.” Additionally, this legislation would do nothing to re-conceptualize and classify female-dominated jobs as “skilled,” thus requiring higher pay. Additionally, liberal theory focuses on individual action to bring about social change as opposed to collective action, removing the onus on a review of socially accepted values (Bradley 2003). Further, providing women equal opportunities is not the same as changing their (false) consciousness so they recognize their oppressive gender and social roles. It is here that the discourse continues to serve patriarchy and capitalism, as concepts such as “discrimination” ignores the role ideology plays in constructing women’s position in society. Moreover, discrimination suggests legislative changes are effective solutions, which too suggest problems with individual policies, as opposed to the capitalist system. Though changing such policies might ensure some members of society view women as competent workers (because they will be forced to hire them and acknowledge their capability), only a real critique of gender roles and the ideologies that influence them, can change society’s minds on a large scale. Therefore, while women might benefit from higher wages for their paid work, women will still be primarily held responsible for housework and child-care in the absence of a critique of gender roles. Such an investigation and challenge would not only provide women some respite from their double-burden of paid employment and homemaking

patterns, CDA is able to probe deeper into articles and draw attention away from statements that coverage was “positive” or “negative,” and focuses on the various discourses and ideologies that construct each narrative.

Table 17 - Solutions Cited per Publication, 1968-1982

		Newspaper			
		New York Times	Chicago Tribune	Times	Daily Mirror
Solution	No Solution Mentioned	160	182	48	89
	Individuals	2	0	3	1
	Societal Change	7	3	14	6
	Legislative Change	22	46	8	11
	Role Reversal/Change in Gender Roles	4	8	2	0
	Women in Workforce	0	0	1	0
	Unclear	4	7	3	2
	Women in Powerful Positions	9	1	4	2
	Nothing Needs to Change	4	21	0	16
	Unified Movement	3	5	0	4
	Union Support	0	2	1	2
	Employers Need to Adapt	0	0	4	5
	Article Assumes Women Already Equal	0	4	2	9
	Involve Tribunal/Courts/Authorities	0	0	3	3
	Education	0	0	8	1
	Affirmative Action	0	0	1	0
Total		215	279	102	151

In addition to the equal rights as supported frame, another “positive” one dominated coverage - liberal notions of equality. This was the most widely used frame in this sample (278 articles of 37.2%), and encompasses those articles which used liberal

with widely accepted notions of individualism, prominent in the US (Bradley 2003)¹¹⁷. While commonly used in all four publications, it is clearly dominant in more than others. For example, this frame constitutes 58.1% of *New York Times* articles, 50% of *Times* articles, and 29.8% of *Daily Mirror* articles. The *Chicago Tribune* was the least likely of the four publications to use the frame with 20.4%, and was instead most likely to frame equal rights as contradictory (26.2%), something which will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter. What is significant about the liberal notions frame is that articles using it often engage with the causes behind women's inequality – sexism and discrimination. Though I will limit my critique of the usefulness of liberal theories, as it has been stated in more detail both in the literature review and in the previous chapter, to summarise, the problem with discrimination is that it blames women's place in society not as a structural problem but as an individual one. In doing so, it removes the need to question society's values and instead directs attention at reforming individual values.

Additionally, within articles perpetuating this discourse, discrimination is seen as being eliminated most effectively through *legislative protection* (cited in 87 articles or 32.5% of solutions when cited), whereas oppression can best be remedied through wider social change. However, as limiting as such critiques are, they provided a

¹¹⁷ For example, discourses of the self-made man or woman were common, and the US is constructed as the land of opportunity – where each individual is solely responsible for their successes or failures in life.

Americans. A constitutional amendment is the only permanent insurance women have of equal opportunity in education, employment, credit, retirement plans and numerous other areas (Rasberry, *Chicago Tribune*, July 26, 1982: A13).

Though I personally disagree with solutions proposed, I acknowledge that such articles are positive examples of how news articles engaged and supported equal rights.

Because the term “liberal notions of equality” can seem quite vague, an example of this frame can be found in the following *Chicago Tribune* article:

Miss Manning considers the movement a true revolution and says in the year 2020, ‘Each human being regardless of race, color [sic], national origin, or sex will have the chance to realise his or her full potential without the artificial barriers of the sex role’ (Coleman, Aug. 23, 1970: F9).

Here, as common amongst liberal critiques, the source engages with the concept of sex roles – the false belief that women and men are innately different, and it is this difference that provides the impetus for unequal treatment (Jaggar 1983). By stating that human potential is sexless, artificial barriers (i.e. discrimination) prevent women from achieving their full potential. It is the injustice of these barriers, and the false belief in their naturalness, that liberal feminists most challenged (Jaggar 1983). As previously stated in Chapter 2, these views have been criticised because they ignore the fact that *gender roles* remain intact long after men and women have been granted equal opportunities, and thus have firm ideological roots that cannot be legislated

However, despite my personal views on the theoretical weaknesses of liberal arguments, it is important that I keep in mind the fact that these views were (and are) widely accepted at the time (particularly in the US), and that through discussions surrounding discrimination, the news media positively engaged with some problems and solutions suggested by equal rights advocates. Therefore, the presence of such context is significant, and should not be easily dismissed, as it is often missing from social movement coverage (Kerner 1968; Martindale 1989).

Another caveat must also be raised in relation to the liberal notions of equality frameworks. Aside from blaming “discrimination” and “sexism” as the problem for women’s inequality, several articles blamed women for their inferior roles. What is interesting is that this feature of coverage is not necessarily reflected in the content analysis (see Table 16). Here, we can see that women as the problem were only cited in 14 articles (1.9%). While this figure is not significant by any means, it only accounts for those articles that *primarily* blame women, and therefore does not account for one-off remarks or lesser discussions about why women are unequal. For example, though the headline for *The Times* article, “Where Women Provide Their Own Discrimination” indicates that women are the main reason for their position in society, the article actually focuses more on gender roles as the problem, and was coded as such. Here, Joan Lester, MP, discusses why so few women are in public posts:

...Although discrimination plays a part, it is not nearly as great as many women profess to believe. The harsh truth is that women do not try in the same numbers as men because they believe succeeding is so much more difficult. Women provide their own discrimination, which they have been taught from birth.

Articles such as this were actually quite difficult to code – because though discrimination and women are identified as the problem, I would argue that the article is actually discussing socially constructed gender roles as the problem. This raises the question, not only of which “problem” to code, but whether I should code the one identified in the article, or what I actually believe is going on.¹¹⁸ Therefore, articles such as these reveal limitations with my particular coding sheet – as more than one problem is mentioned, yet only one variable can be coded. However, rather than dismissing content analysis outright, it is better to acknowledge its flaws where possible, and use multiple methods to catch any possible oversights. Therefore, when women as the problem are present in many articles, it is not reflected in the quantitative statistics, and must be addressed through qualitative means. This is evident in *The Times* article, “Advertising: setting the standards – encouraging women” (Symon, June 28, 1971: 8). Here, the journalist interviewed several women in advertising, including Ann Petrie, the founder of an employer agency for women who shared her views on why there are not more women in management positions

‘I think prejudice is strong against women account executives,’ she says. I recently heard of an agency who got a cosmetic account and there were six men

¹¹⁸ To be true to the material present, I coded what was said in the article, though for my personal notes, I included what I actually thought the problem was.

rather than critiquing gender roles which require women to continue to bear most of the responsibility for home, or businesses for being inflexible to working women's needs, Petrie suggests the solution is for women to gain confidence in that they can handle both roles, and suggests women try harder:

Ann Petrie is obviously wanting to wake up some women in advertising to the possibilities open to them, if only they would push harder. 'My advice would be for them to get all their qualifications, and exploit any talent they may have and go out for what they are after.'

But in advertising, as in many other professions, some women are their own worst enemies. I was told they showed very little interest in courses leading to professional qualifications, giving the impression that they regarded it as a job for the moment only until they married. In view of this, one forgives a male employer for any prejudice he might have against employing women!

This supports previous research, which found that individual (as opposed to social) changes are often suggested when women's needs were not satisfied by the workplace (Rhode 1995). The article here constructs prejudice as justified in terms of economic sensibilities, and gets away with it because women's jobs in the advertising industry are framed as being temporary – something to fill their time until they find a husband and have children. It is also significant that the journalist takes for granted the statement (from an unnamed source) that women show "little interest" in professional courses, rather than speaking to them to find out if this is the case. Additionally, the article makes no mention of the fact that women often choose the homemaking path not because they are lazy or uninterested in advertising, but because this is what they have been conditioned to do since birth. Therefore, rather than questioning why

Sources, Identities and Voices

An important component of framing is the voices used to construct them. As previously mentioned in this dissertation, sources are important to examine because they can help reveal a journalist's perspective on topics through the choice of sources interviewed (or omitted), and the use of quotes (Ross 2007; Tuchman 1972). When examining the data for all six sources, it becomes clear that the number of female sources vastly outnumber men (in total 1189 female voices are used vs. 503 male voices). To reiterate a point made earlier in the chapter, female journalists were more likely to interview women than men, and men were also likely to interview women in relation to equal rights (see for example Tables 18 and 19 for an example of the relationship between journalist and source gender). This supports similar studies, which have found that female journalists are more likely than men to use women as sources (Gallagher 2005; Kahn and Goldenberg 1991b; Ross 2007; van Zoonen 1994; Zoch and Turk 1998). Therefore, though equal rights continue to represent a news story where women's voices are prioritised, men's voices are still likely to be used. Once again, this suggests that equal rights was therefore not exclusively categorised as a "woman story," and was seen to be of more interest to various members of society.

to make them seem supported by “normal” or “ordinary” people, and thus representative of what most women want. This was evident in each of my publications, though it was most noticeable in *The New York Times* and *The Times* both, articles frequently labelled equal rights supporters as “housewives,” “attractive,” or “married with children” in order to distinguish them from “radical,” “militants,” or other “deviants” (lesbians). In a *Times* article titled, “France’s feminist,” the journalist described France’s Evelyn Sullerot, as, “44, blonde, blue eyed and very pretty. She does not look at all the stuff of which stern revolutionaries are made” (Matthews, May 14, 1969: 11). While the discourse supported equal rights for women, it did so by creating a demarcation between “normal” (and thus acceptable) feminists, and “deviant” women who tend to be stern, unattractive, childless and militant. This binary was also found in the previous chapter, and has been noted by other scholars as well (van Zoonen 1992). Its purpose is to limit the ways equal rights can be fought for legitimately, which include methods that do not challenge dominant norms and ideologies. *The Times* article is not the only one to legitimise only those who do not challenge traditional roles of femininity. One *New York Times* article opened with the lead:

Judy Carter, the President’s daughter-in-law, who likes to describe herself “a housewife from Calhoun, Georgia,” has emerged as one of the leading spokes[sic] for the stalled equal rights amendment (Klemsrud, Nov. 8, 1977: 57).

powerful indication that equal rights are acceptable, so long as they do not interfere with traditional gender roles. It is also worth pointing out that, despite her powerful position in society, she tries to pass herself off as “ordinary” in attempt to garner further support. Perhaps this is a response to anti-E.R.A. accusations that equal rights are bad for the family (which will be discussed further in the chapter). Therefore, through emphasising her domestic role *and* her support for E.R.A, Carter, among others are trying to create a discourse stating that the two are in fact compatible. Moreover, what this reveals is that equal rights are fine to have, so long as they are not being used to challenge the status quo. While I think it is great that articles constructed equal rights as having a “positive” effect on women’s lives, it is unfortunate that such constructions are reliant upon traditionally feminine voices to legitimise such sentiments. Therefore, in emphasising such traditional gender roles the discourse marginalise those who dress unconventionally, are not traditionally beautiful, or those who raise their voices, despite often repeating the same message as the “normal” women.

Table 18 – Journalist Gender Correlated with Source 1 Gender

		Journalist Gender			Total
		Male	Female	Unclear/Unknown	
1 Source Gender	N/A	49	69	64	182
	Male	85	38	39	162
	Female	80	188	68	336
	Unknown/Unclear	21	17	29	67
Total		235	312	200	747

In addition to using (normal) feminist voices to support equal rights, the use of politicians was another method often used by all four newspapers. Because most politicians were male, having *elite men* supporting equal rights was an effective legitimising tool. Though both US and UK articles made use of “ordinary” voices elite males were used almost exclusively in the *Chicago Tribune* and *The New York Times*. This is likely because the E.R.A. was a prominent, ongoing, *legislative* story (where most politicians were male), where the UK’s Sex Discrimination and Equal Pay Acts received little media attention before being passed. Additionally, E.R.A. became seen as a political issue in several US government elections (most notably 1980 Presidential election), and therefore was addressed by political candidates (mostly male), as part of their campaigns and speeches. Examples of the use of politician’s voices include *The New York Times* headlines: “Sex Equality Bill Back in Senate” (No Byline, March 1, 1972: 45), “Ford Orders Review of All US Laws Find and Halt Unjustified Sex Bias” (Shanahan, July 2, 1976: 16), and “Carter Gives Support as Women March in Capital for the E.R.A.” (Hunter, Aug. 27, 1977: 8). E.R.A. became a particularly newsworthy issue in the 1980 Presidential election, evident in many articles. One titled, “Reagan Vows to Fight Sex Bias As Platform Passes” (Weaver, July 16, 1980: A14) opens with the statement:

In an effort to ease the opposition of some women to the Republican Party platform, Ronald Reagan made a series of commitments today to fight

“Men join women on equal rights” (Pratt, April 16, 1974: 3). The latter article noted

that:

Several prominent politicians, labour leaders, and businessmen pledged support, led by Mayor Daley, who proclaimed E.R.A. week in Chicago and Governor Walker, who announced E.R.A. week statewide. And Lt. Gov. Neil Hartigan held a press conference to announce the formation of a National Association of Men for the Equal Rights Amendment.

Overall, the use of men’s support for the E.R.A. was a useful legitimising tool, but such statements were more powerful if these men held public post. This was important not only because such men often had access to the media to express their support (or opposition) to the E.R.A., but because their position gave them the potential to inscribe such equality into law.

Table 20 – Article Tone per Publication, 1968-1982

		Newspaper				Total
		New York Times	Chicago Tribune	Times	Daily Mirror	
Tone	Positive	75	117	42	36	270
	Negative	23	50	8	55	136
	Neutral	75	39	33	24	171
	Contradictory	42	73	19	36	170
Total		215	279	102	151	747

When examining which voices were absent in equal rights coverage, once again, it is clear that few working-class or ethnic minorities were used, indicating their symbolic annihilation once again (Richardson 2007). Interestingly however, though their voices were mostly absent, the *Daily Mirror* was the only publication likely to cover

were quoted 61 times.¹¹⁹ Additionally, equal rights supporters were used 149 times compared to equal rights opponents who spoke 71 times. It is significant that the predominant equal rights voices were prioritised in these articles, and used as the “primary” definers (Hall et al. 1978), indicating that they perhaps had some power in terms of setting the tone of how equal rights were framed. The predominance of such voices was also likely accounted for the fact that, when counting the total number of supportive or oppositional statements about equal rights or equal rights legislation, sources were more likely to support both than reject them.¹²⁰ In total, 148 sources indicated their support for equal rights, while a further 111 indicated their support for equal rights legislation.¹²¹ Conversely, only 27 sources clearly articulated opposition to equal rights, while a substantive 96 stated their opposition to equal rights legislation. Such statements were used when determining the overall story tone. When examining the figures (see Table 20), 36.1% (270) of all stories were “positive”, compared to 18.1% (136) “negative” ones, and just under 23% for both neutral and contradictory articles (171 and 170 articles respectively). When breaking these figures down by publication, only the *Daily Mirror* had more “negative,” than “positive” articles (36 vs. 55),

¹¹⁹ Such labels were only coded when members self-identified themselves as movement members, feminists or anti-feminists.

¹²⁰ Statements of support or opposition to equal rights were only coded if included in a direct quote. Paraphrasing a person’s position on either equal rights, or equal rights legislation were not included.

¹²¹ It should be noted that most of these sources were found in my US publications, and referred mainly to the E.R.A.

and mostly relied on the use of a liberal notions of equality frame to gain popular support. I also caution that while such discourses appear supportive on the surface level, they are limited in their ability to make women equal, as they fail to deconstruct patriarchy and capitalism as forces undermining women, depressing the pay, and barring them from work opportunities. Additionally, it was within these articles, that, while engaging with problems and solutions to women's inequality, women themselves were sometimes identified as the main problem – thereby deflecting attention away from capitalism and patriarchy as shaping women's position in life. Finally, the use of certain voices also dominated coverage, particularly feminists, equal rights supporters, (male) elites, and sometimes members of the public. It is clear that equal rights supporters were the primary definers in my sample and likely account for the overwhelming amount of articles with a "positive" tone. However, though perhaps "negative" constructions of equal rights did not prevail in most of my publications, it is worthwhile to examine how they operated, and sought to undermine the gains women were making in society.

Equal Rights, Women, Men, Family and Natural Gender Roles

As a woman growing up with the benefits won by feminists in the women's movement, it seems ludicrous to me that women should not have the same rights, opportunities, and pay as men. However, despite my modern day views (and femin

discourses of natural gender roles. These were used to keep women in the home or menial, low-paid work. Though discourses of natural gender roles were not quantified in their own framing category, they were present in many others. Included were those that stated equal rights were bad for women (it would force them into paid labour), bad for men (women would steal their jobs), bad for the family (it would allow for homosexual unions), or society as a whole (it would create a unisex society). Though each of these individual frames only represents a small percent of the total figure (see Table 15), when added together, it becomes apparent that they were widely used.

When tracing the emergence of such “negative” discourses over time, my data indicated that they emerged in the *Daily Mirror* in 1969, followed next by the *Chicago Tribune* in 1970, the following year in *The New York Times*, and finally in 1972 in *The Times*. It is not possible to claim an overall “peak” for these frames, as they were used in differing variations within each publication throughout the sample period. Though such frames were only ever found in a maximum of 5 or 6 articles per publication (though there were usually between 1 and 3 articles per year), they consistently appear through most of the time period, thus demonstrating their current and resilience to alternative frames. One article that clearly articulates how equal rights were framed as bad for women, men and society is found in, “All Women’s Liberationists Hate Men and Children” (Wittner, May 20, 1973: H12) (see Appendix

something most women reject. While many articles include one or two of these discourses, this article is an ideological jackpot in the sense that it contains them all. For this reason, I will use this article as the basis for my first case study in this chapter.

Case Study 3 – Natural Gender Roles, “Real” women, and Equal Rights in the *Chicago Tribune*

Similar to my *New York Times* articles gathered via digital database, those gathered from the *Chicago Tribune* via digital archive only retrieve the specific article, rather than the entire page, making it impossible to analyse the story within the wider context of the newspaper. Therefore, while I am unable to place this article into a wider context in terms of advertisements and other articles, I am able to determine a few things about it. To begin, the article spans 4 pages, and was likely part of the publications Sunday magazine.¹²² The top half of the article is split into three columns. The first portrays the article headline: “All women’s liberationists hate men and children.” Next to a photo of Schlafly, eyes down, reading an article. Schlafly’s hair is nicely done, and she is wearing a good coat, modestly buttoned up to her neck. Her appearance indicates that she is a middle-class woman aged between 40-50 years old. The third column includes a caption for the photo stating:

¹²² The article was in fact published on a Sunday - May 20, 1973.

unsupported, deviant and de-legitimate, and frames it in terms of conflict. The ar

begins with a description of the “battle” between pro and anti-E.R.A. forces:

A bright and noisy storm of women, delegations pro and con, had assen
from all over the state, armed with neighborhood petitions and conflicting placar
‘E.R.A. is A-Okay,’ proclaimed one. ‘E.R.A. is *Not* the Way,’ contradicted ano

The use of war metaphors indicates that this is a highly contentious issue. Carryi
with the war metaphor, Schlafly is introduced at the end of the second column,
described as a “colonel at a command post. When the others had questions (about
E.R.A.), they came to the chair to ask her.” Such statement (and rank of colonel)
position Schlafly as a leader of the anti-E.R.A. movement, and indicates her
prominence in this particular battle, particularly in terms of strategy. It is clear th
this position entails a rejection, not only of the E.R.A., but of equal rights in gene
“Phyllis Schlafly does not want perfect equality with men and is convincing a lot
other women that they don’t want it either....Of the 12 states she has targeted so
not one has gone on to ratify the amendment.” Though the first two pages dedica
themselves to providing background and context to Schlafly, the article nonethele
addresses reasons why equal rights are (supposedly) bad for women. In a side bo
the last page, is a section titled “Schlafly’s views.” Within this section is a subsec
titled “On the nature of ‘real’ women,” where she goes on to proclaim:

Marriage and the home is the greatest liberation for women
security, fulfilment, achievement, and emotional satisfaction. It’s what
want...Not only are women physically different from men, they
emotionally different. They may say they like their job and they want a c

will always put their career second and are happiest in the home. This is a clear example of use of sex roles, attributing behavioural characteristics with physical anatomy, and this discourse constructs women's choice to stay home as natural. Yet while arguing that women do not want to pursue intellectual matters, Schlafly is described earlier in the article as being an avid Republican (and very effective fundraiser), the author of a monthly newsletter subscribed to by 10,000 members, former Congressional candidate, and an author of six books. Surely such activities require some sort of intellectual engagement – an irony that seems to be lost on the journalist. Additionally, later in the 1970s, Schlafly returned to university where she attained a law degree to better understand the legal ramifications of the E.R.A. By claiming that she knows what “real” women “really want,” Schlafly not only contradicts herself by occupying a prominent place in public life, but she delegitimises those who do want a career, and are not willing to put it second for the family (implying that this is unnatural). In this sense, the discourse trivializes equal rights supporters by stating that only *think* they know what they want, but because women are *biologically* different from men, it is only a matter of time before they realise they would be happiest at home. Additionally, such statements have implications for working class or single women, whom she mostly ignores, who work out of necessity. Yet, according to her views, such women are engaging in “unnatural” roles. While the absence of working-class women's voices indicates the

institution of the family is advantageous for women for many reasons. After all, do we want out of life? To love and be loved?...A man may search 30 or 40 years for accomplishment in his profession. A woman can enjoy real achievement when she is young – by having a baby.’

Schlafly’s reasoning resonated with many (white, middle-class) American women and as such, the anti-E.R.A. forces began to gain momentum. In fact, such statements could possibly have resonated with working-class and minority women, whose day-to-day realities meant work was a part of survival, and could therefore only dream of acquiring such a privileged position. Part of Schlafly’s success therefore, was in constructing equal rights (and specifically the E.R.A.) as an act that would:

(W)ipe out the financial obligation of a husband and father to support his wife and children; wipe out laws that protect only women against sex crimes such as rape; make women subject to the draft and combat duty equal with men; wipe out the right of a mother to keep her children in case of divorce; lower the age at which boys can marry; wipe out the protection women now have from dangerous and unpleasant jobs; and wipe out a woman’s right to privacy.

Other scholars have also noted that the E.R.A. has been framed as an act that would weaken women’s legal protections (Costain et al. 1997). If constructed in this way then it is no wonder that many (middle-class) women reacted so violently to the E.R.A. (and perhaps equal rights in general). For them, inequality gave them (in theory at least) financial security, and provided stability through conforming to stereotypical gender roles. Though perhaps such roles were limiting, they at least provided a specific path to follow in order to achieve a fulfilled life. Additionally, it is important to keep in mind that most women during this time were socialized from birth to

‘In other civilizations, such as the African and American Indian,’ she says
‘the men strut around wearing feathers and beads and hunting and fishing while the
women do all the hard tiresome drudgery... This is not the American way because
we were lucky enough to inherit the traditions of the Age of Chivalry

‘In America, a man’s first significant purchase is a diamond for his bride
the largest financial investment of his life is a home for her to live in. American
husbands work hours of overtime to buy a fur piece or other finery to keep their
wives in fashion, and to pay premiums on their life insurance policies to provide
her comfort when she is a widow.

‘I don’t want to give that up,’ she says earnestly. ‘I don’t think most women
do.’

There are several aspects of the discourse that can be dissected and elaborated upon
within these few short paragraphs. To begin, many “privileges” that the E.R.A. would
erode are based upon specific gender ideologies. In the case of mothers keeping the
children after divorce, this relies on the false belief that women are better nurturers
than males, thereby making it unnatural for fathers to gain custody. With regard to
“protective” legislation, much of it prevents women from receiving as many hours
work as men, as well as equal pay. This is largely because women’s smaller size and
strength in relation to most men label them as less useful in the workforce, and thus
legitimise pay differences (Mitchell 1971). Statements such as this make it evident
that Schlafly’s views of women’s place in society are firmly rooted within middle
class traditions. Wrongly associating her privileged position to that of most American
women indicates the extent to which she was deeply out of touch with the realities
millions of American women’s lives – particularly in the post-war era where more
and more women were forced/chose to work. Though Schlafly offers her “sympathy

poverty is cyclic, and very difficult to escape. Additionally, she credits her hard work (as opposed to her financial scholarships) as the reason she escaped a working-class life, further entrenching the idea that individual (rather than social) change is needed.

The discourse is also elitist in the sense that Schlafly disregards those women who have no male breadwinner to provide necessities, none-the-less to “keep her in fashion.” This discourse therefore ignores the plight of those who work for necessities, implying that they must be unfulfilled because they are unable to perform their “natural” role in the home - as wives and mothers. Additionally, proclaiming that having a baby is the surest way to achieve fulfillment alienates those women who either cannot or choose not to have children, and says nothing about the fact that many women abort or give up unwanted pregnancies (and many do not feel guilty about it). A child is not always a blessing for those who cannot afford or who are not mentally prepared to have one. And while I do not wish to deny the view that children can be a blessing, Schlafly’s views de-legitimises those who attempt to find fulfillment in other ways, suggesting that it is only secondary at best to raising children. Additionally, this line of argument says nothing of how women can achieve fulfillment once their children are grown up and have left the home.

end up living unhappy and unfulfilled lives. Though these frames and discourses were addressed in this particular *Chicago Tribune* article, they are good examples of the discourse found throughout all four publications, and are in no way unique to this article specifically. Now that such constructions have been explored, I will turn to a further discourse found in all four publications, used in this article as well, focusing on the negative consequences of equal rights.

Consequences of Equal Rights

While “All women’s liberationists hate men and children” uses discourses of natural gender roles to construct equal rights as “unnatural,” and not what women really want, other articles focused directly on the (supposed) negative consequences they would bring. Such warnings could be found throughout all four publications, though they were used most prominently in the *Daily Mirror*. Many such consequences focused on how equal rights were blurring the distinction between the sexes, eroding femininity, ruining the family, and causing women to turn into men. One common discourse in the *Daily Mirror* was that women had not properly thought through the consequences of equal rights. In the article, “Shirley’s warning to Libbers” (No Byline, Feb. 17, 1976: 4) Prices Minister Mrs. Shirley Williams warned the public that, “sex equality might in the end make men and women LESS happy,” as society had not sufficiently considered the repercussions of women’s changing status. Tho

make men and women unhappy, the columnist argues that they would ruin the (traditional nuclear) family. The article begins by outlining the importance of the family:

The family was once our basic social institution. The husband was the provider... While many women were employed as teachers, or as household help in families sufficiently affluent to afford this cost, relatively few women were independently employed in jobs which men had historically depended upon and filled.

The housewife was the guardian of her children. She provided them their early education and initiated them into the principles of religion, respect for other people, care of physical property and the work ethic.

The use of language describing the family in idealised terms (“the housewife was *guardian* of her children”) is significant, and reiterates the special status afforded to women in the home. The article carries on for a few paragraphs outlining the importance of the family, and the rigid roles in which men and women played in the institution. However, rather than acting as a critique of such narrowly defined gender roles, the author endorses them as an ideal model. Such conceptions were quite normal in this post-war era, as people craved stability that provided a sense of security and control (Crabb 1997; Parr 1995). After idealising such a notion of the family, the author notes that times are changing and an increase in women’s leisure time, courtesy of new household products, have enlarged their interests, making them more “enchanted with alcohol and other women’s husbands.” Because of their newly found interests, the author argues that:

Once again, this article uses notions of natural gender roles to suggest that, while women certainly are *capable* of excelling in higher education and in paid employment, it is *unnatural*, as they are needed within the confines of their families who suffer from neglect because of women's new interests. Therefore, they *belong* to the home, and equal rights and the women's movement are forces threatening to disrupt these safe havens. When analyzing the discourse then, it becomes clear that not only does the author idealise women's nurturing and caregiving roles, but firmly rejects such duties for men. Therefore, the ideology states that it is not a man's duty to care for, or provide the family and children with emotional support, as they are not naturally suited for such women's roles. Moreover, while the article acknowledges the possibility that women's roles might be changing, men's surely were not.

The importance of traditional nuclear families was found in both my US and UK publications. However, it is more heavily emphasized in the US, where several groups including the Mormon Church, pro-life and pro-family activists, spoke out against equal rights, arguing that they were a slippery slope to eroding the family, downgrading the mother's role, and making it more difficult for women to stay home and raise their children. Such discourses particularly emerged near the end of the 1970s, as the new right, neo-liberal and family values gained popularity, and as a general backlash towards feminism was also occurring (Faludi 1991). Though the demise of the family was often used as a warning of equal rights' negative effects

Though such warnings are unsubstantiated, such accusations could be interpreted as truly frightening, and certainly de-legitimise equal rights through fear mongering the *possible* effects of the E.R.A. Several ideologies are also present in the above quote. Clearly, it is advocating the traditional family, where the father is the head of the household, where women are feminine (and heterosexual), and maintain their roles as primary caregivers to both their children and their husbands. Equal rights, therefore, threatens to depose the father as the head of the household, give women possible economic freedom, or cause a shift in gender roles (men might have to care for children if women desert). For a capitalist patriarchal society, such prospects are challenging, and therefore discourses such as the above were necessary in order to maintain and prevent changes.

Another de-legitimising discourse found in my US publications was a likely outcome of specific socio-political causes. In the late stages and aftermath of the Vietnam War (1959-1975), several articles in *The New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* argued that granting equal rights meant women would be liable to go to war, and would be conscripted alongside men. This discourse is therefore part of a larger one found in my sample arguing that equal rights entail equal responsibilities. Examples of articles using this frame include, "The Case Against Women in Combat," (Gilder, Jan. 28, 1979: SM8), a three-page article exploring implications of women in the army, "A

experienced the effects of conscription since the Second World War, where it was a contentious issue in the US and used to raise their army.

Though many of these articles acknowledged that even without the E.R.A. the decision to conscript women was at Congress' discretion, they conceded that the E.R.A. would make it constitutionally unfair to exclude women in future battles: "Both sides did agree that, under the amendment, women would have to be drafted like men were, but the advocates of the amendment said that women were ready to accept this obligation" (Shanahan, March 26, 1972: E6). Though these specific articles focused on negative effects equal rights would bring, what they are really saying is that if women are granted equal rights, they will no longer get the "good deal of the bargain," so to speak, and will have to accept new responsibilities. This discourse is present in the following article, about what E.R.A. would mean for women in combat: "Many more (women), while opposed to the drafting of either men or women, concede they would serve if called because 'equal rights means equal responsibilities'" (Duella, Feb. 9, 1980: 11). While my US publications often used such discourse in regards to women in combat, my UK articles used it in other ways as will be discussed in the paragraph below. It is interesting to note that the equal rights meaning equal responsibility discourse was most often evoked by equal rights opponents as a way to gather opposition to the E.R.A. Though this discourse was

war campaign, as they often volunteer, provide basic necessities (warm clothes, shoes, gloves), and raise funds for an army. However, through drawing upon “natural” differences between the sexes, the discourse presents a powerful ideological force in combat, and is used to uphold the status quo. On an ideological level, the specific discourse of women in combat is threatening because men are encouraged to fight to protect their wives and children. Therefore, if women fought alongside men, what would they be fighting for, and who would be waiting for them upon their return? Because war recruitment efforts often rely on such protective discourses to encourage men to fight, admitting women in combat would eliminate this need, and perhaps make it difficult for governments to gather popular support in times of war.

Though threatening to place women in combat was one way equal rights were delegitimised, my UK articles often framed equal rights as having negative consequences – namely for men. Here, articles reported that, though women might be interested in equal rights, they were certainly not interested in equal responsibilities which would benefit women at men’s expense. One headline which summed up this sentiment was found in the *Daily Mirror*, “You can’t have it all your own way, girls” (Wilson, April 12, 1972: 25). The article went on to note that women unfairly demanded equal pay and treatment even though they do not perform equal work. Articles such as this focused on how women were happy to accept new benefits without shouldering

Here, equal rights are seen as causing an end to chivalry, and potentially creating a unisex society (where women become more like men, not the reverse), which for women who rely on their femininity to survive, is understandably a frightening prospect. The idea that equal rights would eliminate gender roles, or create a unisex society is found in other articles as well. One *Daily Mirror* article, titled "So where have all the ladies gone?" (No Byline, June 30, 1972) opens with the observation:

Ladies, it is clear, are becoming more and more unladylike.

Perhaps it's something to do with Women's Lib and the new-found freedom some female are beginning to enjoy.

Maybe in our battle to gain equality with men, we're getting a bit more like them.

Consider the V-sign American tennis star Rosemary Cassals was said to have offered to a linesman when she was playing in a tournament at Bristol.

She was also accused of being argumentative and generally badly behaved. It is only fair to say she denied the gesture made famous in sporting circles by horse jockey Harvey Smith.

She apologised for any offence she may have given and her apologies were accepted. But even if she HAD made that V-sigh, and not, as she explained, merely raised her arm in exasperation, I don't suppose many people would have been unduly surprised at a woman using a gesture more usually associated with men.

For women are rapidly shedding their ladylike image. They cuss away with the best (or worst) of men. Four-letter words roll fluently off feminine tongues – in pubs and at posh parties.

Such transformations are continually constructed as deviant, unwanted and detrimental for society, and present a warning of equal rights' negative consequences. In this particular article, the loss of feminine virtues is something to be lamented, and this, and other articles ignore the positive benefits associated with flexibility in gender

Though part of an overall discourse articulating the negative consequences of equal rights, a specific frame emerged stating that equal rights were bad for women. This frame was found in all four publications, and was constructed in various ways.¹²³ Several articles documented the case of Soviet women, who all had jobs and “equality” but little status. Two examples of articles that used this tactic were: “Life for Soviet Woman Is All Hard Work and Little Status” (Shipler, Aug. 9, 1976: 8) and “Soviet women given day off from ‘liberation’” (Binyon, March 8, 1978: 8). Both articles discussed how Soviet women, living in a socialist society, were expected to work and still take care of the family, but failed to mention that equal rights should *also* mean women’s access to employment and education, and men’s responsibilities to help with child rearing and domestic duties. In this sense then, the discourse is very one-sided and highlights equal rights’ supposed consequences, all the while ignoring their benefits. As further example of this, other articles constructed equal rights as something that would remove a woman’s freedom to choose homemaking over a (paid) career:

Opponents of the amendment base their main opposition on the premise that it would remove necessary protections from women...He (Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr.) doesn’t believe the majority of women even want the freedom of choice that the amendment would provide. ‘It would discriminate against wives and mothers to

¹²³ I should note however, that while present in all four publications, it is not necessarily evident in a quantitative analysis. This was true in *The Times*, which used this frame, but never prominently within an article. Because I could only code one frame per article, when examining the statistics, this frame was therefore absent. However, this is certainly a limitation of content analysis, the use of multiple methods helps to highlight such discrepancies when they do occur.

women, who are out to disrupt homemaker's lives. Other scholars note that the press often construct issues in black and white terms (Rhode 1995) – in this case, one is either in favour of equal rights, or the traditional nuclear family and gender roles. The problem with this, as Robinson (1978) argues, is that the middle ground is often ignored, which tends to constitute most representative position in the first place.

While the above frames construct equal rights as bad for homemakers, the *Daily Mirror* often wrote about other unintended consequences of equal rights, including a rise in female alcoholics, “Drinks Danger in Women’s Lib” (No Byline. April 2, 1973: 7), an increase in balding females, “Baldness can send wives right off their heads,” (Bedford, June 2, 1971: 3), and a rise in female violence and bullies, “Men of the gymslip bullies,” (Davies, Dec. 13, 1973: 11), and “The violent sex” (Smith April 29, 1976: 7). This last article explored the unforeseen dangers in the following paragraphs:

More dangerous than the male...that's the new breed of women criminals. Britain's top policewoman said yesterday that the growing number of women thieves and muggers could eventually plunge Britain into a jungle.

And she suggested that one reason for the dramatic upsurge in these crimes might be women's liberation...

'In the countries where emancipation is the greatest, the women participate more in crime,' she said.

'One opinion is that, owing to their improving status and their release from commitments of home and family, they are able to exercise latent greed and viciousness.

'Another viewpoint is that women, bewildered because of the rapid alteration of their life-style, are now insecure and uncertain, and that later this crime trend will be eradicated (Smith, April 29, 1976: 7).

would argue that the logic in some of these arguments is flawed. For instance, it is unlikely that women have *more* time to commit crimes because of equal rights, as their entry into the paid workforce did not free them from the burdens of domestic duties at home. If anything, therefore, I would argue that many would women have *less* time (and energy) to commit such crimes, as they would be faced with the double burden of work and home duties.

Though used infrequently in the overall statistics (7 articles of 4.6%), the *Daily Mirror* regularly framed women's equality as bad for men, providing further evidence of ways equal rights were de-legitimised. Examples of headlines explicitly constructing this frame include the articles, "We are just slaves, says Mr. Men's Lib" (James, March 20, 1973: 7), "Men's Lib Champ Tony Gets the Boot" (King, Nov. 1977: 5), and "At last – its men who are feeling the pinch" (Thomas, April 7, 1970: 17). All of these articles focus on how men suffer as women reap the benefits of equality, and sometimes use the frame equal rights entails equal responsibilities. One article, "Even in these women's lib days a man must pay" (No Byline, July 6, 1970: 3) lamented the unfairness of a court ruling, where during a date, the man left the restaurant, leaving the woman to pay. She then sued him, and the court ruled that he was required to pay for dinner. The article lead states: "When a man takes a woman out to dinner, it's HIS duty to pay – even in these days of the Women's Liberation campaign," thus implying that women are getting the better end of the bargain, and

commonly uses humour and ridicule in his columns to combat both the women's movement, and their goals, common techniques noted by previous scholars as well (Barker Plummer 2000). In this particular article, Ward goes on to note:

I hadn't realized just how much bad news we men have suffered until I looked across this Liberated Woman's Appointment Calendar and Survival Handbook, which is rapidly becoming the pocket book of every bra-burning American lady.

Every day this diary records the anniversary of some past female victory which we men have been suffering for ever since.

I mention here some of the more prominent landmarks in the history of Women's Liberation so that, while women celebrate them, we men can treat them as days of mourning of our formerly great sex (Ward, Oct, 28, 1970: 7).

This discourse is particularly destructive as it makes it seem that equal rights cannot be good for *both* men and women, but must benefit one at the expense of the other. Therefore, as long as women continue to "win" their rights, men can only expect to "lose" theirs. This is further exemplified in another column by Ward, where he states: "Until quite recently, I've been an ardent supporter of equality for women, but now I find myself turning against the liberation movement. Far from just wishing to liberate themselves from the limitations imposed on them by men, they now seem hell-bent on turning the tables and clapping the very same shackles on us" (Ward, May 26, 1970: 10). When equal rights are constructed in this manner, it is unrealistic to expect men (and many women who believe men are "naturally" superior) to support such goals.

A final example of how equal rights were framed as having negative consequences for men can be found, once again, in a *Daily Mirror* article. Here, a source blamed equal

of leading towards a situation where women are blamed for male acts of sexual violence – creating a sort of “she was begging for it,” mentality, or a “look how she was dressed” sentiment. While frames are useful for constructing equal rights as a goal for society, it is also important to examine which voices are used in these articles and what the use of such voices reveals about coverage.

Voices of Opposition

As scholars note, it is important to examine the use of sources in news stories, as they can reveal positions taken (Ross 2007; Tuchman 1972), and indicate who has the power and authority to define issues (Becker 1967; Hall et al. 1978). When examining negative discourses of equal rights, certain source patterns emerge. In many cases, “negative” or unsupportive stories were written by, or included the opinions of, columnists, members of the public (including letters to the editor), “normal” (but mainly middle-class) women, and unsympathetic journalists (see Table 21). Such diverse voices could be used to indicate that opposition to equal rights was not limited to one segment of society – and demonstrate the pervasiveness of capitalist and patriarchal ideologies, which struggled to keep women subordinate. Even though *Daily Mirror* carried the largest proportion of “negative” discourses, the wide range of oppositional voices were used in all four publications.

		Column	2	13	6	5
		Letter to the Editor	6	25	0	4
		Editorial	4	7	3	2
		Backgrounder	0	0	0	1
		Women's/Lifestyle Section	0	2	0	1
	Total		75	117	42	36
Negative	Genre	News Report	6	5	2	15
		News Brief	1	1	0	0
		Feature	11	10	2	17
		Column	3	11	4	15
		Letter to the Editor	1	22	0	3
		Editorial	1	0	0	2
		Agony Aunt	0	0	0	1
		Women's/Lifestyle Section	0	1	0	2
	Total		23	50	8	55
Neutral	Genre	News Report	30	29	9	9
		News Brief	13	1	2	6
		Feature	26	5	21	7
		Column	2	3	1	1
		Letter to the Editor	1	1	0	0
		Editorial	1	0	0	0
		Backgrounder	1	0	0	0
		Photo	1	0	0	0
		Women's/Lifestyle Section	0	0	0	1
	Total		75	39	33	24
Contradictory	Genre	News Report	16	30	2	7
		News Brief	0	3	0	0
		Feature	20	19	15	11
		Column	2	12	1	10
		Letter to the Editor	0	1	0	4
		Editorial	2	3	1	2
		Agony Aunt	0	1	0	1

particularly powerful in constructing de-legitimate discourses, as they provided evidence that women themselves were uninterested in equality. In doing so, such voices constructed equal rights supporters as deviant for rejecting their “natural” role as wives and mothers, whose lives revolve around the home, and therefore need not worry about equal pay or opportunities. An example of such a “normal” woman’s rejection of equality is exemplified in a *New York Times* article quoting a lawyer, Margaret Mahoney, who despite her professional status rejected the E.R.A. Instead, she labelled equal rights opponents and homemakers as “‘unsung heroes’ who resent being told they are ‘second-class citizens.’” What is noticeable about this quote (and many others like it) is that Mahoney strengthens her position by identifying with homemakers first and professionals second (if at all) to justify a wider opposition to the E.R.A. Phyllis Schlafly also regularly does this, as evident back in Case Study 3 where she identifies herself as a housewife first, and uses this position to strengthen her opposition to E.R.A.

Coinciding with the use of homemaker’s voices, letters to the editor are useful to examine because they can help reveal the public’s opinion on certain topics, and are often many “ordinary” people’s only real opportunity to be heard. This is because journalistic conventions (particularly in broadsheet publications) entail interviewing society’s elites, who tend to have access or are involved in many debates and issues society (Becker 1967; Hall et al. 1978). However, others question how representativ

engages with issues, identifying points of contention, affirmation, or uncertainty. Because only a handful of letters ever become published, their inclusion is even more significant. However, without interviewing those gatekeepers responsible for choosing them, it is not possible to know why particular ones were chosen, and if they were representative of all letters, or were picked because they were unique, or presented an alternative view. Interestingly enough, “negative” letters (see Table 2) were really only prominent in the *Chicago Tribune* (22 out of 49 articles), though they also did appear in *The New York Times* (1 out of 8 articles) and the *Daily Mirror* (3 out of 11 articles). Within the *Chicago Tribune* at least, there were an almost even number of supportive and oppositional letters about equal rights (25 “positive” vs. “negative” ones), though supportive ones were more common in *The New York Times* (6 out of 8 articles), and even used in the *Daily Mirror* (4 out of 11 articles). My *Times* sample did not include a single letter-to-the-editor, perhaps indicating that the public never found the issue of equal rights to be engaging. However, without speaking to editors or those responsible for publishing letters, it is not possible to draw such conclusions. Because the *Chicago Tribune* is really the only publication that published oppositional letters about equal rights, they will be the focus of this section. When de-legitimising equal rights, letters to the editor used similar tactics as features, columns and news reports, primarily focusing on negative consequences to

the majority of women are psychologically constituted for military service. We are more competent as mothers and serve our country best as such. It isn't possible to persuade me that exemptions would be readily obtainable. The way in is easy. The way out is hard.

Some of the implications of the so-called Equal Rights Amendment destroy my right to certain choices in life, and I oppose it for this reason (Letter to the Editor, June 18, 1974: 10)

It is important to note here that though the E.R.A. is actively opposed in this letter, the author also attacks equal rights in more subtle ways. This includes the use of the equal rights entail equal responsibility discourse, and the idea that equal rights would wipe away "protective" legislation, and force women into roles they are not "naturally" suited to do (military service). Though all of these constructions have been discussed in this chapter, it is significant that they seem to have struck a chord with the public and sparked such a lively debate.

While the above frames have already been addressed in this chapter, a final one that was frequently expressed in letters was found (nearly exclusively) in the *Chicago Tribune* frames the E.R.A. as giving too much power to the federal government. This is expressed in the article "An E.R.A. 'burocracy' [sic]" (Letter to the Editor, May 1975: A2):

'The last thing we need is another burocratic [sic] agency in Washington.' So reads a sentence in a Tribune editorial on May 3. This quote applies equally well to the Equal Rights Amendment.

E.R.A. means more federal burocratic regulations, less freedom and less privacy and the ultimate elimination of the traditional family.

Oct. 4, 1977: B2). Though this frame was most often found in letters to the editor, was also found in some *Chicago Tribune* columns. One columnist in particular addressed his concern about an extension of federal power by stating “E.R.A. strikes people as the federal administration of the home” (von Hoffman, Oct. 16, 1976: S11). Each of these authors clearly expresses laissez-faire, anti-socialist philosophies, which have a strong history in the US, stating that the government should interfere with people’s affairs as little as possible. Though a resistance to government interference has long been part of American history, I would argue that this fear of government control stems from the Cold War, where communist and socialist philosophies were demonised and too much government interference was seen as a slippery slope to that type of political system (Strong-Boag 2002). By drawing on these already existing discourses, the author here has tapped into a powerful ideology that was used to garner opposition to the amendment. Because anti-communist ideology was so strong, the author did not even have to go as far as explicitly rejecting equal rights legislation because the discourse diverts the attention from its merits, to the dangers posed by more government control. The rejection of government control is clearly expressed in another letter to the editor which states:

We also oppose E.R.A. because Section 2 is a grab for power at the federal level, and will send Washington enormous new areas of jurisdiction that the federal government hasn’t yet gotten its meddling fingers onto. Why anyone would want to give more power to Washington, when they can’t solve the problems they have now is more than I can understand (Letter to the Editor, June 10, 1975: A2).

E.R.A. for its ability to remove discriminatory legislation against working-class women. Titled "Blue collar views: Union women begin work lib" (LaVelle, July 1974: 10), the article discusses the unlikely formation of a feminist oriented labour union (as the women's movement was often viewed as an "upper-class college thing"), which fights to pass the E.R.A. amongst other women's problems. The union's support of E.R.A. is seen to be peculiar because US labour unions had a history of working "hand in hand with right-wing groups" including Phyllis Schlafly to defeat the E.R.A. Though the union is vague about the positive effects E.R.A. would have on working-class minority women, it provides a unique window for some marginalised voices to be heard.

The second article is a letter-to-the editor and argues that, rather than liberating working-class women, the E.R.A. would do them more harm than good: "The Equal Rights Amendment will not help women in industrial jobs. I wish 'libbers' could tell us what they have done to us women in factories in Ohio. Maybe they were trying to help, but they and their 'equal rights' have made things worse for us" (Letter to the Editor, March 25, 1975: A2). The letter goes on to describe how the E.R.A., in eliminating protective legislation, would force women to lift heavy loads, where currently, the heaviest thing they carry includes "a pile of paper." What seems ludicrous to me is that any employer would force someone to do a job that they w

perhaps, get their boss' jobs as office managers, are most generous in giving away those precious distinctions so badly needed by their harder-working sisters on the assembly line." In this sense, both equal rights and the women's movement are constructed as a middle-class affair that threatens to worsen working-class women's lives. Once again, the use of a women's voice legitimises such opposition, constructing E.R.A. supporters as out of touch with realities of working-class women's lives.

In this section, I attempted to outline the various ways equal rights were opposed and constructed as bad for women, men, and families; how they would bring negative consequences, entail equal responsibilities for women; and how articles relied on the use of traditional gender ideologies to construct equal rights as "unnatural."

Additionally, I examined the various voices used to construct such oppositional discourses, focusing specifically on how women and members of the public were frequently used to construct equal rights as unwanted, unnatural and elite. Though such discourses were used in all four publications, I argue that they were really only hegemonic in the *Daily Mirror*. In the other three publications, articles either constructed equal rights as "positive," or as contradictory, as will be discussed below.

terms, effectively demonstrating how the battle between opposing discourses was ensuing not only within each publication or country, but within individual articles as well. When looking back at Table 20, we can see that in regard to tone, contradictory articles were present in all four publications, constituting anywhere from 18-26% of articles within each publication (19.5% in *The New York Times*, 26.2% in the *Chicago Tribune*, 18.6% in *The Times*, and 23.8% in the *Daily Mirror*). Contradictory articles are useful to examine because they provide evidence of multiple, competing discourses surrounding equal rights, and can be used to see how these discourses were deployed by different groups. Contradictory articles differed from neutral ones, where the latter rarely use direct quotes or statements of support or opposition to equal rights, meaning that the story is told from the journalist's perspective. These were only coded as neutral when I genuinely could not tell which perspective the journalist felt most convincing. In those cases where I felt that the journalist was prioritizing one side over the other, or when this (dominant) perspective is undermined at some point in the article, then it was coded as contradictory. Most often, this is the case with articles that start off by supporting equal rights, but finish with a quote or statement from an equal rights opponent.

Articles could be labeled contradictory for a number of reasons. In some cases, both supportive and oppositional discourses, or frames were present, as will be further elaborated on in Case Study 4, and in other parts of this section. In other cases, equal

surrounding equal rights is the *Chicago Tribune* letter to the editor “Equal rights, n
E.R.A.” (Letter to the Editor, June 13, 1976: A4). The article goes on to argue:

Your many recent letters on the so-called Equal Rights Amendment show
reason for the emotionalism that develops when it is mentioned. The writers assume
that the proposed 27th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution means equal rights.
Nonsense! We all want equal rights, equal opportunities, equal value.

This proposed amendment will cause everyone to lose rights and privilege
We make distinctions and discriminations on the basis of age (retirement at 65),
income (the more income, the more the tax), and size (no one over 6’6” can be an
airline steward). Why not on the basis of sex? No matter how much women yell, t
are different.

Adoption of E.R.A. would render unconstitutional any law which makes a
distinction between men and women, no matter how reasonable such distinctions
might be – Elizabeth Clark.

This article is contradictory in two senses. To begin, and to reiterate the point made
above, the article supports equal rights (and opportunities) for women, yet rejects the
Equal Rights Amendment, which would eliminate any laws discriminating against
women. Most of these laws were created based on the principle of biological and
psychological differences between the sexes – that women are smaller, weaker and
less psychologically capable than men at work; women should not work night shifts
because it is dangerous for them to be out at that time; that women should not be
entitled to overtime, because they cannot cope with the long hours, and so forth. By
viewing such differences as biological, the discourse naturalises them, as has been
mentioned many times in this chapter before. It is interesting therefore that while
equal rights in principle are supported; an overarching piece of legislation that
promises to remove artificial barriers is firmly rejected by some. This indicates to m

acceptable. The two concepts are incompatible in my mind, providing another reason this article should be considered contradictory. Such contradictions are evident in numerous articles, and thus demonstrate the variance in ways of talking and conceptualizing both equal rights, and equal rights legislation.

While the overall article tone could be labelled contradictory, this was also a widely used frame for equal rights. Within these stories, equal rights were framed as a controversial topic, and often, little other context was given aside from the fact that equal rights (often legislation) were under contestation or dispute. Looking back at Table 15, this frame was used 101 times, a significant proportion of all frames (13.5%). However, upon closer examination, it is apparent that, though used in all four publications, it was most prominent within the *Chicago Tribune* (73 times, or 26.2% of articles within this publication), then the *Daily Mirror* (36 articles or 23.8% of articles within this publication), *The Times* (19 articles or 19.6% of articles within this publication), and to a lesser extent, *The New York Times* (20 times or 9.3% of articles within this publication). When trying to analyse what was being disputed within these articles, it is clear that they differ depending on the country and publication. For example, E.R.A. was viewed as contradictory in the US, particularly in the *Chicago Tribune*. Here, many articles were devoted to two issues regarding the E.R.A. The first dealt with a dispute over the number of votes needed within the Illinois state legislature to pass the amendment. While most states require a simple

passage.

Earlier this week, a three-judge federal panel dismissed a challenge to the three-fifths voting, saying that both branches of the legislature had not yet acted on the issue. That same day, the Senate did act.

Last year, E.R.A. supporters produced 95 votes in the House to ratify the amendment, but House Speaker W. Robert Blair (R., Park Forest) ruled that three-fifths, or 107, was needed.

Therefore, articles such as this actually say very little about the E.R.A., other than it is something that has spurred controversy. Though E.R.A. was already a newsworthy topic in the *Chicago Tribune*, the addition of this added controversy, and proximity to Chicago readers (the dispute was occurring there in Illinois), likely accounts for the significant amount of coverage generated by this publication.¹²⁴ Perhaps because the UK's equal rights legislation passed without much dispute, this "contradictory" frame did not emerge there.

Though equal rights legislation was not necessarily seen to be contradictory in the UK, many articles here (as in the US) pitted both supportive and oppositional frames against one another. An example of this can be found in a *Daily Mirror* article describing a (now famous) tennis match between Billie Jean King, Wimbledon champion and feminist, and Bobby Riggs, former tennis star who opposes women's rights. The match was labelled the battle between the "libber versus the lobber" (Wright, Sept. 20, 1973: 20-21), and the article included both discourses of support

¹²⁴ In fact, this story had a number of news values making it a suitable story to cover, including conflict, continuity, proximity, and elite persons (politicians) (Galtung and Ruge 1965; Harcup and O'Neil 2001).

positive new trend that women are experiencing – whether it's through new legislation, more work opportunities, standing in the community, choice over whom they can marry, or their role in politics:

Anyone visiting Ghana during the recent general election would have remarked on the vital role played in them by the women of Ghana. All through the election campaigns, working in party offices, on propaganda vans and in the well-organised women's branches, as election officers and polling agents with the same voting rights as men, they took a full part in choosing the new Government (Appiah, Oct. 22, 1969: VII).

Here, as in many other articles, the new freedoms afforded to women are constructed in a "positive" manner – these changes are seen to be beneficial to women, men, children or society. At the same time however, while noting women's equal roles in public life, rather than being "liberated," many articles discuss the double-burden women now face of work at home, and in the public. In this sense, the discourse constructs equal rights as a double-edged sword – while having its benefits, equal rights are also a burden women must bear. As the article on Ghana's women went on to report:

Few people will deny that women work much harder than the men. Go through a village in the early morning you will see the men sitting out in the sun with their chewing sticks or smoking long after the women have left for the farm. In the evening the women carry home immense loads of wood and foodstuffs, their balanced on their backs, while the men, if they can, walk home unimpeded except for their machete or gun. Once, I visited a village near Kumasi where they make beads by carefully pouring the ground powder into small clay moulds, inserting a stick in the middle of each and firing them in the ovens. I asked one man if the women ever had time for this work. He looked up in horror and said: 'Oh no! They are far too busy.' I doubt he realized the implication of his remark.

such articles are ideologically rich, they will serve as the focus of my first case study. In this particular article about Finnish women (see Appendix 7), equal rights are constructed in contradictory ways, not because they are viewed as a burden, but because they are seen as something that is available to women, but which they are uninterested in taking advantage of. An additional contradiction is found in that equal rights are also constructed as something available to women in theory, but not in practice.

Case Study 4 – Women’s Equality Internationally in *The Times*

This case study will examine the contradictory nature of equal rights in international stories within *The Times*. The article headline for this particular article study sums up equal rights’ paradoxical nature well. Titled, “Women: freedom but no power” (Kolbe, May 13, 1970: IV), it examines the modern role of Finnish women in society. One of two articles on the page regarding Finnish life, it occupies the middle of the page, sitting beneath an article discussing a rise in the standard of living in Finland, above a photo of girls “enjoying eurhythmic exercises,” and next to a photo of two women gossiping at a Salvation Army Canteen. Even the photos demonstrate the contradictory nature of the article – young women trying new things vs. old women in stereotypical roles (“gossiping”). In addition to the contradictions apparent in the visual layout and the headline, the article opens with the following paragraph:

discussing the new “freedoms” afforded to women (see the example of women in Ghana above). In addition, similar to other articles, this one quickly discusses the drawbacks associated with using such equal rights (“she has more rights than she *dares* use”). These paradoxes do not stop in the introduction, and the article continues with the following paragraphs:

In the eyes of the law women are equal to men. In theory they earn similar money for a similar job. But women are rarely found in senior professional positions in spite of the fact that the level of female education is high and more than half the students in colleges are girls.

The fact is that women have freedom but not power, and the gap between the official equality and unofficial discrimination can be seen in other ways. For example, important appointments are often made not at official meetings but during unofficial gatherings in the sauna or elsewhere.

In this passage, the article engages with a main cause of women’s inequality – discrimination – stating that it is experienced at an unofficial level (the manner in which appointments and nominations are made), and is prevalent, not just because it is widespread, but because women do not demand better.¹²⁵ “The Finnish woman is indispensable on the labour front and is often underpaid, since she is not easily drawn to militancy.” Here, discrimination is not framed as something caused by men, but from women themselves, demonstrated in their unwillingness to improve their own lives. By placing women, rather than society responsible for changing women’s subordinate role in society, the discourse does two things. First, it perpetuates gender

¹²⁵ For a more detailed discussion of the use of liberal critiques to address the problems and solutions women’s inequality, see the section “Engagement with Issues” in previous chapter.

need for ~~individual~~ change. Therefore, rather than stating that Finnish society is patriarchal, the article constructs individual women or men as self-limiting, and women can have all the equality they desire only if, or when, they change their mind and act. This limitation concerning liberal theories has been discussed in detail throughout the last two chapters.

This discourse is further inscribed later in the article when the author notes that although women dress fashionably, choose their own boyfriends, engage in pre-marital relations, ultimately, they idealise traditional family roles that place them as “the guardian of the home, bustling mother and loving partner who brings him his slippers and clean shirt.” This subservient position is thus constructed as a choice women make, rather than something they are socialised into. Here, therefore, lies the paradox – while equality is at women’s fingertips, they *reject* it for traditional roles. Once again, this construction serves patriarchy and capitalism, both of which benefit from women’s subservient roles. That the article engages with these individualistic critiques, rather than cultural ones is unsurprising, as the failure to de-construct gender roles further perpetuates men’s dominance over women, capitalism’s exploitation of female workers through paying them lower wages at work and nothing at home. This trend has continually been demonstrated throughout my two findings chapters. However, despite the fact that these overarching systems are served by the discourse, counter-discourses also emerge in this article. Most notably, they emerge

an exhausted ruin of a woman who has sacrificed herself for her many children.”

Here, the author seems puzzled that women would choose the latter role, stating that these images are “disheartening,” though she gives no details as to what a more suitable model would entail. The contradiction is embedded in the final paragraph of the article where the author suggests that, despite the dominance of traditional women’s roles and their unequal place in society: “It is still good to be a woman in Finland, and it is getting better every day.” The contradictory mix of discourses stating equal rights is available to women, yet they reject them for traditional gender roles demonstrate the ideological battle that took place in the quest to frame equal rights. Though such battles are clear within this particular article, it represents only one of many which I could have chosen from to highlight contradictory articles within my sample.

Summary

This chapter explored discourses present in some of the 747 articles gathered in my four publications regarding equal rights. Similar with the previous chapter, discourses were contradictory and fragmented, and evidence of supportive and oppositional discourses and frames can be found throughout my 14-year-time period. However, unlike the previous sample, equal rights appear to have gained more widespread support than the women’s movement in all publications except for the *Daily Mirror*,

had no such equivalent of an ongoing news peg. Within *The Times* and the *Daily Mirror* equal rights were either dealt with in feature articles (notably *The Times*, whose coverage heavily consisted of exposes on women's equal rights globally), or with specific attempts to achieve equal rights (as was the case in the *Daily Mirror*, featuring stories on how women were using the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts to achieve equal pay or access to previously male dominated spheres). As a result of the differences in equal rights issues in each country, peaks and lows of coverage varied cross-nationally. In the US, articles peaked in 1975 and again around 1982, both times in relation to a flurry of activities surrounding the E.R.A. This is particularly true for the *Chicago Tribune*, as Illinois was one of the last key states targeted in passing the amendment. In the UK, these peaks occurred earlier in my sample period, possibly because its equal rights legislation was passed by 1975, thereby reducing the need to discuss the issue for its own sake, and referring to it only when specific instances arose.

Though certain discourses were more hegemonic in some publications than others (for example, supportive discourses were prominent in *The New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune* and *The Times*, while oppositional discourses were most apparent in the *Daily Mirror*), a range can be seen in all four newspapers throughout most of my 14

¹²⁶ It is useful to note that while the E.R.A. was only presented to state legislators in 1972, the Amendment had been presented to Congressional session every year since 1923.

Perhaps these results indicate that in times of social change (and high unemployment as was the case in the UK), traditional affiliations of “conservative” or “left-leaning” might not be the best predictor in how a publication framed coverage on social issues. The results within the *Chicago Tribune* however are startling, particularly because this was a publication which traditionally favoured neo-liberal values and less government interference, which seems to be counter to the general edict of the E.R.A. which sought to strengthen the federal government’s powers. In this instance therefore, it would have been fruitful to interview editors to find out why the E.R.A. was supported, and how this was justified in terms of the publications overall political affiliations.

In order to explore coverage fully in each publication, I drew upon both content analysis and critical discourses analysis to identify and interrogate the ideologies used to construct discourses surrounding equal rights. What I discovered is that, though the specific reasons for lending support or opposition to equal rights were varied, they were rooted within two underlying ideological systems – capitalism and patriarchy. Additionally, within the supportive articles I also noted the use of liberal ideology, which constructed equal rights as something women were entitled to. While I would argue that such ideology had limited success with regards to “liberating” women (as it was not theoretically equipped to challenge patriarchy or capitalism), I concede that

warning of negative consequences that would or had resulted from any attempts to alter men and women's roles. While clear use of such discourses and ideologies emerged in many articles, not all presented equal rights as a black or white issue, and contradictory discourses were common in both countries, though they were constructed in different ways. For example, in the US, articles often captured disputes between E.R.A. foes and supporters, or discussed overall support for equal rights, but also a rejection of the E.R.A. In the UK on the other hand, articles at times discussed women's desire for equal rights, but their refusal to accept the equal responsibilities also entailed. Other articles focused on the availability of equal rights, but women's refusal to accept them, preferring their traditional roles.

Both supportive and oppositional discourses used a similar range of voices to construct their position. For instance, "ordinary" women, members of the public, feminine women, politicians (preferably male), men, heterosexuals and mothers were used to both bolster support for equal rights and oppose it. In both cases, I also witnessed powerful women stressing their position as "ordinary" through labelling themselves housewives, wives and mothers foremost, and professionals second. Elitist voices in the form of politicians were also used in constructing both discourses, though it is interesting to note that these voices were noticeably absent in my sample of only tabloid, the *Daily Mirror*. Here, most voices were from "ordinary" women and

Schlafly in the US, both claiming to be housewives and mothers, when both headed large, national organisations). What is also useful to note is which voices were *absent* from coverage. In all four publications, very few homosexuals, working-class or minority voices were included, and though there were some exceptions (most notably the *Chicago Tribune*), such symbolic annihilation indicates that equal rights were constructed through a predominantly middle-class, white, heterosexual lens, rarely exploring how they might impact marginalised groups. Therefore, I would argue that no matter how supportive equal rights discourses were, without engaging with such truly oppressed voices, any real change will always be limited.

In conclusion then, similar to the women's movement, equal rights were represented in a complex, varied manner. Similarities and differences emerged not only within publications, but between countries as well. In some cases, this was the result of historic, political or economic differences between the countries (UK paper rationing and shorter newspapers as a potential reason for fewer articles, or the US's fear of communism as a reason to reject more federal control). In other cases, it was the result of different experiences with equal rights as an issue (the US tried to enforce equal rights through a difficult process of Constitutional change, whereas the UK only needed to pass their bills in Parliament, making their approval much easier).

However, despite such differences, and the variation in their use, similar discourses

with the overall high level of positive coverage, when re-reading such articles for the critical discourse analysis, I would argue that my publications' level of analysis did not go far enough to merit lasting change. In addition, while today women have more opportunities than they ever had during my sample period, traditional gender ideologies still oppress them, as do capitalist structures which have not yet given women equal pay with men, ended their exploitation in the home, nor raised the status of "women's work". Therefore, my position is cautionary. While grateful for the advancements made in terms of granting women equal rights, I will conclude by stating that oppressive discourses are still dominant and require the use of more theoretically developed critiques than those afforded by liberal feminists.

Now that my results have been summarised within each chapter, it is time to turn to my next chapter, which will provide an overall summary of the study, reiterating the relevance of literature and methodology, and placing the findings from both chapters into a larger context. Additionally, I will reflect on the research process and identify ways future researchers could draw upon my study, carry my work forward, and learn from my lessons on how to conduct historical, cross-national feminist research.

feminism and equal rights continue to be a steady part of media content. Though some publications, such as the UK broadsheet *The Guardian*, have remained staunch supporters of feminism over the years, it is a lone voice in a sea of critics who recurrently blame feminism for much of society's current problems. Additionally, it is common to come across news articles noting pay differences between men and women, as well as differing levels of representation within certain professions. Although women certainly have access to more opportunities than they did during the sample period, news articles continue to perpetuate capitalist and patriarchal ideologies that go virtually unchallenged. These ideologies continue to confine many women to narrowly defined gender roles, maintain a system of lower or un-paid labour, prevent access to many top occupational positions (Robinson 2005), blame them for youth violence, sexual assault (Carter 1998), and trivialise the importance of "women's" issues in the news (Ross 2001).

While previous research has unfailingly tried to document women's activities and explore second-wave feminism's relationship with the press, this study has attempted to investigate how they and their goals were represented in the mainstream press. Additionally, though researchers have noted that the movement overwhelmingly received "negative" coverage, or was "blackened out," this study is trying to map out how, and possibly why, these discourses were (re)constructed and/or persisted. Only through examining the structures of ideology in operation across news discourses on

examples, see Tuchman 1978d; van Zoonen 1992), I would argue that they merit attention in future studies. Another unique aspect to this study, is the focus on how the movement's goals were represented. Despite being sought after in both the US and the UK, equal rights have not been thoroughly analysed, particularly in terms of news coverage. In fact, the movement's goals are often only addressed when analysing the movement's overall strategy (Bradley 2003). Though I would argue that in Western societies today, equal rights are widely accepted (in principle, if not in practice), my analysis demonstrates that this dominance was not quite yet achieved during my sample period. In fact, though well supported in *The Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and *The New York Times*, oppositional equal rights discourses were, in fact, dominant in the *Daily Mirror*, indicating that it took time for society to adjust to these new demands.

In an attempt to uncover how the second-wave women's movement, its members and their goals were constructed in a cross-national context, I began this study with a literature review, which set up the conceptual framework needed to carry out quantitative and qualitative research. As a result, Chapter One, the first of two literature review chapters began with an overview of differing feminist theories. I argued that while liberal and radical feminist theories provided insights that were useful for this project (Firestone 1970; Friedan 1963; Hartmann 1997; Millett 1971;

gender roles, race, and class position for certain members of society (particularly women, ethnic minorities and the working-class) who are in subordinate roles at the expense of others (namely white, middle-class men).

In order to understand how such oppression is maintained, I drew upon representation ideology and hegemony – all key concepts that were built upon through this study.

What distinguishes a socialist feminist perspective from a liberal perspective, is that analyses representation – a more theoretically developed concept than “images” or “stereotypes” – because it understands that meaning and resonance is constructed through ideology – or hidden structures or systems that are taken for granted and pass themselves off as common sense. Though radical feminism addresses how men subordinate women, socialist feminist theory would argue that capitalist ideologies also oppress women. Marx (1976) and Althusser (1971), helped ground socialist feminist theories, by developing the idea that ideology was an expression of a class position, where the ruling class maintain, promote and perpetuate the dominant ideology. Therefore, socialist feminist theory would view women as a class, fighting within a capitalist and patriarchal system. Post-modern feminist theory has also shifted socialist feminist theory to also analyse how age, ethnicity, sexuality, and physical abilities interact with patriarchal capitalist systems (Holmstrom 2002; Whelehan 1995). As a result, gender and class are no longer the sole focus of feminis

explore how ideologies were disseminated through the mass media, and how hegemony was controlled, maintained and occasionally challenged.

After establishing how socialist feminist studies draw upon theories on gender, representation, ideology and hegemony, I concluded the chapter with a critical overview of how women have been represented or depicted in the non-news media, specifically examining films, advertisements, magazines, and television. Feminist studies have demonstrated that women's roles were "fractured, inconsistent, contradictory, torn between misogynistic notions about women and their roles, and feminist ideals of equality" particularly after the second-wave feminist movement (Meyers 1999:12). However, the general consensus is that women have been under-represented in relation to men (Tuchman 1978b), particularly when they are members of an ethnic minority (Gillespie 1999) or old (Lazier and Kendrick 1993), and tend to be portrayed in a limited range of roles (Belkaoui and Belkaoui 1976). Other research has found that over the past few decades, women have become increasingly sexualised in the media (Gill 2007; Holland 1998). While I argued that early studies focused mainly on how women were *depicted* in the media (both in terms of images and numeric frequency), later studies were more analytical, examining representation of women. While the early studies were useful for painting broad brushstrokes of how women were shown, it is the later studies which are more analytically useful, as many

of the research on the social construction of news (Crabtree 2000; Oliver and Manley 2000; Tuchman 1976), and the idea that news is an important boundary maker for society (Hall et al. 1978), as it is increasingly responsible for supplying the information and images through which we understand our lives and society (Ericson et al 1987; Gitlin 2003). I then moved on to an exploration of news values, agreeing with research that states the news is chosen for a variety of reasons, and differs based on genre, format, organisational, political and individual factors (Cottle 2003; Galtung and Ruge 1965; Harcup and O'Neil 2001; Manning 2001; Schultz 2007; Shoemaker and Reece 2001). This was then followed by a thorough discussion of framing, focusing heavily on the ways journalists actively framed news stories. As scholars note, framing is useful because it analyses how reality is constructed and events are assigned meaning (Benford and Snow 2000; Kitzinger 2007; Reese 2001). As a result framing as a useful concept for uncovering dominant ideologies (Tuchman 1978a), particularly in relation to social movements (Maher 2001). Framing determines which questions are asked, sources interviewed, story angle, context given, and so forth. Though journalists, particularly in Western societies, value objectivity, frames nonetheless contain particular ideologies, which as Philo (1999) argues, are presented to readers as truths. Many scholars have challenged the notion of objectivity (Leff 1997; Molotch and Lester 1974, Rhode 1995; Tuchman 1978b), particularly feminists, who note that it serves to support the status quo, and therefore, is another tool used to re-inscribe male values, and therefore perpetuate patriarchal ideologies

it had different meanings in the US and the UK. In addition to cross-national differences in meaning, scholars have also argued that clear-cut divisions between tabloid and broadsheet formats have long been eroding in the UK, and that the distinctions the two are not always as easy to make (Franklin 1997). This therefore means that while in the past, tabloid newspapers were known to publish “soft” news or news that is non-pressing and light, broadsheets had a reputation for their “hard” news coverage – or politics, the economy or other matters in the “public sphere” (Tuchman 1978a). However, these distinctions are no longer as apparent as in the past.

Gender in the news was the next focus of this chapter, and was analysed in terms of story content, sources used, and journalists’ sex. Scholars agree that the women’s movement sparked the “feminisation” of the media – which led to both an increase in female journalists as well as more stories on women’s issues. I agree with those who claim that too little past research examined gender as a constituting variable in explaining differing experiences of women and men in journalism, and that a gendered analysis is needed to provide a “holistic and complex theoretical explanation of how journalistic roles relate to professional values” (Robinson 2005: 2). I paid particular attention to studies examining the use of news sources, engaging with Hall et al’s (1978) primary definer theory, stating that the news media prioritise elite, high

suggested that the women's movement provided a unique opportunity for women to have their voices heard. However, I also reasoned that since news sources tend to have power and social status – and since majority of powerful people during my sample period were men – many newspaper sources would be male. Though I was correct in my first assumption, my second one was not as accurate. In both chapters, women authored more stories on the women's movement and equal rights than men did, though men were still more likely to cover “hard” news stories than women were. This was found to be particularly true for equal rights stories – perhaps because, though the battle to win equal rights involved women, such stories were often played out in the political and legislative arenas, which were very much considered male preserves. These findings support previous theorists who argue that marginal voices are occasionally prioritised, and therefore, Hall et al.'s primary definer concept does not always account for source selection (Schlessinger and Tumber 1999 (1994) cited in Atton and Wickenden 2005: 348; Manning).

After discussing media studies on gender, I next examined social movement theory, exploring how they begin, change over time, and are accepted or rejected. I contend that while providing insights, most social movement theory is inadequate because it does not consider gender, and therefore fails to recognise the particular ways the movement could be opposed. Next, I scrutinised social movement studies that explicitly examined gender (Einwohner 1999; Einwohner et al. 2000; Ferree and

represented in the press, and ended this section specifically examining studies on the women's movement. While some studies blame negative coverage of the women's movement on journalists or editors (Barker-Plummer 2000), more theoretically developed arguments blame news structures: "Newspapers' very emphasis upon established institutions and those with institutionalised power may account in part for their denigration of women and the women's movement" (Tuchman 1978b: 28). This chapter concluded by noting that overall, the press marginalised, trivialised and often ignored the movement, focused heavily on dissention, issues over events, style over substance, and restricted who could or was considered to be a feminist. While useful this research referred mostly to the US movement, leaving little insight into how studies on the UK movement might compare. Additionally, none of these studies focus on feminist goals, which I argue require separate examination, particularly because a disjuncture can occur. For instance, where people reject the movement, yet support its goals, or vice versa.

Shifting from the theoretical to methodological concepts, Chapter Three examined how quantitative and qualitative methods in feminist cross-national research could be used to explore representations of the women's movement and its goals in the press. The chapter began by examining feminist methodology – defining it as research that is reflexive, and engages with research texts (Cook and Fonow 1986, cited in Cancian 1992; DeVault 1996). After examining how feminist researchers have used it in the

particularly how not all elements were directly comparable (e.g. regional vs. national focus in publications; different formats and their meanings in the US and the UK). At the same time however, I contended such problems were manageable, and that the US and UK movements were similar enough to warrant a comparison, even if it was an imperfect one. I therefore spent time addressing the differences, and how I overcame them.

The next section of this chapter addressed the benefits and drawbacks of quantitative and qualitative methods, analysing each one separately. Though quantitative methods have been criticised in the past by feminist researchers for their claims to “truth” or positivism, scholars argue that when used in *combination* with qualitative methods, they can provide additional layers of meaning, and can serve to validate findings (Deacon et al. 1999; Reinharz 1992). This chapter moved next to examine specific uses of quantitative content analysis in feminist analysis, and found it was mostly used for counting women’s appearance in the news, and for analysing their roles. As with research on women in the non-news media, I argued that much of this research focused on surface level meaning, and except for a notable few (van Zoonen 1992), feminist research has tended now to examine how these representations were constructed. It was also within this chapter that I explicitly outlined how I gathered my data using digital archives, which search terms I used, my sampling method, how my coding sheet was formulated, why I chose these four particular publications, and

discern ideological constructions in language, speech and signs. While linguistic analysis and semiotics are useful for feminist analysis of photos or speech, other methods are more suited to analysing texts. As a result, I argued that the best method for examining news articles is critical discourse analysis, a method specifically designed to examine text based artefacts, and whose desire to critique, uncover, and ultimately challenge and change ideologies and discourses, fits in well with a feminist media project.

Before analysing my two findings chapters, I spent a few paragraphs explaining how I organised my results, and why I chose such manner of presentation. After considering several available options, I decided that the most logical format was to present results by theme – the women’s movement and its members as one, and their goal for equal rights as another. Each theme would therefore constitute one chapter. What became apparent in reading through my articles was that while many news stories discussed both themes, a significant portion discussed only one or the other. Though in total I gathered 807 articles, only 555 focused the women’s movement and its members, while 747 examined equal rights. Though I could have assigned articles into one dataset or another based on which topic was more prominent, I decided the data should be included in both chapters when discussing both issues. My data therefore, can be broken down visually into a Venn diagram, where many articles are only within the equal rights theme, others are only within the women’s movement theme,

significance. Before addressing my overall findings, I will once again state that my claims should only be read as representative of my four chosen publications, and not news coverage in both countries as a whole. Moreover, a further caveat should be placed in regard to the *Chicago Tribune*, where the data represents a sample of all articles found on the movement and equal rights.

Chapter 5 is the first of two findings chapters, and explores the ways the women's movement and their members were represented in my four chosen publications, *The New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, *The Times*, and the *Daily Mirror*. Though the combination of my search terms generated 807 articles, only a portion of these addressed the women's movement of feminists. In fact, out of the 807 articles gathered, only 555 discussed either topic. Additionally, 393 of those articles were found within my US publications, *The New York Times*, and the *Chicago Tribune*, while a further 162 were found within my UK publications, the *Daily Mirror* and *The Times*. This discrepancy in figures is the first, and perhaps most apparent cross-national difference in my sample. Though the quantitative analysis was not able to answer why these figures differed, a general knowledge of the movements in each country could. The difference, I argued, was largely the result of several factors, namely differences in the nature of the movements in each country. Whereas the US women's movement was highly organised into groups such as the National

Historic research on the movement has indicated that the US movement was media savvy, and actively sought media attention to spread their message (Bradley 2003), while the UK movement often rejected such coverage. In part, this was because of the media's male dominance, and because they refused to put forth "media stars" who would speak for the movement, therefore, lacking ideal media contacts (Bouchier 1983; Bradley 2003). Rather than relying on the mainstream media, UK feminists often produced their own alternative publications, where they had control over how they were represented, and set the agenda of which issues to cover. Though I did not have space or time to analyse such alternative publications in this thesis, it would be a fruitful area for future researchers to examine, particularly in comparison to mainstream coverage.

Another cross-national difference that became apparent in my qualitative analysis was the lens through which the movement and its members were addressed. In the UK, news stories (particularly in the *Daily Mirror*) often focused on *individual* feminists or "women's libbers," rather than the movement as a *collective whole*. Additionally, some articles focused on consciousness-raising, or coffee groups, but these were not necessarily labelled feminist, or identified as part of the movement. In fact, within many of these articles, sources actively rejected such terms. US coverage on the other hand, while focusing at times on individual feminist, usually indicated that they were part of a larger feminist collective. Additionally, the movement itself was constantly

Though cross-national differences emerged, so too did cross-national similarities. This was most obvious in terms of the ideological richness and range of discourses present in all four publications. While publications might have used discourses in differing frequencies, they all drew from a relatively similar set. In trying to summarize coverage therefore, I would conclude that it could best be described as highly fragmented and contradictory in *The New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and *The Times*, and predominantly de-legitimate and deviant within the *Daily Mirror*. These findings therefore raised some surprising results, particularly when examining the discourses used in relation to the publication's supposed political leanings. For example, the *Daily Mirror*, chosen for its left-leaning values, consistently represented the movement as bad for society, ineffective, unnecessary or elite, and its members as militant, radicals or lesbians. Alternatively, the *Chicago Tribune*, chosen for its more conservative stance, often represented the movement and its members as legitimate, liberating for women, and having a positive effect on their lives. Therefore, such findings suggest that in times of social change, political leanings might not necessarily be the best indicator in how a publication will cover certain issues.

After addressing these apparent cross-national similarities and differences, I then turned my attention to ways discourses de-legitimised the movement and its member

homosexual behaviours. Such discourses served not only to discourage public support, but as Rhode notes (1995), de-legitimises the movement as a political collective, and undermines its goals. Additionally, these discourses were effective because many people believed that men and women's roles were *biological*, therefore natural, and thus could not be changed. This meant, as was demonstrated in Case Study 1, that women were constructed as better nurturers and caregivers than men, stating it is only fair for them to occupy the domestic role. Not only were women constructed as more "naturally" suited to the private sphere, but it was seen to be the source of their greatest fulfilment.

I also discovered that in such "negative" articles, little engagement with the movement's problems, solutions or background context was given. This supports similar findings by other social movement researchers (Martindale 1989). Worse yet for the movement, if articles did engage with problems or solutions, it was to state that there was in fact "no problem" with women's current role in society, and that therefore, nothing needed to change. Such frames served to de-legitimise the movement as a political collective by undermining the reasons for its existence and constructing it as unnecessary and frivolous. Additionally, the overall absence of context in terms of problems and solutions to women's inequality meant that readers

UK, this de-legitimisation did not occur without a fight. Within *The New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and *The Times*, I found ample evidence of supportive or legitimising discourses. I cautiously labelled such articles “positive,” when they engaged with grievances, problems and solutions put forth by women’s movement, supported their goals, and reported on them in serious, non-trivialising ways, or framing them as unified, effective and liberating for women. Because they were prevalent within these publications, and because evidence of such “positive” coverage is rarely found within literature on the second-wave (except for Tuchman 1978d; van Zoonen 1992), I felt that such articles merited special consideration. What is most evident about them is that they overwhelmingly employed liberal theoretical frameworks, ignoring alternative orientations, such as Marxist, socialist or radical critiques. Such findings support previous research on movements in other countries well (van Zoonen 1992). This was particularly surprising in the UK, where socialist and radical feminism were predominant, and liberal feminism played a relatively insignificant role. It perhaps suggests that the media were not able to cope with such levels of analysis, and preferred to frame the movement in ways it knew how (name liberal).

Though appearing in many “positive” articles, the overwhelming presence of liberal frameworks presented a problem in terms of my analysis. On the one hand, while

As discussed in my literature review, the problem with such theory is that it ignores the ways in which patriarchy and capitalism sustain women's oppression (Code 138). Additionally, such structures cannot simply be legislated away or eliminated without *social change*. In fact, most articles promote the (liberal) idea that *individuals* (as opposed to society) must change their (incorrect) assumptions about women's capabilities, thus removing a need to examine wider social beliefs and value systems (Jaggar 1983). Therefore, though liberal critiques were "positive" in that they engaged with feminist critiques, I would argue that they were overall ineffective in truly liberating women from the patriarchal and capitalist structures that oppressed them. Moreover, while there were some examples of capitalist or patriarchal critiques (particularly in *The Times*), they were rare. However, the inclusion of these truly challenging theories are examples of how, even in patriarchal and capitalist institutions such as newspapers, alternative discourses occasionally made it to the mainstream.

A final discourse that was explored in Chapter Five was that, while feminists were rejected, their goals were often supported. Such discourses are still circulating today and are evident in statements such as "I'm not a feminist but..." indicating the extent to which anti-feminists or pro-family members successfully de-legitimised the movement, yet were unable to de-legitimise their goals. What seems to me as being

that should therefore be wholeheartedly rejected. Even today, such association with deviant, unfeminine behaviours is a powerful tool used to reinforce the idea that feminism is for the unfulfilled – only those who cannot get by on their femininity subscribe to it, and therefore, it does not apply for most “normal” women. Such criticisms are only effective in a society instilled with patriarchal values, such as beauty over brains, passivity over assertiveness, and heterosexuality over homosexuality. And while such values primarily serve patriarchy, they also serve capitalism which benefits from “weak” women - physically and mentally less skilled than men, and therefore undeserving of similar opportunities or wages. Because patriarchy and capitalism have existed for centuries, I was therefore not surprised feminists were presented in this way, as dominant ideologies are not easily changed though this does not mean we should stop trying. Therefore, while I am critical of the discourses within my four publications did not do more to challenge such oppressive ideologies, I understand that they are deep-rooted, and cannot be changed overnight (nor apparently over 40 years!).

While Chapter Five explored news coverage of the women’s movement and feminism in my four publications, Chapter Six explored their goals of equal rights. What is significant about equal rights stories is that many of them (256 out of 747, or 34.3%) make no reference to the women’s movement. This is significant (and surprising)

were embracing its goals, which became well accepted and mainstream. Within these articles therefore, while feminist voices were rare, equal rights supporters' were not. In fact, in many cases, women who were known feminists were identified instead as equal rights supporters. Though it is unclear why women were given this label over the feminist one, it provides further evidence that to be called a feminist was not necessarily a good thing.

When examining discourses present in equal rights articles, as in the previous chapter, discourses were also fragmented and contradictory. Additionally, several cross-national differences became evident. Once again, my search terms generated more articles in my US publications (494 articles) than my UK ones (253 articles). This is most likely the result of the different equal rights issues and campaigns in each country, which was therefore reflected in the number of news stories published. During the sample period, my US publications mostly reported equal rights through the lens of the Equal Rights Amendment – a proposed piece of legislation that, within its 10-year life span, provided the news media with an ongoing news peg. The story was seen as newsworthy, not only because it dealt with legislative changes – but, because if successful, it would require a change to the US Constitution. Such changes are not easily made, and required approval of 38 states, thus making it a national news story. The UK, on the other hand, had had no such ongoing news peg, as their

specific attempts to achieve equal rights (as was the case in the *Daily Mirror*, focusing on how women were using the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts in legal battles against employers, local businesses or clubs). What is also interesting to note is that the US equal rights coverage was insular in focus, either reporting on local events (either in New York or Chicago for example), or national ones (such as how certain states voted for the E.R.A.). Alternatively, the UK coverage, particularly in *The Times*, but also the *Daily Mirror*, was much more internationally focused, a finding supported by previous researchers (Morris 1973a). Likely, the national focus occurred because the equal rights drive in the US was active enough to generate enough coverage, meaning newspapers did not feel the need to look elsewhere, whereas the UK lacked the same amount of tangible equal rights stories to report.

Though I discovered cross-national differences as evident above, I also found similarities in terms of the range of discourses present. I began this chapter then examining “positive” or supportive discourses of equal rights. Such articles were mainly constructed through a use of supportive frames, stating that equal rights were good for women, and men. Additionally, the largest frame present in this sample was one using liberal notions of equality, which stated that human potential should not be prohibited on account of biological sex. In some cases, equal rights were therefore not only deemed as fair, but necessary. While such discourses are “positive” in that they

opportunities, they were to blame – after all, they were given the chance, but chose not to accept it, or did not fight hard enough for it. Once again, such explanations ignore the ideological structures that serve to oppress women, all the while making them feel guilty for their “failures.” In this sense then, though articles might appear “positive” on a surface level, with a deeper level of analysis, articles are often less useful than they first appear.

I also examined how “positive” articles were constructed using supportive voices. Equal rights supporters, similar to feminists in the previous chapter, attempted to legitimise themselves through stressing their “normalness,” heterosexuality, motherly status, and adherence to femininity. While beneficial in demonstrating how equal rights were good for women, it was unfortunate that such constructions created a binary between acceptable and unacceptable supporters. Therefore, those women who were too aggressive or demanding (shrill even), would be de-legitimised, even if they presented the same arguments as calm, passive women.

The chapter turned next to examine discourses of de-legitimacy, which were more nuanced and varied in their approach. When examining the frequency of such discourses in all four publications, it becomes clear that, once again, these “negative” discourses were hegemonic only in the *Daily Mirror*, though they were present in the

feminists and the women's movement, "natural" gender roles were the most effective tool used by its opponents. Examples of such constructions were explicitly laid out, particularly in the analysis of the article "All women's libbers hate men and children," featuring anti-feminist and anti-E.R.A. leader Phyllis Schlafly, who framed women's equality as something "real" women do not really want (despite claims otherwise). Such "natural" differences between men and women were therefore used to construct equal rights as something that was bad for women (would make them more like men, eliminate chivalry, force them out of the home), bad for men (women's rights could only be gained at the expense of men's), and bad for the family (women would abandon the family for her own, selfish pursuits; homosexual unions would prevail). Additionally, many articles focused on how equal rights, though well meaning, had brought about negative consequences (women were balding, becoming alcoholics, and violent criminals), which could not be reversed.

It is interesting to examining the specifics of such discourses, as it is apparent that some resonated more in one country than in the other. For example, several US articles focused on how equal rights meant women would have to fight in wars, and be subject to conscription. Such arguments were quite powerful, as anti-war sentiments from the Vietnam War, which coincided with my sample period, ran high. As the anti-war feelings became more deeply entrenched, and as images of the

communist propaganda circling in the US during the Cold War (which also took place during my time period). Neither of these discourses was apparent in the UK, which, though involved in anti-war protests, last experienced the draft decades earlier during World War Two, therefore reducing the salience of this issue. Additionally, unlike the US, the UK was not subject to anti-communist discourses, instead being a nation accepting of socialist ideologies, as evident in the introduction of the Welfare State after World War Two, which nationalised the social services such as healthcare and education. The UK coverage also witnessed the emergence of unique discourses, likely linked to the high levels of unemployment experienced in the 1970s, which therefore further entrenched traditional gender roles. An example of one discourse present, particularly in the *Daily Mirror*, was that while women were interested in equal rights, they were unwilling to accept equal responsibilities. Such sentiments carried over into another discourse stating that equal rights were bad for men (who would lose their rights as women gained them). Such discourses indicate the extent of male dominance in this society through its absolute rejection of the idea that women might gain some form of power.

I concluded this chapter by taking a final examination at contradictory articles – or those articles that were neither supportive, nor oppositional to equal rights. I began by examining the quantitative results for tone, noting that in fact, one-quarter to one-fifth

contradictory when reporting disputes between equal rights supporters or opponents. In such articles, little was often mentioned about equal rights, other than they were disputed. Though evidence of contradictory articles were given throughout this section, they were highlighted in Case Study 4, which examined a major trend within a *Times* feature stories. Many of this publication's articles were international in focus and examined both the benefits and drawbacks of equal rights for women in other countries. As in this particular case study (and found throughout all four publications) equal rights were often constructed as something available to women and good for them, but which they chose not to accept, preferring instead traditional lives as mothers and wives. Such contradictory articles were useful to explore because they demonstrated the various ways discourses surrounding equal rights were deployed against one another, used by different groups, and how power was shifting in society.

In summarising this chapter therefore, I would argue that equal rights, similar to the women's movement, were constructed in fragmented, and contradictory ways. The only exception to this overall finding were those news articles within the *Daily Mirror* that consistently constructed equal rights as unsupported, bad for society, unnecessary and unneeded. In the other three publications, while such discourses were also present, they were outnumbered by supportive discourses, which stated that equal rights were supported, good for society and necessary. Though these discourses had

was, as they are still common today).

Overall Conclusions:

If taking an overall look at the study, I would argue that I successfully accomplished what I set out to do – I analysed how four publications, of differing political leanings in two countries, reported on the women's movement, its members and equal rights. In doing so, I discovered several cross-national similarities (including the use of similar discourses, particularly the use of natural gender roles and liberal theories), well as cross-national differences (unique discourses related to specific socio-political issues in each country, and lenses in which both topics were addressed). While previous research examined the movement, few attempted to uncover embedded ideologies in news accounts, nor did they situate the study in a context larger than publication, country, city or region. By examining representations over a 14 year period, between two countries experiencing the movement at roughly the same time and between varying newspaper formats with differing political leanings, I attempted to ground this research in a larger context that revealed how the movement and its goals were talked about, and the ways they were ideologically constructed. As a result, I feel confident in stating that this dissertation provides a unique contribution to the field of feminist media studies - foremost for its cross-national comparison, which demonstrated that even though different news pegs were used in each country, similar

differing socio, political, historic and economic contexts in which my publications were based. For example, my US publications might have included more articles on both the movement and its goals, not because they were necessarily more newsworthy, but because both publications were much longer than their UK counterparts, giving such stories more opportunity to be included. Additionally, specific discourses were employed which fit in with larger issues occurring at the time – e.g. equal rights will force women into the army, a scary prospect given the context of the highly unpopular and unsuccessful Vietnam War.

Another original aspect of my research worth mentioning is its examination of the UK, a country that has been ignored in terms of representations of the mediated women's movement. Following from this, my study is the only one I have come across which specifically examines goals of equal rights. By including such goals, I was able to discover a disjuncture at times – that while feminists were rejected, their goals were widely accepted. In other times however, I was able to de-construct both what was so threatening about equal rights, and how they were constructed as something positive for women. Finally, this study contributes original research demonstrating that while there was an abundance of “negative” coverage, there was also ample evidence of “positive” and supportive coverage that sought to legitimise the movement, its members and their goals. Such findings should not be overlooked.

1968-1982, I also wish to address some limitations associated with both the research process as well as with my findings.

Limitations and Considerations for Future Studies:

When beginning any piece of research, one is filled with much excitement, hope, and ideas for how the research will be carried out. Inevitably, as time passes, and one becomes familiar with the data, and proceeds with the research, certain obstacles arise. Some are more difficult to overcome (time, money), while for others, solutions are simpler (expanding or narrowing sample size, altering a coding sheet). When looking back, there were some problems I knew I would encounter from the start (difficulties in choosing time frames, and publications), while others emerged as I went along (limited search capabilities regarding digital archives; discrepancy in amount of articles between the two countries). Other problems are only apparent in hindsight, and can be difficult, though not impossible to change. All that one can do however in the end is be honest about the limitations and significance of the findings and how future studies could learn from my mistakes. It is through such reflections, that any limitations or breakthroughs can be shared with future researchers, adding to a general body of knowledge garnered through experience. It is therefore lessons learned from my trials and errors that I hope to pass on in this section.

making the necessary changes can make the research better in the end. In this sense, one can look back with satisfaction at their work, and know that it was not always easy, but it was certainly worthwhile, and that the findings are more representative, in-depth and detailed as a result. Though unaware at the time, this research had some problems in its original embodiment, though (luckily), none that could not be overcome. These primarily revolved around sample size, choice of newspapers, and the coding sheet. Because I went back and fixed many of the initial problems associated with this research, my limitations section is shorter than it would originally have been had I not made such changes.

To begin, after doing an initial search for articles, I ended up with over 200 in the US but roughly half of that in the UK. Such discrepancies were problematic, partially because such differences made it difficult to claim cross-national comparability. These problems were eventually solved, with the help of critical thinking and lots of experimentation with search terms. As mentioned in my methods chapter, some search databases were more powerful than others. Moreover, while I tried various, specific search terms for *The Times* and the *Daily Mirror*, I simply could not generate enough articles. It was therefore only after some time, that I realised that the solution was to use more general, rather than specific search terms. These were as broad as using “woman” or “liberation”. What I discovered was that such key words, while

indicates, is that there is a fundamental problem with many (historic) digital databases, or the ways in which old articles are input into the system. Though I am advocating a rejection of the digital database completely, I would encourage future researchers to double-checking the validity of their findings. This could include the use of indexes to trace when articles emerged, or speak to someone who was familiar with the topic and see if their memory of coverage matches your findings.

Though my new search terms proved successful in increasing the number of UK articles, I soon realised that I was faced with another problem. This was in relation to one of my original US publications, the *New York Daily News*. While I had over 20 *New York Times* articles in my sample, I had a meagre 50 from the *Daily News*. This was largely a result of limitations in terms of gathering articles. To begin, I had to travel to New York City to access the archives. Because this was a large, expensive trip, I only had enough funds to remain in New York for one week. The short time period was compounded by the publication's lack of an index, meaning I searched through entire publications on dates where articles appeared in *The New York Times*. Therefore, because of the problems associated with this method and the overall low levels of articles found, as discussed in my methods section, I replaced the *Daily News* with the conservative broadsheet, the *Chicago Tribune*. Ironically, I was faced with the opposite challenge with this publication. Whereas with the *Daily News*, I had

leaving a 4-point margin of error. Therefore, the use of truly representative samples within *The Times*, *The New York Times*, and the *Daily Mirror*, compared to the (comparatively representative) sample within the *Chicago Tribune*, is perhaps a limitation. However, though I did not use all articles within this publication, I would contend that by reducing the sample size, I was trying to ensure that my ability to make cross-national comparisons was not diminished. Therefore, I wholly support my decision and defend my choice.

Another possible limitation regarding newspaper choice is the difference in geographic location, as well as format. While my UK publications are national, my US ones are regional. However, such choices accurately reflect the nature of newspapers in each country, and because I was interested in how high circulation, mainstream publications reported the movement, its members and their goals, such geographic choices were necessary. Therefore, the difference in regional focus was one “compromise” I felt justified in making. Additionally, I would argue that by being true to the nature of publications in each country, my study was not trying to force similar categories for the sake of it, and chose instead to use publications that provided widely read discourses on both topics. Though I would argue that the different geographic focus between countries is justified, I would also argue that the different regional focus in my US publications do not compromise my findings either.

find occasional differences. The range and frequencies of discourses used were very similar in regards to both equal rights and the women's movement. Though it is difficult to assess what wider implications these similarities have, and if I would find similar results in other US publications, it is noteworthy to mention that similarities occurred despite the publications' opposing political and social leanings (conservative *Chicago Tribune* vs. liberal *New York Times*).

In terms of coding issues, as discussed in the methodology chapter, I went back and fixed those with which I was unhappy. This included adding new variables (such as news peg category), separating a few variables (for example, sexism/discrimination/patriarchy/oppression were originally included as one category and I separated them into two – sexism/discrimination and patriarchy/oppression). Additionally, I added new variables in the frame and tone categories, which I felt better reflected the articles. Though I feel confident in my revised coding categories and variables, I did not address one major limitation. This is in terms to the number of variables coded within each story. As it currently stands, I only made provision to code one of each variable per publication. While this is useful for highlighting the dominant frame, news pegs, problem, solution, and so forth, it does not accurately reflect the varied nature of the articles. What I found was that many articles often use several frames, problems, solutions, etc. This was sometimes highlighted in the

problems affecting them), future researchers might consider allowing multiple variables to be coded within articles in order to demonstrate a wider range of those used.

Suggestions for Future Researchers:

Though I feel addressing equal rights was an important and original contribution to this study, I would encourage future researchers to perhaps expand this focus to other perhaps more radical feminist goals (abortion, wages for housewives, etc). If doing so it would be interesting to see if liberal discourses remained dominant, or if publications engaged with other forms of critiques. Additionally, I recognise that had my goal been “social change” rather than “equal rights,” my results might have differed. Though equal rights were sought in both countries, they lend themselves better to liberal critiques than radical or socialist ones. Therefore, it would be interesting to see how coverage differed when the goals changed. In addition, because UK feminists were more intent on producing their own alternative publications such as *Spare Rib* or *Shrew*, future studies could compare how discourses found here compared to those in the mainstream media. Additionally, it would be fruitful to expand an analysis to other forms of media such as television, radio, and magazines, as well as other forms of popular culture such as talk shows and books.

were possible however, I would be interested in finding out how stories were assigned, if women consciously chose to cover the movement, and if they chose to cover it in a particular manner. I would also have liked to know how much editorial control journalists were given over the stories they wrote.

These suggestions only represent a few possibilities for future research and I hope that this study will aid those doing similar research, and perhaps inspire others to carry out feminist cross-national research, particularly that which is historical in nature. Finally, I hope this dissertation will provide a useful contribution to the growing field of media research, and will encourage others to keep conducting feminist studies – the battle is not yet won.

Appendix 1 – Coding Sheet

Newspaper: _____ Headline: _____

Section: _____ Date: mm/dd/yy _____

Genre:

- 1) News Report _____ 2) News Brief _____ 3) Feature _____
- 4) Column _____ 5) Letter to Editor _____ 6) Editorial _____
- 7) Backgrounder _____ 8) Agony Aunt _____
- 9) Photo _____ 10) Cartoon _____ 11) Other _____ 12) Women's/Lifestyle section _____

Paragraph Length:

- 0) Not applicable _____ 1) 1-2 _____ 2) 3-6 _____ 3) 7-12 _____ 4) 13+ _____

By-line:

- 0) Not Applicable _____
- 1) Staff Reporter _____ Specify: _____ M _____ F _____ UC _____
- 2) Staff Correspondent _____ Specify: _____ M _____ F _____ UC _____
- 3) Staff Editorialist _____ Specify: _____ M _____ F _____ UC _____
- 4) Staff Columnist _____ Specify: _____ M _____ F _____ UC _____
- 5) Special to the Paper _____ Specify: _____ M _____ F _____ UC _____
- 6) No By-line _____ Specify: _____ M _____ F _____ UC _____
- 7) Unclear _____ Specify: _____ M _____ F _____ UC _____
- 8) Wire Service Story _____ Specify: _____ M _____ F _____ UC _____

Main Focus:

- 1) Equal Rights MF _____ SF _____ MM _____ NA _____
- 2) Feminism/Feminist MF _____ SF _____ MM _____ NA _____

News Peg: _____

Feminism Related to Equal Rights?: Yes _____ No _____ UC _____ NA _____

Frame: Fem) _____ (ER) _____

No. of Sources _____

- 1 Source: _____ ID _____ NA _____ M _____ F _____ UC _____ Photo _____
- 2 Source: _____ ID _____ NA _____ M _____ F _____ UC _____ Photo _____
- 3 Source: _____ ID _____ NA _____ M _____ F _____ UC _____ Photo _____
- 4 Source: _____ ID _____ NA _____ M _____ F _____ UC _____ Photo _____
- 5 Source: _____ ID _____ NA _____ M _____ F _____ UC _____ Photo _____
- 6 Source: _____ ID _____ NA _____ M _____ F _____ UC _____ Photo _____

Source:	(SFF)	(SER)	(SERA)	(DFF)	(DER)	(DERA)	Unclear	No Mention
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								

Problem: _____ Solution: _____ Tone: _____

Appendix 2 – Coding Key

Number:

Newspaper:

- 1) NYT
- 2) NYDN
- 3) Times
- 4) Daily Mirror
- 5) Chicago Times

Headline:

Section:

- 1) Front Page
- 2) Pp.2-10
- 3) Pp.11-20
- 4) Pp.21-30
- 5) Pp.31-40
- 6) Pp.41 +
- 7) Special Section

Date: mm/dd/yy

Genre:

- 1) News Report
- 2) News Brief
- 3) Feature
- 4) Column
- 5) Letter to Editor
- 6) Editorial
- 7) Backgrounder
- 8) Agony Aunt
- 9) Photo
- 10) Cartoon
- 11) Other
- 12) Women's/Lifestyle section

Paragraph Length:

- 1) 1-2
- 2) 3-6
- 3) 7-12
- 4) 13 +

Byline:

- 1) Staff Reporter
- 2) Staff Correspondent
- 3) Staff Editorialist
- 4) Staff Columnist
- 5) Special to the Paper
- 6) No Byline
- 7) Wire Service Story

Journalist Gender:

- 1) Male
- 2) Female
- 3) Unclear/Unknown

ER:

- 0) Not Applicable
- 1) Main Focus
- 2) Secondary Focus
- 3) Minor Mention

Feminism:

- 0) Not Applicable
- 1) Main Focus
- 2) Secondary Focus
- 3) Minor Mention

Feminism Related to ER?

- 0) Not Applicable
- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Unclear

News Peg:

- 0) Not Applicable
- 1) Protest Demonstration
- 2) Court case/tribunal hearing or decision
- 3) Feature story
- 4) Women first story
- 5) ER Legislation
- 6) Government Campaign
- 7) Feminist Campaign/activity
- 8) Anti-Feminist Campaign
- 9) Trade Union
- 10) Int'l women's year
- 11) Politics
- 12) Effects of women's liberation/equality
- 13) Other
- 14) Unclear
- 15) Anniversary/Landmark
- 16) Conference speech
- 17) ER Campaign
- 18) Anti-ER Campaign
- 19) Survey/Research
- 20) Press Conference
- 21) Letter to editor/response

Feminism Frame:

- 0) Not Applicable
- 1) Conflict
- 2) Feminists as Deviants (sexually, visually, occupationally, familialy)
- 3) Women's place is at work
- 4) Men need liberating too
- 5) No need for feminism/movement
- 6) Liberating for women
- 7) Ineffective
- 8) Solidarity/Effective Movement
- 9) Effects of feminism on other areas of life (e.g. more female alcoholics, more divorces, etc.)

Frame Feminism Continued:

- 10) Backlash to feminism is occurring
- 11) Feminism bad for the family
- 12) Feminism bad for society
- 13) Feminism bad for women/seen as threat to homemakers
- 14) Feminism bad for men
- 15) Unclear
- 16) Contradictory
- 17) Is necessary/good
- 18) Individual/personal freedom
- 19) Defined in terms of its goals
- 20) Middle-class
- 21) Unsupported
- 22) Gone too far
- 23) Is a white-movement/not relevant for Blacks
- 24) Politics
- 25) Is insensitive to Black struggle
- 26) Fragmented movement
- 27) Is in a new phase

Equal Rights:

- 0) Not applicable
- 1) Good for women
- 2) Bad for women/seen as threat to homemakers
- 3) Liberal notions of equality
- 4) Women's work opportunities
- 5) Women's opportunities in powerful positions
- 6) No need for liberation/equality
- 7) Equal rights good for men
- 8) Equal rights bad for men
- 9) Frivolous Goals
- 10) Progress for equality is slow
- 11) Capitalist or patriarchal critiques
- 12) Unclear
- 13) Contradictory/conflict
- 14) Is only fair
- 15) Is the law/women entitled to it
- 16) Has negative consequences
- 17) Being denied to women
- 18) Sexual Rights
- 19) ER bad for society
- 20) Bad for the family
- 21) Economic
- 22) ER = Equal responsibilities
- 23) Middle-class
- 24) Supported
- 25) Unsupported
- 26) Means different things for blacks and whites
- 27) Gives federal govt too much power
- 28) Support for ER but not ERA

Number of Sources:

- 0) Not Applicable
- 1) One
- 2) Two
- 3) Three
- 4) Four

- 5) Five
- 6) More than 5
- 7) None

Source Identity:

- 0) Not Applicable
- 1) Feminist/Women's Org. Member
- 2) Anti-Feminist/Non-Feminist/Pro-Family
- 3) Politician
- 4) Civil Servant
- 5) Housewife/Househusband
- 6) Member of Public (No group, politician, etc.)
- 7) Trade Union
- 8) Unknown/Unclear
- 9) Other
- 10) Supporters of ERA
- 11) Opponents of ERA
- 12) Court/Judge
- 13) Academic
- 14) Journalist
- 15) Mother
- 16) Father
- 17) Wife
- 18) Husband
- 19) Piece of legislation
- 20) Media
- 21) Member of Political Party
- 22) Employer
- 23) Worker/employee
- 24) Solicitor
- 25) EEOC/EOC Commission
- 26) Survey/report

Source Gender:

- 0) Not Applicable
- 1) Male
- 2) Female
- 3) Unknown

Source Affiliation/Support:

- 0) Not Applicable
- 1) Support for Feminists/Feminism
- 2) Support for Equal Rights (General)
- 3) Support for ERA/Legislation
- 4) No Support for Feminists/Feminism
- 5) No Support for Equal Rights (General)
- 6) No Support for ERA/Legislation
- 7) Unclear

Source Photo:

- 0) Not Applicable
- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Problem:

- 0) Not Applicable
- 1) Individual
- 2) Women
- 3) Men
- 4) Sex/Gender Roles
- 5) Institution of Marriage
- 6) Society
- 7) Patriarchy/oppression/exploitation
- 8) Capitalist/Consumerist Society
- 9) Lack of Legislation
- 10) Lack of Education
- 11) Government
- 12) No Problem
- 13) Women's Inequality is Good
- 14) Other
- 15) Too much Support for ERA or Equal Rights Legislation
- 16) Lack of Support for Equal Rights Legislation
- 17) Inadequate Legislation
- 18) A Fragmented Movement
- 19) Employers find loophole in the law
- 20) Sexism/Discrimination Against Women
- 21) Unclear
- 22) Article assumes women are equal
- 23) Patriarchy and Capitalism
- 24) People sick of hearing about ERA
- 25) Opposition too strong
- 26) Supporter's antics gone too far

Solution:

- 0) Not Applicable
- 1) Individuals
- 2) Societal Change
- 3) Legislative Change
- 4) Role Reversal/change in gender roles
- 5) Women in Workforce
- 6) No Solution
- 7) Unclear
- 8) Women in Powerful Positions
- 9) Nothing needs to be changed
- 10) Unified Movement
- 11) Union Support
- 12) Employers need to adapt
- 13) Article assumes women are already equal
- 14) Involve tribunal/courts/authorities
- 15) Education
- 16) Unclear

Tone:

- 0) Not Applicable
- 1) Positive
- 2) Negative
- 3) Neutral
- 4) Contradictory

FREE MULTI- PURPOSE STENCIL

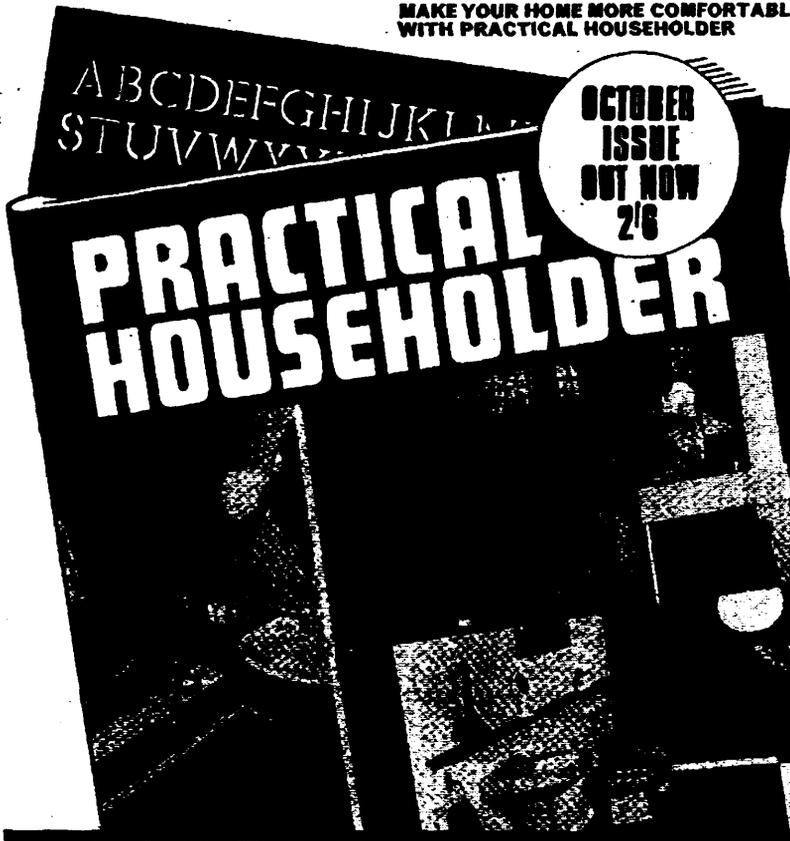
- COMPLETE ALPHABET
- COMPLETE SET OF NUMERALS
- INCH AND CENTIMETRE MEASURES

BETTER BATHROOMS!
Whether you're in an extravagant mood, or sticking to a rigid budget, PRACTICAL HOUSEHOLDER's October issue plans to help you give your bathroom an exciting new look. How about a super new shower? Or a love-and-marriage twin washbasin unit? Don't miss this expert advice on every aspect of bathroom improvement, plus the start of an important new series on plumbing.

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Readers of PRACTICAL HOUSEHOLDER can obtain top quality room thermometers in a choice of two most attractive styles... 13/6 each or two for 25/-.

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MAKE YOUR HOME MORE COMFORTABLE WITH PRACTICAL HOUSEHOLDER



LINDA GREALLY: women are different

THE worthy Women's Liberation Movement has an uphill struggle ahead. Opposition to it begins early... Consider, for a start, the views of Linda Greally, aged 11, from London:

It's wrong to be equal

I really don't see why those liberation ladies are so unhappy and want to change everything. If they can vote for who they want to be Prime Minister and choose the man they want to marry then, really, they're having their fair share, aren't they?

Men would be hopeless at home. They wouldn't know how to work the electrical things and it would be very unfair to children to have men around them.

Mothers understand children better. If a boy ran home crying because he'd had a fight and got hurt a father would tell him to go back and hit harder next time, whereas a mother would have the sense to comfort the little boy and tell him to avoid fighting if he's going to lose.

And it's a terrible idea to send children to those nurseries when they're

INTERVIEWER:
JILL EVANS

PICTURE:
DOREEN SPOONER

young so that mothers can go out to work. In nurseries you always get some children who are bossy and the weaker ones suffer, then.

Men and women are very different, you know. Women like to talk about cooking and fashion and men like to discuss football and money, which is best talked about outside the house.

It would be wrong if we were equal. Married couples would have different ideas about furniture and they'd go out separately to buy what they fancied.

It would all look a bit of a mess in the end. As things stand at the moment, I think everyone knows where they are.

If we were equal, life would get sort of divided, if you know what I mean.

I would like to get married to a considerate man who isn't too careful with money, rather than sort it out myself.

Some women, of course, have to find a career for themselves. In a way, it's nice for them since they can just go out and buy a carpet without having to ask anybody.

But those ladies must feel envious of wives who have nice husbands who would buy the carpet for them.

I think those liberationist ladies are a little bit silly.

LO



The Perishers



I HEAR...

... that Paris design has named his two daughter Cleofautie, wh for cherry Hen.
... that the latest, w cosmetic which comes spray for £2 is nothing water. Pass me the syp!
... that Princess... likely to be the first



Inequality



PART TWO ON HOW WOMEN LOST THE SEX WAR..

I'M A PIG AND PROUD OF IT!

I BECAME a Male Chauvinist Pig the day I realised that girls were different from boys.

I needed no instructions. I took to Male Chauvinist Piggery like a hippopotamus finding mud. I wallowed in it—and have been wallowing ever since.

I remember sprinting from the playground to the classroom, socks dragging around ankles.

Just inside the door a group of boys were clustered around Pamela Brevis and Angela Garrett. Curiosity prompted me to see if anything interesting—a game of conkers? a fight—was taking place.

I looked at the girls, both very pretty, and awoke to the fact that there were things in life more important than conkers or fighting.

And then, instinctively, I went into a simple Male Chauvinist routine, raking both girls with a look of gross contempt. That afternoon they walked me home.

I was eight or nine at the time. As I grew I adopted more sophisticated forms of Piggery, like the crushing verbal put-down.

I became very good at it. Indeed, my verbal put-downs earned me a certain notoriety among the girls who congregated at the local dance-halls and pubs.

But mastery of the withering look and the devastating insult left me dissatisfied. I knew that my strategy always ended in victory, but I could never define exactly what I was doing, much less what it was called.

Glow

So when, joined like a Shammie twin to the Women's Lib movement, Male Chauvinism marched from the closet, enlightenment bathed me in a self-assisted glow.

At last I knew what I was. I was a Pig and proud of it.

It was, of course, the women's liberationists who gave Male Chauvinism the recognition we so richly deserved.

And while, like Donna Quixote, they were tilting at windmills, we Pigs reminded ourselves with

ME? An MCP? Don't be a pig! It's your wife's round darling...



renewed enthusiasm of the irrefutable fact that separates the men from the girls.

Women are inferior to men in the three basic essentials of a happy, fulfilled life:

1. Drinking. 2. Swearing. 3. Chatting-up girls.

My Male Chauvinist behaviour was soon honed to a new and exhilarating perfection. Not overt, you understand, the secret of Piggery is to never admit it has even crossed your mind, but to dispense platitudes in one breath and deliver a condescension in the next.

Of course, I believe in equal pay for women. By the way, it's your round and can you lend me a fiver till Thursday?

Of course, I think it's



Says BILL HAGERTY

sensible to wear a ball-dress top, fatigue trousers and climbing boots. By the way, your five o'clock shadow is showing.

It's an easy enough recipe. Take equal quantities of scorn, sarcasm and unbridled rudeness and spread thickly on the MCP credo which is, with absolutely no apologies to one of our founders, W. C. Fields:

"Never give a woman an even break."

It's getting better all the time. See for us Pigs.

Slap

I have detected a significant women's liberation backlash, which sometimes takes the form, I am happy to say, of overwhelming admiration of an appalling sexist beast like me.

A fully liberated lady recently gazed moodily into her drink and told me: "I've always been involved with nice guys, so I suppose I deserve to end up with a real bastard."

I smiled and knocked

her drink into her lap because I knew—and she knew—that by "deserve" she actually meant "want."

As you may imagine, I get no arguments about my qualifications for Male Chauvinist Piggdom. My wife says I'm a champion Pig. So does my secretary.

Only my mother has yet to slap the label on me.

But does she remember how, from an early age, I could crush admonishment with a hostile look that would travel less than six feet across our kitchen before forcing her to grasp the gas-stove for support?

Think about it, Mum.



ADRIENNE ROSENBLOOM: "A mother's job is with her children."

Why Adrienne doesn't want to be a man

by JILL PALMER

ADRIENNE ROSENBLOOM is a homemaker and mother. And proud of it.

She doesn't want to be independent or equal and says: "I've no time for women who dump their kids and go out to work."

She would rather be at home, caring for her family, than out fighting for female freedom.

Enjoy

"Equality," she says, has become a dirty word. Women seem to think they are inferior to men, which is rubbish.

"We are different and I wouldn't change it. I enjoy looking after my home and family and wouldn't do anything else."

"It is most important for a mother to bring up her own

children. A mother's job is with her children and a wife's is with her husband.

Adrienne, 22, and her 10-year-old husband Barry, a hairdresser, have been married for five years.

They have two children, Nikki, three, and Jack, 18 months, and they live in Holloway, North London.

She gave up a hectic social life and a successful career to have a family. She has never regretted it.

"Once I got married I wanted to have children and give up work," she says.

"I am very happy with my life and never dissatisfied. I don't

want to be independent and I think women's lib is pointless.

"Equal rights is not a question of breaking the feminine frontier. We are not second-class citizens. We have a different role to play and we should be content with it."

Adrienne happily does the "homework," shopping, washing, ironing and cooking, and doesn't ask for any help from her husband.

Cook

"I cook lunch for the children every day and dinner for my husband each evening."

"That is what being a wife and mother is all about."

"You either stay single and be independent or you get married and look after your family."

HOW I SURVIVE BEING MARRIED TO HIM!

WOMEN who have read my husband's story must be wondering how any female could survive life with such an arrogant, heavy-drinking, foul-mouthed womaniser. Let me say it isn't easy.

But in twelve years he has never forgotten my birthday or our wedding anniversary. I can never decide whether it's the gift of the blue-flowered apron with matching oven-gloves or the non-stick frying pan with a ten-year guarantee that I'll grab if the house goes up in flames.

He adapted easily to baby-sitting. One rainy Saturday in '75, I left our two-month-old baby girl with him while I went shopping. Who else could have thought of tying her on a pile of old newspapers when her nightdress

became a sodden mess? Any less inventive dad would merely have changed the nappy.

Another thing is his DIY skill. His last big job was back in '71 when we moved house and found our bedroom lacked a hook. He went straight to Woolies and within eight hours our dressing gowns were hanging beautifully, if slightly to one side, on the back of the door.

Junior—he's six and recently started school—says he'd like to be Fred Astaire when he grows up.

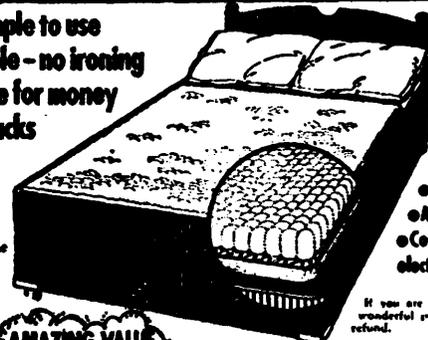
Let's hope he marks the end of the long chain of Hagerly MCPs.

LYNDA HAGERTY

TOMORROW: What YOU think

NEW SUPERFLEECE UNDERBLANKET WARMS WITHOUT ELECTRICITY!

- Totally safe ●Simple to use
- Machine washable - no ironing
- Astounding value for money
- Helpful to bad backs



THE DELUXE TYPE, SLUMBERFLEECE, IS AVAILABLE AT STORES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

- Sheepskin-like comfort
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Superfleece looks like a sheepskin, but is in fact an acrylic. It has a thick cream-coloured pile with a foam backing. You lay it straight onto your mattress (or mattress cover) and you lie directly on it (unless you prefer a sheet on top).

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I enclose a cheque/PO for

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PLEASE USE BLOCK LETTERS

What do these women want?

The Second Feminist Wave

By MARTHA WEINMAN LEAR

IT was billed as a black comedy, nothing elaborate. Twelve comely feminists, dressed for cocktails, would crash the hearings of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission on sex discrimination in employment. They would make some noise, possibly get arrested, certainly get thrown out, meet the press, and all the while give prominent display to large, home-lettered signs, of which my favorite read: "A Chicken in Every Pot, A Whore in Every Home."

The feminists were members of the New York chapter of NOW (a multi-

layered acronym: The National Organization for Women, which wants "full equality for all women in America, in truly equal partnership with men," now). To the press, they would explain that they were protesting all those prejudices and laws of the land which keep women at home and in the bottom of the job market, but exclude them from jobs that utilize intelligence in any significant way.

This makes it clear, they would say, that women are valued not for their intelligence but only for their sexuality—i.e., as wives and mothers—which, stripping the matter of its traditional sacred cows, reduces the Woman's Role to a sort of socially acceptable whoredom.

The point was delicate and not necessarily crystal clear, and certain NOW officials foresaw a disastrous misunderstanding. As one of them pointed out, how might the banner headlines look: "Prostitutes Picket E.E.O.C.?"

By compromise, 12 "whores" metamorphosed into two secretaries who picketed the E.E.O.C. several weeks back, literally chained to their typewriters. This made a precise point in an eminently respectable way, and the press coverage was good.

Shortly before that, NOW members had picketed The New York Times in

protest against the "Help Wanted—Male" and "Help Wanted—Female" column headings in classified advertising. They maintained these designations violate Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits sex discrimination in employment. The E.E.O.C. permits such column headings, by a logic which seems capricious to feminists and complex to almost everyone. NOW representatives met with officials of The Times ("We told them," one feminist said, "that those column headings perpetuate the employment ghetto." "We told them," said Monroe Green, then The Times vice president in charge of advertising, "that if we discontinued the column headings there might be fewer jobs for women because men would be applying for them. After all, men can be just as militant as women.") Nothing swayed, the NOW people recently announced that they are bringing suit against the E.E.O.C. to get a ruling on the matter.

They also are helping two stewardesses' unions fight for the right of an airline hostess to stay on the job after she dodders past her 32d birthday. In New York, they are pushing for the repeal of all state abortion laws. In Washington, they are lobbying for passage of a civil-rights amendment for women, which has

been getting tossed out of every Congress since 1923. In various states they have pending court cases which will test the validity of so-called "protective laws" (i.e., women may work only so many hours; women may lift only so many pounds). NOW says these laws are obsolescent and keep women from earning more money and getting better jobs.

What NOW wants, by way of immediate implementation of its goals, is total enforcement of Title VII; a nationwide network of child-care centers, operating as optional community facilities; revision of the tax laws to permit full deduction of housekeeping and child-care expenses for working parents; maternity benefits which would allow some period of paid maternity leave and guarantee a woman's right to return to her job after childbirth; revision of divorce and alimony laws ("so that unsuccessful marriages may be terminated without hypocrisy, and new ones contracted without undue financial hardship to either man or woman"), and a constitutional amendment withholding Federal funds from any agency, institution or organization discriminating against women.

IN short, feminism, which one might have supposed as dead as the Polish Question, is again an issue. Proponents call it the Second Feminist Wave, the first having ebbed after the glorious victory of suffrage and disappeared, finally, into the great sandbar of Togetherness. When I prepared to do an article on this new tide, I prepared also to be entertained; it is the feminist burden that theirs is the only civil-rights movement in history which has been put down, consistently, by the cruelest weapon of them all—ridicule.

"We must not be afraid of ridicule," they say to one another. And, indeed, when pink refrigerators abound, when women (51 per cent of the population) hold unparalleled consumer power, when women control most of the corporate stocks, when women have ready access to higher education and to the professions, when millions of women are gainfully employed, when all the nation is telling American women, all the time,

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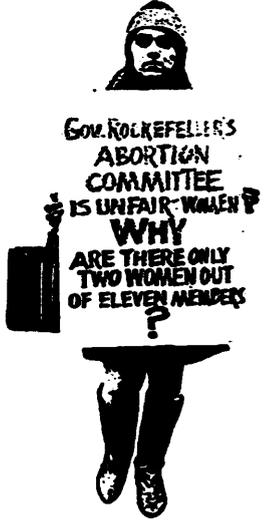


It's true that women make up 51 per cent of the American population and are the majority stockholders in the nation's businesses, but many still feel put upon. Those here, for example, are picketing such establishments as the Federal Equal Employment Opportunities Commission ("unfair"), The New York Times ("discriminatory" want-ad pages) and the Association of the Bar of the City of New York (site of a hearing of the Governor's Committee on Abortion Law). It would all be pretty puzzling to a suffragette—pictured in a contemporary cartoon—of 50 years ago.

that they are the most privileged female population on earth, the insistence on a civil-rights movement for women does seem a trifle stubborn. "Oh, come off it; why ruin it for the rest of us?" a New York matriarch recently commented to a NOW member, and she wasn't half kidding.

But the feminists, in answer, pose a question: Ruin what? In the anti-feminist view, the status quo is plenty good enough. In the feminist view, it is a sellout: American women have traded their rights for their comfort, and now are too comfortable to care.

Economic power is a fraud, the feminists say, when it devolves ultimately upon the power to decide which breakfast food to buy; that is not what men mean when they speak of power. The corporate power is a myth. "What it means generally," says NOW's president, Betty Friedan, whose book, "The Feminine Mystique," provided a powerful undercurrent to this second wave, "is that wives and widows own the stocks and men vote them."



form of practices of industrial, labor, professional or governmental organizations that discriminate against women in apprenticeship, training, hiring, wages and promotion."

In a paper called "Jane Crow and the Law," written by New York lawyer Pauli Murray and Mary O. Eastwood, a lawyer with the Justice Department, the pivotal point was made that the doctrine of legislative classification by sex, which generally has been upheld in the courts, "totally defeats the meaning of equal protection of the law for women."

It's all there, but most women seem not to consider it a burning issue of the day. What, then, makes the feminist? One kind of answer is provided by Jean Faust of New York's NOW: 37, married, attractive, a research assistant to Congressman William F. Ryan. Of her marriage, she says: "I do not agree with the concept of marriage; but I must live in our society, and this is still the most convenient way for a man and a woman to remain together." Further: "I grew up in North Carolina, a

(Continued on Page 50)

Equal opportunity in education is seen as similarly mythical. "By the time a girl is ready for medical school, she doesn't want to go any more," says Kate Millet of NOW's New York chapter, an artist and English instructor at Barnard. "She never really had a choice. She's been conditioned to her role ever since she got the doll to play with, and her brother got the gun." Seven per cent of the nation's doctors are women, 3 per cent of its lawyers, 1 per cent of its engineers. Nor does this represent progress; the figures have been moving downward quite steadily since World War II, when that first feminist wave receded entirely.

As to the job market: 28 million women are in it and three-quarters of them are in the rock-bottom of it. Ninety per cent earn less than \$5,000 a year. John F. Kennedy's Commission on the Status of Women reported in 1963 that women earn up to 40 per cent less than men, on the same jobs. It further noted:

"The subtle limitations imposed by custom are, upon occasion, reinforced by specific barriers. . . . Some of these discriminatory provisions are contained in the common law. Some are written into statute. Some are upheld by court decisions. Others take the



lead, or their roles or aspirations. The boys could go as far as their talents would allow, but the girls had it all planned out for them.

"I managed to get to college. I would try to express my ideas, and the men would laugh. They'd say, 'That's funny; you don't look like a feminist.' You know—if you're a feminist, you're not feminine.

"When I got married, it was worse. I had worked myself into an executive position with a cosmetics firm, and there were two men working for me who made more money than I did. When I asked for a raise, my employer said: 'You're a married woman. You don't need a raise. Your husband will support you.' So I quit.

"I joined NOW as soon as I heard of it, and I believe we will be historic. Men all along have determined what part we should take in society. And for the first time, we are saying: 'NO!'"

IN point of fact, it has been getting said for centuries, and men have said it. Socrates said that the state shortchanged itself and its women by confining them to the domestic role. Auguste Comte spoke of "the feminine revolution" that "must now complete the proletarian revolution. . . ." John Stuart Mill wrote that "the legal subordination of one sex to the other . . . ought to be replaced by a principle of perfect equality." In our own decades, Gunnar Myrdal has written: "As the Negro was awarded his 'place' in society, so there was a 'woman's place'. . . . The myth of the 'contented woman,' who did not want to have suffrage or other civil rights and equal opportunities, had the same social function as the myth of the 'contented Negro.'"

NOW often makes this analogy between the Negro and the woman in society, calling itself, in fact, a sort of N.A.A.C.P. for women. (Not that there is unanimity on this point; predictably, there are feminist evolutionaries and feminist revolutionaries, and the revolutionaries prefer an analogy to the early CORE.)

The women who formed NOW, in 1966, had no need individually of a civil rights organization. They wanted, they say, to reach those masses of women who stand outside the

ists.' What self-denigration! I call them Aunt Toms. Aunt Toms think there are three kinds of people—men, women and themselves.

"Once I was interviewed on television and said something about getting more satisfaction out of having a byline than out of washing dishes. And the hostess, a big, tough battle-axe who has worked ruthlessly for her success, smiled tenderly at the studio audience and said, 'Oh, girls . . . what does a byline mean? Don't we all know that being home washing the dishes and caring for her loved ones is the most satisfying work a woman can do?' That's a real Aunt Tom.

"A group of us met in Washington with the head of the E.E.O.C. We said one of our complaints was that women were employed only in the most menial jobs in his department. He said, 'I'm interviewing girls right now for important jobs.' I said, 'Mr. Chairman, I would hope you're interviewing women.' It's like calling a 50-year-old Negro 'boy.' He got the point."

Today NOW has 1,200 members, with a heavy concentration of lawyers, sociologists and educators. Among these 1,200 are some hundred men, many of them also lawyers. For all of them the central issue is civil rights, as purely defined as in the Negro civil-rights movement.

"There are striking parallels," says New York attorney Florynce Henderson, an ebullient revolutionary spirit who represents H. Rap Brown. "In court, you often get a more patronizing attitude to blacks and women than to white men: 'Your Honor, I've known this boy since he was a child, his mother worked for my family. . . .' 'Your Honor, she is just a woman, she has three small children. . . .' And I think white male society often takes the same attitude toward both: 'If we want to give power to you, O.K. But don't act as if you're entitled to it.' That's too manly, too . . . white."

NOT all of the new feminist activity is centered within NOW. To its left is a small group called Radical Women—young, bright-eyed, cheerfully militant—which recently splintered off from Students for a Demo-



IN SESSION—Ti-Grace Atkinson, right, presides over NOW's New York chapter with vice president Helen Leeds. "I'm a little bored with the abortion issue now," she says. "I'd rather talk about the demise of marriage."

cratic Society. "One of our main problems in the liberal left," says Anna Koedt, a New York commercial artist, "was that we were considered a sort of sex pool. The so-called 'emancipated male' wants women to be free because he thinks that means free love. It's the Playboy image, the same old adolescent sex hang-up. We want to get away from relating to men merely as sex objects. We believe in a total change in the social structure to achieve total equality of the sexes, so that men and women will be free to come together in more humane, meaningful relationships." So go the Radical Women. Some of them recently joined—infiltrated?—NOW, whose conservative faction ponders the alliance with a certain ambivalence.

There is also the Quid Pro Quo in New Orleans. It is a one-member civil-rights organization for women, and the member is a man: Richard N. Matthews, an attorney, who currently represents 16 women in a suit to challenge the state protective laws. "Some of these women support their families and have to moonlight," Mr. Matthews says. "They can't work more than eight hours for one employer, but they can work eight hours each for two employers. Women always have gotten the short end of the industrial stick. It's archaic. It's absurd. If women stopped working, they could shut down the country."

THE evolutionaries attack concrete issues, tied primarily to employment. They are NOW's pragmatists, and its overwhelming majority. The militants are its theoreticians—atypical, but they are interesting, because they are the movement's intellectual hip, the female version of Black Power.

Mostly they are young, incipiently successful, unmarried. (Married feminists tend to retain their maiden names, as with Suzanne Schad-Somers, a sociologist named Schad married to a sociologist named Somers, who says: "My husband urged me to join NOW. Neither of us believes you can have a good marriage on the basis of a traditional division of labor.) Philosophically they are by Comte out of Simone de Beauvoir, whose book "The Second Sex" shattered the serenity of a postwar generation of sociology majors raised on *Kirche, Küche und Kinder*. Their thesis is that true equality for women can come only with profound social revolution. Their *haute* thinker, and thus the key to their spirit and style, is Ti-Grace Atkinson (in the patois of Louisiana, where she was born, "Ti" designates a namesake), president of the New York chapter.

Miss Atkinson is 29, unmarried, good-looking (in *The Times*, she has been described as "softly sexy," which is not necessarily a compliment to a feminist). She is an analytic philosopher, working for her doctorate at Columbia.

I saw her at a recent American Philosophical Association convention in Boston, standing toe-to-toe with a social philosopher, his nose pointed belligerently up at her chin, as he insisted angrily upon the biological superiority of men. He was perhaps 5 foot 5, and Miss Atkinson is 5 foot 9, and it really wasn't fair. Later, she sparred lightly with another philosopher, noting: "We seem to have a chary attitude toward one another." And he, sparring less lightly, replied, "Yes, but mine is much charyer than yours." To a third, she said, "You

slavery had. It separates people in the same category, disperses them, keeps them from identifying as a class. The masses of slaves didn't recognize their condition, either. To say that a woman is really 'happy' with her home and kids is as irrelevant as saying that the blacks were 'happy' being taken care of by Ol' Massa. She is defined by her maintenance role. Her husband is defined by his productive role. We're saying that all human beings should have a productive role in society.

"We've always been so defensive. 'Oh, no, we're not feminists, but can we just have a little more, huh? Please? Huh?' I think it's time for us to go on the offensive. I think we ought to say, 'Listen, you, you dumb broad, you look funny. You stay home, you're kind of empty, you're bored, you take your frustrations out on your husband, you dominate your kids, and when you get older you disintegrate. You fill the doctors' offices with headaches and backaches and depression, you tell the psychiatrists you don't feel 'fulfilled,' you get menopausal breakdown. . . . What



THEORETICIAN—Betty Friedan, author of "The Feminine Mystique" and president of NOW, sits in on a weekly meeting of the New York chapter.

rights they constitute a ladies' auxiliary, which is anathema to feminists. Thus they contented themselves with issuing a statement that supported the purpose of the demonstrators and expressed the fervent hope that they would go home to demonstrate, as well, for women's rights.

—M. W. L.

good are you? Who are you? Get with it."

Miss Atkinson herself was a late starter, as feminists go. She was married at 17, with the blessing of social and conservative parents who felt that marriage would soothe their daughter's rebellious (not feminist, simply rebellious) spirit. For a time, she lived with her student husband in a campus community where, as she recalls, "I went to little tea parties given by faculty wives and sat there feeling that life was over. At 17."

When her husband went into the service, she enrolled at the University of Pennsylvania, got a fine arts degree, later got a divorce, and spent several years commuting between New York, where she was writing criticism for *Art News*, and Philadelphia, where she helped found the Institute of Contemporary Art. She was its first director, in 1963.

"I felt I was budding, growing, but I had no clear idea of my direction. I still knew nothing of feminist concepts." Then friends recommended that she read de Beauvoir's "The Second Sex." Whammo. "It changed everything for me. It changed my life." She enrolled at Columbia as a graduate student in philosophy and embarked upon a correspondence with de Beauvoir, who suggested that Miss Atkinson put herself in touch with some women's civil-rights group in the United States. Thus she came to the infant NOW, and was put to work as a national fund raiser; her social connections were good, and it may have occurred to some NOW officials that her appearance might help dissipate the traditional image of the feminist as a castrating crow in bloomers.

"I think, in the beginning, they

ment. That's not opportunity; it's opportunism. Who the hell can say that getting a woman's job changed from a stewardess to a typist is a breakthrough? [She is referring to the case of Pauline Dziob, a ship's stewardess who recently fought for the

66NOW often makes an analogy between the Negro and the woman in society, calling itself, in fact, a sort of N.A.A.C.P. for women. (Predictably, the revolutionaries prefer an analogy to the early CORE.)99

traditionally male rating of yeoman. Miss Dziob was upheld by the New York State Human Rights Commission.] The breakthrough can come only with a change in the social institutions.

"We're afraid of the truth. To say that you can be both a career woman and a wife and mother, and that the institutions won't change and won't be threatened—that's a cop-out. De Beauvoir says that some men may be limited by marriage, but few women fail to be annihilated by it. Any real change in the status of women would be a fundamental assault on marriage and the family. People would be tied together by love, not legal contraptions. Children would be raised communally; it's just not honest to talk about freedom for women unless you get the child-rearing off their backs. We may not be ready for any of this yet, but if we're going to be honest, we've got to talk about it. Face it, raise the questions."

THE trouble is, hardly anybody wants to. Even feminists who take a most cavalier attitude toward marriage turn cautious when the question of children arises. Miss Atkinson's own view is that the concept of the nuclear family must be abolished entirely, giving way to a society in

are bound to fail because they don't go far enough—in other words, parents still identify with individual children. "The continuance of the inheritance idea—the idea of living on through things, property, children—subverts any possibility of the communal society succeeding. For people to live communally instead of competitively, the bonds of inheritance must be completely broken." The question then arises: Why bother to have children at all? And Miss Atkinson answers: "Because of a rational decision to continue the human race."

WELL, this is where the shouting starts. As regards communal child-raising experiments in our time (none of which, by the way, has gone nearly so far as Miss Atkinson proposes, nor is likely to), no one can call them a failure, and no one can call them a roaring success, either. Sociologist Schad-Somers, who teaches at Rutgers, says: "My own conclusion, based on the empirical evidence, is that children raised collectively are more independent, more cooperative, with fewer psycho-sexual problems

Michigan's Child Psychiatric Hospital says some research on the early butz children suggests that turned out to be "a bunch of cookies who wouldn't give one feeling of knowing them awfully." Certainly, they seem in no way prior to children raised in our family system."

And a third view comes from the director of a leading child-research clinic in New York, who says that the basis of current evidence, no one can say much about communally raised children except that, like family children, they have problems. Besides he says, this is not the point. The point is that we are moving in a direction, inevitably. In the next few years, the interrelationship between family and communal care of children will be a major topic on the American scene. We are not talking of course, about *destroying* the parent-child relationship, but *supplementing* it, and the findings from other countries give us no reason to feel apprehensive."

Dr. Fraiberg takes the most conservative position. In her view, e



FELLOW TRAVELERS—Several hundred of NOW's 1,200 members are men, many of them lawyers "for whom the central issue is civil rights." In New York, husbands of members sometimes attend meetings also, out of sympathy for the group's aims



THE FIRST WAVE—Feminists of the old school set up an information booth in New York in 1914—six years before "the glorious victory of suffrage" in 1920.

a day-care system would have its hazards.

"It is almost impossible in such a system to maintain true intimacy, continuity, a continuous dialogue," she says. "Whatever problems may emerge from the intimacy between mother and child, the things we value most also emerge from just this intimacy. It needn't be a crushing intimacy. Sometimes it is. But because human ties sometimes produce neurosis doesn't mean we should throw out the ties." And as to Miss Atkinson's vision, she says: "It is at least comforting to know that such women are not going to reproduce their own kind."

WITHIN NOW, there is an altogether understandable reluctance to pursue the matter. Here are the radicals, wanting to be heard. Out there are the mothers' clubbers, waiting to be alienated. The feminists are not anxious to alienate anyone, and even mild threats to the abiding institutions do tend to frighten most women to death.

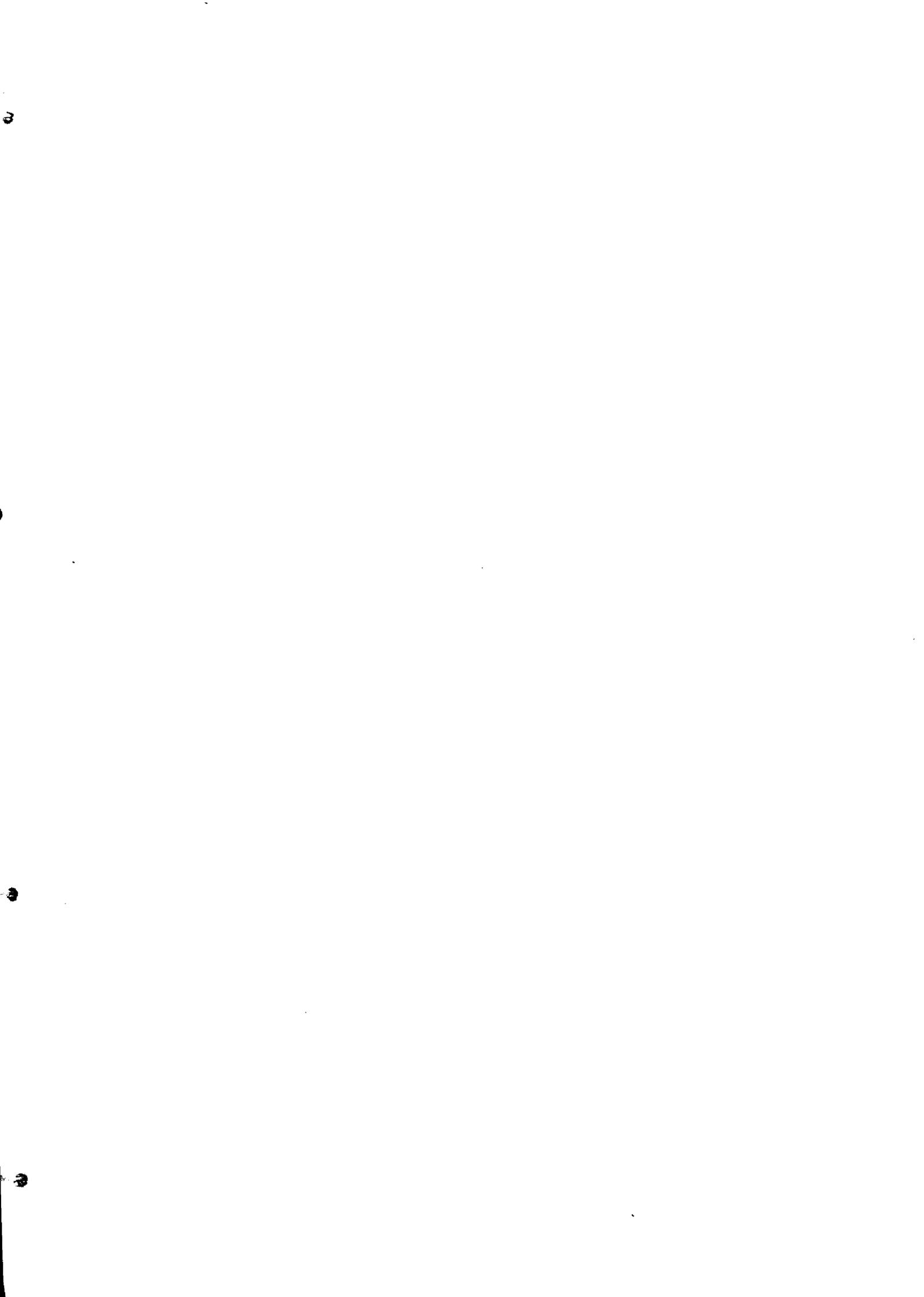
I remember the extraordinary response to an article Marya Mannes once wrote for *The Times Magazine*, in which she espoused child day-care centers, hardly a revolutionary idea. What impressed me about the flood of readers' letters was not their disapproval, but their rage. One woman

called Miss Mannes a prostitute, and another wrote that she was dim-witted and un-American and ought to go back to wherever she had come from, which happened to be New York.

"I do think we have to raise the questions," says Betty Friedan, with caution. "As an individual, not a member of NOW, I can't help raise them. Marriage, for example, may be that we are asking too much of it, and that almost inevitably will become a straitjacket for both sexes. The inefficacy of all this tinkering, the assumption of 'Can marriage be saved?' makes you want to vomit.

"We work with the realities of American life, and in reality the job now is to make it possible for women to integrate their roles at home and in society. But as to whether we will finally have to challenge the institutions, the concepts of marriage and the nuclear family—I don't know. I just don't know.

"What I do know is this: If you agree that women are human beings who should be realizing their potential, then no girl child born today should responsibly be brought up to be a housewife. Too much has been made of defining human personality and destiny in terms of the sex organs. After all, we share the human brain." ■



"All women's liberationists hate men and children"

Dale Wittner

Chicago Tribune (1963-Current file); May 20, 1973; ProQuest Historical Newspapers Chicago Tribune (1849 - 1986)

pg. H12

"All women's liberationists hate men and children"

By Dale Wittner



A typical male chauvinist muttering? No, a few words from Phyllis Schlafly, an Alton housewife who has undertaken a 12-state crusade against Women's Lib ("a bunch of bitter women") and the Equal Rights Amendment ("a fun fight") on behalf of "the other 97 per cent of American women."

The oak-and-marble dignity of Illinois' Capitol rotunda was violated for a day. A bright and noisy storm of women, delegations pro and con, had assembled from all over the state, armed with neighborhood petitions and conflicting placards. "ERA is A-Okay," proclaimed one. "ERA is *Not* the Way," contradicted another. Secretaries had phoned in sick to be there. Housewives brought their children, and coeds cut class. A grandmother came all the way from Chicago by bus. Some of the women brought little bribes of fudge and homebaked bread to help persuade the lawmakers.

A year ago such commotion was beyond prediction. The proposed Equal Rights Amendment (the ERA of the women's signs) had breezed thru Congress with hardly a whisper of opposition. Twenty-two states ratified it in such fast and quiet succession that the approval of 16 more required to attach it to the United States Constitution appeared certain. If anything, ERA seemed unnecessary, after the fact — a trophy acknowledgement of years of small victories already

won by women. But now, in state houses from Nevada and North Dakota to Florida, scenes like the one in the Illinois rotunda occur almost weekly. The amendment has been meeting unexpected resistance from women who think it would take away more than it would give them.

Considering that there was barely one chair for every 20 women waiting outside the House chamber that day in Springfield, it was curious that when Phyllis Schlafly arrived, a chair immediately became empty. Automatically it was hers. She was a colonel at a command post. When the others had questions, they came to the chair to ask her.

Phyllis Schlafly does not want perfect equality with men and is convincing a lot of other women that they don't want it either. Her trip to the state capital from her home in Alton, was the shortest of her year-long campaign against ERA, less than a two-hour drive. Other trips had taken her as far as Arizona, Georgia, the Carolinas — a dozen states in all. Wherever she appeared, busloads of angry house-

wives and worried mothers showed up too. Of the 12 states she has targeted so far, not one has gone on to ratify the amendment. Nebraska, whose legislature had rushed to be the second to ratify ERA last year, changed its mind this year. After listening to Mrs. Schlafly at a special breakfast meeting the lawmakers took the unprecedented step of voting to rescind their ratification.

"That's not too bad a track record for an amateur," she is fond of saying.

Just how "amateur" Phyllis Schlafly really is has become a sore point among her political foes. They have charged that as founder and chairman of the Committee to Stop ERA, she is getting money secretly from such unlikely coalitions as organized labor and the John Birch Society, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Ku Klux Klan. Mrs. Schlafly vehemently denies getting money from any of them. "I give to the church at mass each Sunday, tho. I don't suppose my

detractors would approve of *that* either.

"These women on the other side have worked for years for this. They know how much money they have spent. All of a sudden they see ERA stopped, and they have come to the conclusion that I must have out-spent them to do it. That really isn't true. All I did was write a few articles and go on a few television shows and articulate the views of the other 97 per cent of American women."

If her popularity is hard to understand, a little biography makes it at least plausible. For more than 20 years she has been active in Republican politics. Once she was given an award by the Illinois Federation of Republican Women for traveling 100,000 miles for the party — all within the state. In 1964, she wrote a thin volume called "A Choice Not An Echo," boosting Barry Goldwater for the Presidency, which sold three million copies. Since then she has issued a newsletter modestly called "The Phyllis Schlafly Report." It goes out to something less than 10,000 conservative subscribers

16 ▶



"A man's first significant purchase is a diamond. . ."

willing to pay \$5 to hear from her 12 times a year. She has become an expert on the Pentagon and national defense, authoring three hawkish books on the subject, and has found time to have six children and hold each of them out of first grade so she could "teach them all how to read properly, by the phonics method, at home."

"Oh, I ran for Congress once too," she reports, hurrying past that bad defeat to a happier subject. A closer contest was her bid to become president of the National Federation of Republican Women during the recovery-from-Goldwater

21 ▶

period. She was narrowly beaten in a bitter fight. But the consolation prize was something she would use well later — a network of loyal, conservative contacts reaching down to the precinct level of every state.

After more than two hours of delays, the hearing finally began. The 23 men and one woman of the Illinois House Executive Committee listened, first to testimony from the proponents and then to the opponents. The star witness in both lineups came first — Jill Ruckelshaus to report that President Nixon realizes women might have to be drafted but he favors ERA

committee approved, the full House would not and ERA would be stopped in Illinois for the second year.

Later, over a single glass of sherry at a Springfield restaurant, she noted: "I wasn't the least bit interested in the Women's Liberation Movement or ERA until about a year and a half ago. A friend once invited me to come to Connecticut to debate some libber. "I had to do some research and started reading their literature. That's when I realized how destructive these people are—destructive of the family, of values that I think are important. All of them hate men and children, you know."

When she returned from Connec-



anyway; then Mrs. Schlafly to announce that most women don't want to be drafted no matter what the President wants.

The arguments were more complicated than that, of course. But when it was over everyone agreed that not one member of the committee had changed his or her mind. By a predicted 13-to-11 ballot they approved the ratification proposal and sent it to the full House, a small defeat for Stop ERA but an expected one. Just as surely as the

ticut, she went to her typewriter and wrote the 4,000 words of Volume 5, Number 7 of "The Phyllis Schlafly Report," a manifesto that would cornerstone her counter-revolution.

"Of all the classes of people who ever lived, the American women is the most privileged," she began. "We have the most rights and rewards and the fewest duties. Our unique status is the result of a fortunate combination of circumstances . . ."

Schlafly's views

On her own fight against ERA:
"I'm having a ball. It's a fun fight. I've been in a lot of fights that have been grim and bitter and tiresome and tedious. But this is a fun fight. The girls really enjoy it."
On the nature of "real women":
"Marriage and the home is the

greatest liberation for women. It's security, fulfillment, achievement, and emotional satisfaction. It's what they want Not only are women physically different from men, they are emotionally different. They may say they like their job and they want a career and all

that. And—oh sure, I know—they say they like all kinds of intellectual things and all that. But there is something they will not do that men must do—make everything take second place to their career For women, home and family come first. . . . They can't help

it. That's the way they are. **On women in politics:** "Congress—only a dozen. That's not discrimination, because women are not w pay the price it takes. . those night meetings, s hands, all those miles."

Where Kate Millett found repression stretching back to prehistory, Mrs. Schlafly discovered the most fortunate of historic accidents. A few paragraphs later: "The institution of the family is advantageous for women for many reasons. After all, what do we want out of life? To love and be loved? . . . A man may search 30 to 40 years for accomplishment in his profession. A woman can enjoy real achievement when she is young — by having a baby."

For less fortunate women elsewhere, she offered sympathy. She grew up in the Depression in St. Louis, and her family was "terribly

poor," she remembers. "My mother went to work to support the family and did so for years when my father was unable to get a job. The best thing my parents gave me was the desire for a college education — and not a dime to pay for it." The desire, tho, was enough. As a student at Washington University during World War II, she earned her diploma, a Phi Beta Kappa key, and a graduate scholarship to Harvard, all in just three years and while working 48 hours a week on the night shift at the St. Louis ordnance plant—as a gunnery and ballistics technician.

Right or wrong (and her femme opponents have strong arguments), she spells out the main reasons why

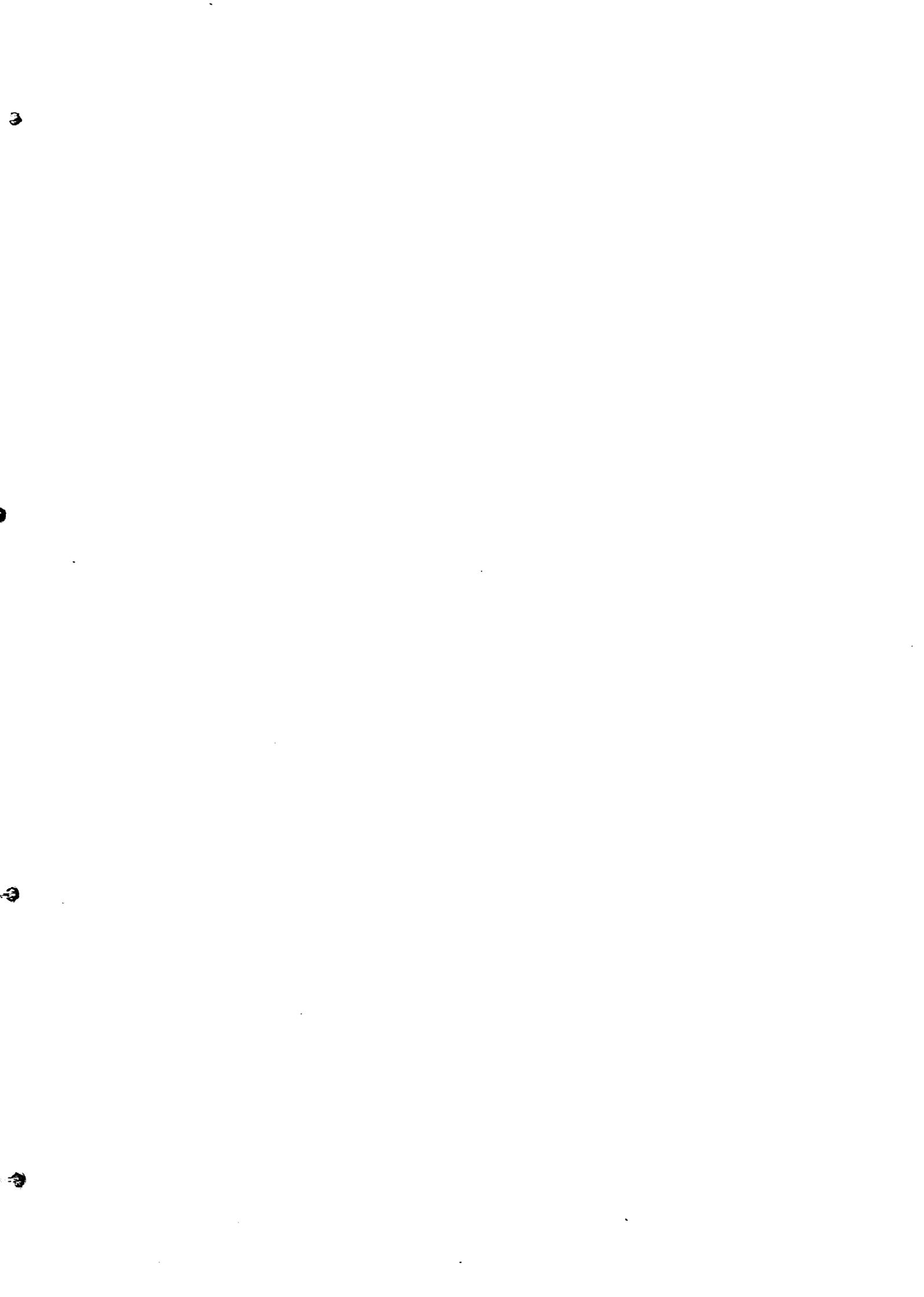
she's against the ERA, which she says would wipe out the financial obligation of a husband and father to support his wife and children; wipe out laws that protect only women against sex crimes such as rape; make women subject to the draft and combat duty equally with men; wipe out the right of a mother to keep her children in case of divorce; lower the age at which boys can marry; wipe out the protection women now have from dangerous and unpleasant jobs; and wipe out a woman's right to privacy.

"In other civilizations, such as the African and American Indian," she says, "the men strut around wearing feathers and beads and

hunting and fishing wh women do all the hard, ti drudgery This is r American way because w lucky enough to inherit th tions of the Age of Chivalry

"In America, a man's significant purchase is a di for his bride, and the financial investment of his l home for her to live in. Am husbands work hours of over buy a fur piece or other fir keep their wives in fashion, pay premiums on their life ance policies to provide f comfort when she is a widow

"I don't want to give that up says earnestly. "I don't think women do."



until recently there were few women members of Parliament. However, in 1966 they increased their representation to 17 per cent and after elections in March nearly a quarter of the members are now women.

In the eyes of the law women are equal to men. In theory they even earn similar money for a similar job. But women are rarely found in senior professional positions in spite of the fact that the level of female education is high and more than half the students in colleges are girls.

The fact is that women have freedom but not power, and the gap between official equality and unofficial discrimination can be seen in other ways. For example, important appointments are often not made at official meetings but during unofficial gatherings in the sauna or elsewhere.

Indispensable but underpaid

A Liberal M.P., Pirko Arn, the woman who collected most votes in the recent election, says: "A woman must demonstrate emphatically her ability, much more than a man has to, in order to be accepted into the man's world."

The truth of this can be seen by turning the pages of the Finnish *Who's Who*. In the latest issue those women included were noticeably older than the men. After completing their studies women usually

Works hard for family

The modern woman dresses well, follows trends in fashion, can spend a weekend or a holiday with a boyfriend, or choose to live with him without getting married. She chooses her own profession, husband, method of contraception and when her baby will be born.

On the other hand she is arch-conservative, idealizing tradition and working hard and incessantly for her family. This is how the Finnish man likes to see her—as the guardian of the home, bustling mother and loving partner who brings him his slippers and clean shirt. The "daddy is always right" notion is still very much alive.

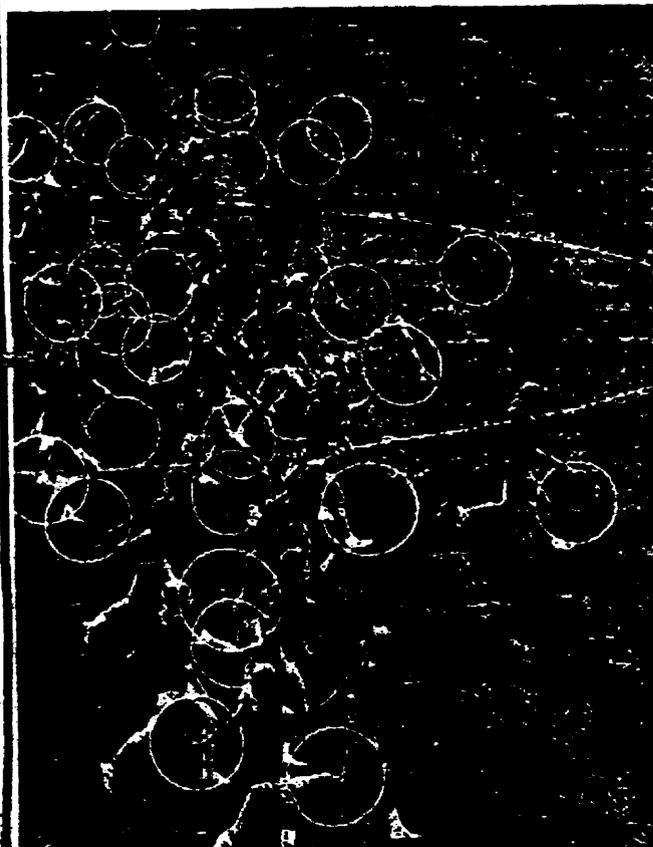
The maternal ideal is widely respected on both sides. But what kind of a mother? As the result of a poetry competition organized by a women's magazine, the author Eeva Kilpi made a list of the qualities most respected in a mother. The result was disheartening. The ideal, it seems, still means a cloudborne Madonna dragging a 20-kilo baby in her arms, or an exhausted ruin of a woman who has sacrificed herself for her many children.

According to the poems, the mother is appreciated because she is grey, tired, kept awake,

ive movement, supported by many men and far from any extremist "woman power" sentiments. It is still good to be a woman in Finland, and it is getting better every day.



Mealtime gossip in a Salvation Army canteen.



More than half the college students are girls. This exuberant group are enjoying early rhythmic exercises.

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