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A content analysis of three women's magazines from 1960 to 1970

Rosemary Benedetta Corsiglia
Iowa State University

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A content analysis of three women's magazines
from 1960 to 1970

by

Rosemary Benedetta Corsiglia

A Thesis Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of
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Signatures have been redacted for privacy

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INTRODUCTION

On March 18, 1970, a group of women from various Women's Liberation groups held a sit-in at the New York offices of Ladies Home Journal. This sit-in focused on a controversy over the quality of women's magazines using Ladies Home Journal as a prototype. They said, "Ladies Home Journal creates frustrations which lead to depression and anger because women cannot live up to what the magazine tells them they should. The attitudes of the Journal are abhorrent and degrading to women." (19)

Earlier, Betty Friedan stated the problems of women's magazines in more detail: (8, p. 36)

The image of women that emerges.. is young and frivolous, almost childlike, fluffy and feminine, passive, gaily content in a world of bedroom and kitchen, sex, babies and home... It is crammed full of food, clothing, cosmetics, furniture and the physical bodies of young women, but where is the world of thought and ideas, the life of the mind and spirit?...this magazine (McCall's), published for over 5,000,000 American women, almost all of whom have been through high school and nearly half to college, contained almost no mention of the world beyond the home. In the second half of the Twentieth Century in America, women's world was confined to her own body and beauty, the charming of men, the bearing of babies and the physical care and serving of husband, children and home. And this was no anomaly of a single issue of a single woman's magazine.

She continued: (8, p. 50)

...in the fifties, it was simply taken for granted by editors and accepted as an immutable fact of life by writers that women were not interested in politics, life outside the U.S., national issues, art, science, ideas, adventures, education or even their own communities...whole pages of women's magazines are

filled with gargantuan vegetables...described like a love affair. The very size of their print is raised until it looks like a first grade primer. The new McCall's frankly assumes women are brainless fluffy kittens.

In short, some women appear to be becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the content of women's magazines.

The editors of women's magazines view the content of their books quite differently. They believe it is the function of women's magazines to challenge women, while at the same time, maintaining traditional values (28). An editor of McCall's stated, "...A magazine like ours is...a moral force... It must have integrity and respect for American principles as well as entertainment and utility value..." (30, p. 121) In 1970 Robert Stein of McCall's added, "A magazine for women must be enlightening, stimulating, provoking and challenging about everything that interests women from food right up to politics and religion." (19)

John Mack Carter, editor of Ladies Home Journal, sees the role of the women's magazine in much the same way. "As a magazine that for 87 years has served as an emotional and intellectual forum for American women (16)...this magazine believes in the power of a woman. It also believes that this power is still largely unused. Female or male.. let's sort out our priorities sensibly. Many of the demands made by the scattered but noisy feminists groups asking for liberation do not seem unreasonable...at the same time, we

recognize that there still is a predominant block of intelligent women who enjoy centering their lives around a family and don't consider domesticity demeaning." (15)

Bogart adds, "People now turn more to magazines for practical help in coping with their more abundant and complex life..." (3)

Woodward also observes, "I do not for a moment say that women's magazines have been all bad in their influence. They have been a vital asset in the spread of democracy among women. They have made women's work easier in some ways, they have done a great deal in improving manners...they have also improved the serving of food...Unfortunately the most popular subjects when women get together are still recipes, children's bright sayings, fashion, hairdos and make-up. The magazines which remember this and proceed on that knowledge do continue strong." (31, pp. 83-84)

Out of all this, one is still left with the question, what exactly are women's magazines? Are they really the mindless pap claimed by some or are they the publications with high ideals claimed by others?

It will be the purpose of this study to analyze the content of three of the major women's magazines to determine in an objective way what their content is and what types of values are being presented to their mass audiences. The three magazines to be studied are McCall's, Ladies Home

Journal and Good Housekeeping-- the three largest women's magazines by circulation.

Early History

The history of women's magazines begins with Ladies Magazine started in Boston in 1828 and edited by Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale. In this publication, Mrs. Hale began her crusade for women's freedom.

In Philadelphia at roughly the same time (1830), Louis Antoine Godey founded the Lady's Book. Attracted by Mrs. Hale's expertise, Godey enlisted her help, and together they formed Godey's Lady's Book.

Together they created a pattern for women's magazines that has survived to the present. Mrs. Hale had a knack for expressing her ideas (which were not always popular) in a way her readers would accept. She voiced her thoughts on everything from women's political freedom to child care. Godey's articles were of three major types; crusading material, entertainment (mainly fiction and especially novels) and general information including etiquette, fashion (which was illustrated by dolls), beauty hints, consumer information and food preparation.

Other pioneers in the women's field were Ellen and Ebenezer Butterick who started the Metropolitan Monthly (later The Delineator) to illustrate and publicize their new

invention-- patterns for clothing construction. The Delineator was much like Godey's Lady's Book. It emphasized etiquette and established the habit of scolding the reader--still common in modern women's magazines. (31, p. 65)

Following the pattern of these two magazines, other publications followed--McCall's and Women's Home Companion in 1873, Ladies Home Journal in 1883 and Good Housekeeping in 1885.

McCall's

McCall's magazine first began as a pattern catalogue. In 1869 James McCall and his wife came to the United States representing a British pattern company. By 1873, the McCall's were publishing their first issue of The Queen to illustrate their patterns which were more expensive, but supposedly better than the Butterick patterns. The Queen began as a four page weekly. Gradually, it grew to a monthly, and around 1890 the name was changed to the Queen of Fashion. In 1897, the book's name was again changed--this time to McCall's. To enhance its new name, McCall's began copying the style of Ladies Home Journal. By 1908, McCall's had one million subscribers, but it was still second to the Journal in circulation.

Otis Lee Wiese became editor in 1928 and spent his editorship conducting experiments to boost circulation. One such experiment was a National Defense feature started in 1940.

McCall's established a Bureau in Washington where readers could send news to help the war effort. It accomplished little except to create a patriotic atmosphere.

In 1949, Eleanor Roosevelt began a question column in McCall's. While Mrs. Roosevelt's answers were not startling, they did create publicity and raise circulation.

In the same year, McCall's also ran a series on "The Yardville Plan." These articles suggested a plan for community improvement which caught the attention of readers and boosted McCall's prestige.

By 1954 circulation and advertising were declining in part because of the success of "shelter magazines" like Better Homes and Gardens. In response to this decline, McCall's began a major policy change. Its editors announced it would no longer look upon itself as a women's service magazine, but that it would devote itself to the American woman and her family, becoming a publication for the entire household (30, p. 124)."

The keynote of the new campaign was "togetherness." McCall's wanted to reach the man of the family. From this time on the magazine was no longer to appeal to the mother or to the father, but to both as one person. (31, p. 139)

The editorial mix for McCall's became one of material on "togetherness" plus heavy reliance on sex, marriage, beauty and complete novels. Hair-dos and reducing material were used

as filler.

In spite of all these efforts, McCall's continued to decline. In 1958, Herbert R. Mayes (formerly of Good Housekeeping) became editor. He copied the Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval and began a "use tested" policy. According to the magazine, editors and technicians from McCall's would test products under conditions similar to those in the home, and the results of this testing would be passed on to the reader.

In addition to the new guarantee, McCall's under Mayes, went on a "flash, brash, splash campaign." (31, p. 141) With the capital of Samuel Newhouse, McCall's tried to glamorize the ordinary. Its most striking feature was the use of color together with excellent photography, and slick paper--all of which attract advertisers.

Despite its new appearance, the content itself has changed little. "Togetherness" is still evident as is the trend toward use of big names. Eleanor Roosevelt's page has been balanced with one by Clare Booth Luce. The use of sex is still prominent, along with the traditional pattern illustration and melodramatic personal case studies. The trends which developed during the sixties are the subject of this study, but it should be noted that still another shift in policy has begun early in the seventies with editorship of Shana Alexander, and the cutting of page size, ad rates and circulation base (to 7.5 million from 8.5 million). (28)

Ladies Home Journal

The Ladies Home Journal began like both the Delineator and McCall's, as a husband and wife team. In 1879 Cyrus K. Curtis published a four page weekly, The Tribune and Farmer for which Mrs. Curtis wrote a home and women's section. By 1883 this section had become so popular that Mr. and Mrs. Curtis decided to publish a magazine the Ladies Journal. By mistake the word "Home" was added to the title and the Ladies Home Journal was formed.

Edward Bok replaced Mrs. Curtis as editor in 1889. During his career, he made the Journal an American tradition and originated trends that are still thriving today.

Under the pen name of Ruth Ashmore, Bok wrote a column, "Side Talk to Girls", a "Dear Abby" type column which became one of the mainstays of the Journal.

Another innovation was the use of top writers such as Louisa May Alcott, Mark Twain, Rudyard Kipling, Arthur Conan, Doyle Grover Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison and using such series as "Unknown Wives of Well-Known Men" or "Famous Daughters of Famous Men."

In addition, Bok was the first to feature articles on interior decorating. He ran a series of photographs showing rooms decorated in "Good Taste and Bad Taste;" the "good" and "bad" was decided by Bok's own taste. He also ran articles

such as the "Inside of One Hundred Homes" and later "The Outside of One Hundred Homes."

Bok achieved his greatest prominence by crusading. During his editorship, he took up one cause after another. In 1892 the Ladies Home Journal became the first magazine to refuse advertisements for patent medicines. This was followed by an all-out attack on the patent-medicine industry.

In 1906 Bok put the reputation and readership of the Journal on the line by publishing an editorial on venereal disease--a move which shocked even the most open-minded of the day.

In 1909 and 1910, Bok tried to eliminate Paris as the dictator of women's fashions, but the campaign failed.

Throughout the years, Bok ran campaigns to put bathrooms inside the house, to eliminate bill boards and to outlaw the use of the aigrette (the feather of the egret) in ladies hats.

Bok retired in 1919. His departure left the Journal in a vacuum. For the next sixteen years, a series of weak editors tried to follow the Bok pattern and make editorial decisions as he would have made them. They failed badly.

In 1935, Iowa-born Bruce and Beatrice Blackmar Gould became co-editors of the Journal. They revived the slumping magazine by assuming American women were a lot smarter than most people thought. They wanted, "...To bring our readers not

only the most accurate and honest information possible in the traditional areas; health, nutrition, education and the moral guidance of children, community social and cultural activities...but also to widen the boundaries of her traditional areas of interest." (30, p. 120)

As a result of this policy the Journal began including articles on foreign affairs, medicine, education and social welfare. In 1947 a Public Affairs Department was formed. Such features as "How Young America Lives" and "Tell Me Doctor" grew out of this policy shift.

One of the most outstanding features of the modern Journal is its publishing of best selling fiction. They have specialized in the novelette and non-fiction books along with biographies and autobiographies of famous people. They have continued to use the big-name policy with such people as Daphne du Maurier, Jean Kerr, Phyllis McKinley, John P. Marquand, and in the non-fiction area, Walter Lippmann and Benjamin Spock all writing for the Journal.

The issues of the late fifties show the strong influence of the Saturday Evening Post (also a Curtis publication). At the beginning of the seventies, the Journal has begun a trend toward in-depth surveys of problems. It has kept its large, glossy appearance despite rising costs. To increase revenue, however, the Journal has raised both ad rates and circulation base (from 6.8 to 7 million). (28)

Good Housekeeping

Clark W. Bryan founded Good Housekeeping in 1885 with the dream of starting a magazine that could be "conducted in the interests of the higher life of the household...to produce or perpetuate perfection... in the household." (30, p. 122) His dream was short lived, however, because in 1901 the magazine was sold to the Phelps Publishing Company which began the Good Housekeeping Institute. The Institute was to provide readers with information on advertised products. In addition, Good Housekeeping adopted a format which was a modified imitation of Ladies Home Journal.

The magazine floundered, however, until 1919 when it was bought by William Randolph Hearst and moved from Holyoke, Massachusetts, to New York. Hearst made several major changes-- one of which was a greater emphasis on food.

Woodward believes this editorial decision along with the Institute has made Good Housekeeping, "the most consistent money-maker of the lot." (31, p. 125)

Hearst also hired Harvey A. Wiley, M.D., a well-known crusader for pure food and drugs. Hearst gave Wiley a great deal of freedom and he became Director of the Good Housekeeping Bureau of Foods, Sanitation and Health. Under his direction, a Seal of Approval meant that a product had passed the standards of the Bureau. The Seal is explained as follows (31, p. 129):

Good Housekeeping will not accept the advertisement of any kind of a product in which it does not have full confidence. Good Housekeeping will not knowingly advertise a good product for a wrong purpose.

Another characteristic of Good Housekeeping has been its ability to keep up with fads and trends. In 1919, as it has consistently throughout its history, Good Housekeeping was putting its major emphasis on foods, but the public began to worry about a new problem--being overweight. Judiciously, Good Housekeeping began running the number of calories and the protein content of each recipe.

In addition, Good Housekeeping capitalized on the new-found need for labor-saving and specialized in "quickie" meals which could be prepared in 35 minutes.

Also in 1919, a department of child health was inaugurated, and Dr. Emmett Holt, Jr. became the forerunner of Dr. Spock. Gradually fashions, beauty advice and health items were added to the editorial mix. By the twenties and thirties, Good Housekeeping was a leader in both beauty and fashion news. And in 1945, a building department was created to deal with home building as well as community planning.

On the subject of politics, Woodward points out Good Housekeeping has tried to remain aloof. It is the most restrained of any of its competitors on the two controversial subjects of politics and sex (31, p. 135).

Another distinction of Good Housekeeping is its refusal to follow the Bok lead in crusading.⁴ The magazine has devoted

itself mainly to questions of products and false advertising.

In the closing years of the fifties, Good Housekeeping slowly began to look and act like its competition--using more elaborate production techniques and joining in on the showy trend. In general, however, Good Housekeeping has stuck close to Byran's original aim of providing definite information that can be of use (31, p. 135). It has proved to be less sensational in both fiction and general articles than any of its competitors (31, p. 136).

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The purpose of this study is to examine the values presented in three women's magazines, Good Housekeeping, Ladies Home Journal and McCall's over the years 1960 to 1970. The trends within each magazine and the differences between publications will be compared--emphasizing changes in values as well as the degree to which these values have been altered.

No research was found comparing the attitudes and values of women's magazines directly. However, a study by Ginglinger examines "The Basic Values of the Reader's Digest, Selection and Constellation." (10) The study provided a pattern which this author expanded and used. Ginglinger examined five articles in six issues of each of the three magazines. For each article the overall value and minor values were determined and reported. A value system with five major classes was found for Reader's Digest. These categories were labeled political, economic, social standards, playful and social goals.

Bailey in her study of fictional heroines in women's magazines found that these magazines took a reactionary stand on the subject of careers and women. She concluded the changes in the life style of real women would have to be extreme before they would be reflected in the fiction of women's magazines. (1)

Root and Root noted that the specialized magazines (of which women's magazines are a type) have shown the biggest

increase in circulation from 1938 to 1963. They found that women's magazines as a group have increased by 135.8% (24, p. 18). Table 1 shows the changes in circulation that occurred between 1938 and 1963.

Table 1. Circulation of three women's magazines from 1938 to 1963 (rounded to the nearest 1,000 subscribers)
(24)

	1938	1963
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	9,143,000	5,139,000
<u>Ladies Home Journal</u>	2,950,000	7,138,000
<u>McCall's</u>	2,671,000	8,137,000

It is helpful to compare the figures in Table 1 with those of each of the three publications during the time span of this study. Table 2 shows the circulation figures for the three publications in each of the six years examined in this analysis.

Moving on, Bogart reiterates the gains for specialized magazines, "The heaviest gains have been registered by... specialized consumer magazines." (3) He adds, "Magazines appealing mainly to women did not grow as fast as those appealing to men or to the whole family. Here television is probably at least partly to blame. TV has made particularly great inroads on the housewife's leisure time and day-time programming with its serial drama, variety and homemaking

Table 2. The circulation of three women's magazines from 1960 to 1970 (rounded to the nearest 1,000 subscribers) (32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37)

Magazine	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	4,466,000	4,961,000	5,245,000	5,386,000	5,625,000	5,678,000
<u>Ladies Home Journal</u>	5,692,000	6,550,000	6,864,000	6,595,000	6,825,000	6,965,000
<u>McCall's</u>	5,388,000	6,561,000	8,214,000	8,377,000	8,586,000	8,533,000

features bears an unmistakable resemblance to a good deal of magazine fare.

Bogart also found that magazines have increased by one-half the editorial space devoted to home furnishings, buildings, gardening and farming. The space devoted to amusements, hobbies, sports and travel increased 27 percent, while the number of pages dealing with food, health and children rose 28 percent and that dealing with clothing, 14 percent (3).

Ellison and Gosser in 1947 established an order of importance for articles in the Ladies Home Journal. The topics found are listed in decreasing order of importance (7).

1. Personal Affairs
2. Art, History
3. Family, Household and Child Management
4. National, Regional or Community Reporting
5. Personality Sketch or Profile

They also observed that there was no trend toward brevity in any of the magazines. Also, articles dealing in physical and spiritual personal management increased while biographical articles decreased.

Belson and Barban found that women's magazines act as socializing agents (2).

Content Analysis

In doing a study of value, content analysis is perhaps one of the best tools available. The construction of an adequate value scale along with careful coding and interpretation can provide an approximation of the contents of present-day women's magazines.

Value analysis is an attempt to derive from such material in a quantitative form a maximum of information with regard to the "values" ("the needs", "goals", "motives," etc.) of the person (or organization) whose verbal expression is being analyzed (27). Value analysis is simply the classification and counting of recurrent value judgments.

There are several steps involved in performing a content analysis. The first is the formulation of an hypothesis which can be tested within the framework of a content analysis. The next step is to choose a unit of analysis--which may be any of several types including words, paragraphs, themes or entire articles.

A vital step in the content analysis procedure is the definition of valid categories. Thurstone delineates some of the pitfalls in designing a measurement scale. "The measurement of any object or entity describes only one attribute of the object measured...only those characteristics of an object can be measured which can be described in terms of 'more' or 'less'...a unit of measurement is always a process

of some kind which can be repeated without modification in the different parts of the measurement." (26, pp. 295-296).

North et al. believed a category can be evaluated on three criteria. (20, p. 42) The first is validity--the extent to which an instrument measures what it is intended to measure. Second is reliability. A process is considered reliable if it can be repeated and reproduce results which are within stated confidence intervals. Finally a category must be objective and yield unbiased data. The basic operation in content analysis is the division of a selected universe into a measurement scale. The way this is done determines what relationships are found.

Many value measurement scales have been developed. One by Spranger has a five-way classification including theoretical, economic, social, political and religious. (21) The Allport-Vernon Test identified ten first order factors. (21)

1. General Aesthetic Interest
2. Interest in Fine Arts
3. Belief in Culture
4. Antireligious Evaluative Tendency
5. Antiaggression
6. Humanitarian Tendency
7. Interest in Science
8. Tendency toward liberalism
9. Theoretic Interest
10. Rugged Individualism

Newcomb et al. defines six broad categories; theoretical, practical, aesthetic, social, power and religious. (17, pp. 139-140)

In still another scale Gruen (11) states what he sees as basic components of the American core culture. He has four

major categories.

- 1) A vigorous pursuit of status change--which includes upward mobility and role change as a criterion for success and postponement of gratification for the future rather than immediate enjoyment of wishes. It also involves optimism in one's own efforts.
- 2) Preference for external rather than personality attributes of people and social relationships--including social extroversion; external and stereotyped expression of feelings, idealization of youth and beauty and lack of interest in reading books.
- 3) Standardized behavior--including conformity to community standards and the desire to work for a stable well-known organization
- 4) Impulse restriction and control--which involves tight control of emotions, concern with regularity, preference for bland foods, belief in romantic love, emphasis on activity to prevent sensual experience, emphasis on keeping busy and relaxation as a health measure.

Value Theory

One more area of research pertinent to this discussion is value theory. With the purpose of this study already defined as the examination of values in three major women's magazines, it is imperative that a workable definition of the term "value" be achieved. In addition, the concept of "attitude" must be clarified. Part of the difficulty in formulating consistent definitions stems from the fact that various researchers have defined these two terms differently and, at times, have used them interchangeably. Only a part of the

large volume of research available on attitudes and values will be presented here.

Kerlinger (13, p. 483) defines value as a culturally weighted preference for a thing or things, for people, for institutions or for some kind of behavior. Rokeach differs slightly by saying that values deal solely with modes of conduct and end-states of existence. He theorizes, "To say a person has value is to say that he has an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally and socially preferable to alternate modes of conduct or end-states of existence." (22, p. 160) He terms values dealing with modes of conduct as instrumental values. While those dealing with end-states of existence, he calls terminal values. (22, p. 160)

Dewey echoes Rokeach in stating that, "Value in the sense of good is inherently connected with that which promotes...a course of activity and that value in the sense of right is inherently connected with that which is needed, required in the maintenance of a course of activity." (6, p. 55)

Newcomb et al. define value as the ultimate development of these many processes of selection and generalizations that produce long-range consistency in individual behavior. (17, p. 45).

Values are generally conceived as forming value systems.

These systems, according to Secord and Backman are oriented toward whole classes of objects rather than a single object. (25, p. 99)

Rokeach believes that a value system is a "...rank ordering--of ideas or values in terms of importance." (22, pp. 123-124) He also states, "A person's value system may thus be said to represent a learned organization of rules for making choices and for resolving conflicts between two or more modes of behavior or between two or more end-states of existence." (22, p. 161) A value system is also a standard employed to influence others. (22, p. 160)

In addition Dewey points out that valuations exist in fact and are capable of empirical observation so that propositions about them are empirically verifiable. (6, p. 58)

Attitudes, on the other hand, do not refer to whole classes of objects, modes of action, or end-states, but to a specific referent. Rokeach characterizes an attitude as "an organization of beliefs focused on a specific object (physical or social, concrete or abstract) or situation predisposing one to respond... ." (22, p. 159) He adds that attitudes involve "interconnected assertions to the effect that certain things about a specific object or situation are true or false and other things about it are desirable or undesirable." (22, p. 159)

Secord and Backman define attitude as referring to

"regularities of an individual's feeling, thoughts and pre-dispositions to act toward some object of his environment." (25, p. 97) Thurstone repeats many of the same ideas in his definition when he says that an attitude is "the sum total of a man's inclinations and feeling, prejudices or biases, preconceived notions, ideas, fears, threats, and convictions about any specific topic." (26, p. 216)

Hartley and Hartley list four dimensions of attitude; 1) direction (for or against something) 2) degree-how strongly an attitude is held, 3) intensity--the degree of conviction with which an attitude is held, and 4) salience. (12, p. 651)

Attitudes also have several distinct functions. (17, p. 42) They serve an adjustive function by providing a means for reaching a desired goal or for avoiding an undesirable one. They have an ego-defensive function and also a value-expressive function by which an individual gains self-satisfaction by holding a particular attitude. Finally attitudes perform a knowledge function by enabling the individual to have consistency in his view of the world.

The basic differences between attitudes and values are; first, an attitude represents social beliefs focused on a specific object or situation, while a value is a single belief that transcendentally guides actions and judgments across specific objects and situations. Also a value, unlike

an attitude is an imperative to action. Thirdly, a value serves as a standard for judging while an attitude does not. A value may be used to guide actions, attitudes, comparisons, evaluations and justifications of self and others. (22, p. 160)

Questions for Study

For any theory to be of use, it must be applied to a specific context. The first priority of this study then must be to construct a definition of value. The definition of value used for this study will be adopted from one originated by White. (29, p. 13) Value will be defined as any goal, mode of conduct or standard of judgments which in a given culture is ordinarily referred to as if it were intrinsically desirable or undesirable. The term "culture" in this specific context will be taken to mean the milieu of the particular publication under discussion.

Lacy in *Freedom and Communications* makes the following comments (14, pp. 21-24):

...In so highly organized a society as ours, our behavior is shaped into social patterns very largely by a steady flow of communications...these tend not only to give us information but to fix the standards of our values. Insofar as the flow of communications emanates from a few sources, unconsciously perhaps sharing common values, the values of those sources well become the common standard toward which we are all drawn. The danger lies, I believe in the degree to which the communication of common values may be pervasive and unexamined in the absence of an effective dissemination of critical or alternative views... . Our ability to maintain a

meaningful value system is likely to depend more on our ability to adapt to the newer concepts of the universe and of reality than on our success in preserving traditional outlooks... . But it does mean that among the responsibilities of the communications system we require is a much greater role in value formation than the media have previously had and at a time when values are in an extraordinary state of flux...it is important that our communications system be able to afford something more than the shallow and vacuous re-echoing of the forms of traditional beliefs and provide substance for the individual hammering out of new insights. It must nourish the autonomous development of individual value rather than the anxious facility to conform.

With these concepts as background, several hypotheses about the three women's magazines can be formulated:

- I. The values reflected in Good Housekeeping, Ladies Home Journal and McCall's are the same.
- II. The majority of the content of Good Housekeeping, Ladies Home Journal and McCall's deals with non-controversial issues about home life such as food, clothing, interior decoration, beauty aids, child care, health and handicrafts.
- III. The majority of the content of Good Housekeeping, Ladies Home Journal and McCall's is devoted to topics directly concerning women in the home rather than national or international subjects.
- IV. Good Housekeeping, Ladies Home Journal and McCall's describe the same life style.
- V. The values presented in Good Housekeeping, Ladies Home Journal, and McCall's support the role of the woman as wife and mother to a greater extent than they support her role as career woman and social agent.

METHODOLOGY

Sampling

Good Housekeeping, Ladies Home Journal and McCall's were chosen as the subjects of this study because they reach the largest readership by virtue of their mass circulation.

Since change in values over time is the main concern of this author, it was necessary to choose a sample of magazines published over a sufficient span of time to accurately reflect these changes, and also be feasible for one investigator to handle. From a review of the literature and from a general reading of the publications themselves, it was found that little research had been conducted in this area within the last ten years and that during this period, there also seemed to be fluctuations in the type of content. As a result, six years between 1960 and 1970, namely 1960, 1962, 1964, 1966, 1968 and 1970 were chosen. These years were selected arbitrarily except for fulfilling the requirement that both the end-years 1960 and 1970 be included.

For each of these years, three issues of each magazine were selected giving a total of 54 issues. Two criteria were used in determining which months were to be studied. The first criterion was to get a fair representation of the volume of material throughout the year, thus avoiding any bias due to the seasonal nature of these magazines and their advertising. For example, the volume of these publications increases during

the months October through December due to the pre-Christmas and Christmas advertising; the months of January, June and July are traditionally light.

The second factor was to avoid any bias due to the type of material used because of holidays. For example the March and April issues may contain much material aimed at celebrating Easter while the November and December issues may be preoccupied with Thanksgiving and Christmas.

The months February, July and November were selected because they seemed to strike a balance between seasonal volume changes and holiday-content variations. There was only one departure from this pattern in the Ladies Home Journal for 1964 in which a combined January-February issue was considered to be the February issue.

The same months were used for each publication so that comparisons within each magazine over time as well as across the three magazines could be made.

The content examined within each issue was all non-fictional items with the exception of "the Table of Contents", "Letters to the Editor", and any short poems or sayings commonly used to fill out columns at the end of the magazines. Pictures and picture captions were not analyzed unless the picture caption was the only written copy in the article. All advertising was omitted. Fiction as well as the non-fiction condensations of best-selling biographies or

autobiographies were not analyzed by paragraph, but the total wordage of these pieces was recorded in order to determine an accurate picture of editorial mix.

The reason for these omissions was primarily to narrow the scope of the study, but also to try to obtain a picture of the copy prepared solely for publication in these periodicals rather than for some other purpose (such as in the case of a non-fiction book condensation).

Coding

Because of the volume of material involved, the variables for each article examined were limited to seven. The following variables were essential for article analysis:

- 1) the publication in which the article is found
- 2) the year of the publication
- 3) the month of the publication
- 4) the total number of words per article
- 5) the number of paragraphs per article
- 6) the value assigned to each paragraph
- 7) the value-direction of each paragraph.

Because the selection of value categories is vital to a study of this kind, a value system had to be chosen which allowed the analysis units to be placed in mutually exclusive categories with a minimum or codes confusion. A category system developed by White (29) (see Appendix) was modified for use in this study. It was chosen because the categories were broad enough to be applied to the rather specific topics of women's magazines. White's basic 50 categories were collapsed

to the following 31 major categories. In addition many of the subdivisions within categories were sharpened.

1. Food (F)--eating or drinking
2. Sex, Sex-Love, Purity (Sx) (L) (Pu)
 - Sx₁ -intercourse, kissing, petting
 - Sx₂ -sexual attractiveness
 - L₁ -dates, dancing, romance
 - L₂ -marriage, love in marriage
 - Pu₁ -sexual morality, birth control, sex education
 - Pu₂ -tabooed forms of sex--masturbation, incest, venereal disease, homosexuality, abortion, artificial insemination, sex crimes
3. Rest (Re) - sleep, short hours, easiness of tasks, vacations, discussions of the use or passage of time
4. Activity (Ac) - sports, athletics, outdoor life, exercise
5. Health (He) - comfort, absence of disease, recovery from illness or injury, medical knowledge
6. Safety (S) - absence of pain or injury
- Death (De)
7. Family-Love (Lo) - family relations, love between members of a family other than husband and wife
8. Friendship (Fr) - having or being with friends
9. Independence (I) - freedom, liberty, respecting independence or freedom of others
10. Achievement (A) - success or superiority demonstrated in action
 - Recognition (RA) - respect, prestige, rank, promotion, notice, attention, class, position, lack of privacy
11. Self-Regard (Sfa) - pride, self-confidence, self-respect, inner integrity, self-fulfillment
12. Dominance (Do) - power over people, authority, leadership, influence
 - Do₁ - this power specifically with regard to men
 - Do₂ - this power specifically with regard to women
13. Aggression (Ag) - fighting, hurting, destroying killing, threats of violence, punishing retaliating, winning or fighting a war

14. Security (Se)
 - Emotional Security (Se₁) - knowledge that one is capable of being loved or accepted
 - Economic Security (Se₂) - minimum income, standard of living absence of bills, insurance, having or getting a job
 - Sex-love Security (Se₃) - not losing one's wife or husband
15. Humor (H) - laughter, kidding, nonsense, sense of humor
16. New Experience (N₁) - movies, comics, radio programs, watching athletic events, television theatre, reading fiction, fairs
 - Excitement (N₂) - fascination, thrills, adventure, gambling, horror stories, fascination with what is dangerous or forbidden, parties, magic, ESP
 - Creative Self (N₃) - expression of imagination, daydreams, fantasy
 - Hobbies (N₄) - handicrafts, gardening, pets and animals
17. Beauty (B) - art, music, literature (except when performed on stage), poetry, color, rhythm, beauty in nature
18. Economic Value (E) - money, prosperity, wages, profits, prices, Gross National Product
19. Ownership (O) - land, house, car, wealth and the care of things owned, moving
 - Interior Decoration (ID) - interior decorating, remodeling, appliances
 - Consumer Affairs (CA) - information concerning products, the rights and duties of consumers
20. Knowledge (K) - facts, logic, wisdom, understanding, books, education, thinking, planning, history
21. Happiness (Ha) - joy, contentment, cheerfulness, hope, thankfulness
22. Morality (M) - "good" in a moral sense, conscience, right vs. wrong, truthfulness, reliability
 - Conservation - pollution, overpopulation, etc.
23. Justice (J) - fairness
 - Discrimination (DES) - discrimination against, race, religion, women
24. Obedience (Ob) - discipline, law-enforcement, crime, legislation
25. Religion (Rl) - prayer, worship, respectful reference to God, Christ, Bible, belonging or going to church

26. Pleasant Personality (Pl)
 Pl₁ - being likeable or loveable
 Pl₂ - custom, imitation
 Pl₃ - manners, politeness, courtesy, being socially correct, proper
 Pl₄ - modest, generosity, tolerance - pleasant personality traits
27. Group Unity (U) - loyalty, patriotism, public-spirit
 Politics (P)
28. Appearance (Ap)
 Ap₁ - strength, physical size or strength
 Ap₂ - appearance of one's own body
 Ap₃ - clothes
 Ap₄ - cleanliness, absence of dirt
 Ap₅ - culture, refinement, breeding, self improvement
29. Determination (D) - will, persistence, bravery, courage
30. Adjustment (Ad) - mental health, balance, sanity, maturity, growth, aging
 Children (CR) - child raising
31. No value - descriptions used for transitional purposes within the article

In the analysis each paragraph was coded for the appropriate value. Once the value was selected, it could be coded in one of two ways - either for the value itself or for its opposite or negative form. For example, the value category of aggression can be used in two ways. The value, Aggression (Ag), might be applied to a paragraph discussing war, but the value, "no Aggression" (\sim Ag), would be used for a paragraph discussing the virtues of peace. In the same way, Health (He) would be used for a paragraph describing good dental practices, but "no Health" (\sim He) would be used for a paragraph describing illness - such as some one with a toothache.

In addition to the value of the paragraph, its direction

(approval-disapproval) with regard to the value was also noted.

The code used was one by Budd, Thorp and Donohew. (4, p. 54)

It involved the following directional scale:

No Direction (0)	neutral
Balanced (+)	both favorable and unfavorable presentation
Unqualified Positive (++)	unqualified favorable presentation
Qualified Positive (-+)	a basically favorable presentation with unfavorable aspects clearly involved
Unqualified Negative (--)	unqualified unfavorable presentation
Qualified Negative (+-)	a basically unfavorable presentation with favorable aspects clearly involved.

The entire 54 magazine sample was coded using this scale. All coding was performed by one individual in a single 45-day period in order to insure a high level of coder consistency. The scale symbols were placed next to the value designations on the coding sheet, and the scale was applied in the following manner. The neutral symbol (0) was given to paragraphs which contained no position on the value in question. Examples of this type of paragraph might be a recipe for veal chops, directions on how to apply make-up or the caption to a fashion photograph. The unqualified positive code (++), on the other hand, was applied to paragraphs such as those listing the advantages of a yearly physical check-up. While

the unqualified negative code (--) might have been used to classify the disadvantages of illegal abortion. The balanced category (+) was used to classify paragraphs which listed both the advantages and disadvantages of a topic (home ownership, for example) in approximately equal proportions. Finally the qualified negative code (-+) was used for paragraphs in which the negative statements about the value out-numbered the positive ones. The reverse situation was classified as qualified positive (+-).

FINDINGS

This study of ten years of non-fictional content of women's magazines shows several interesting trends. In order that the patterns suggested by this examination might be better understood, data were analyzed in several ways.

First, the data were divided into large classifications such as fiction and non-fiction which were then analyzed on the basis of total wordage.

Secondly, the data were analyzed using the 31 category system already presented. The frequency of each value was recorded for each magazine on the basis of percentage of total paragraphs in each year. These percentages could then be plotted on a curve with time as the independent variable.

From these curves, changes within an individual publication over the ten year span as well as differences among the three publications from year to year could be noted.

A third way the data were analyzed involved the Budd et al. (4, p. 54) directional scale. The total number of directionally valued paragraphs was noted for each magazine each year. Also the percentages of directional paragraphs which were positively and negatively weighted were recorded.

Analysis on the Basis of Word Count

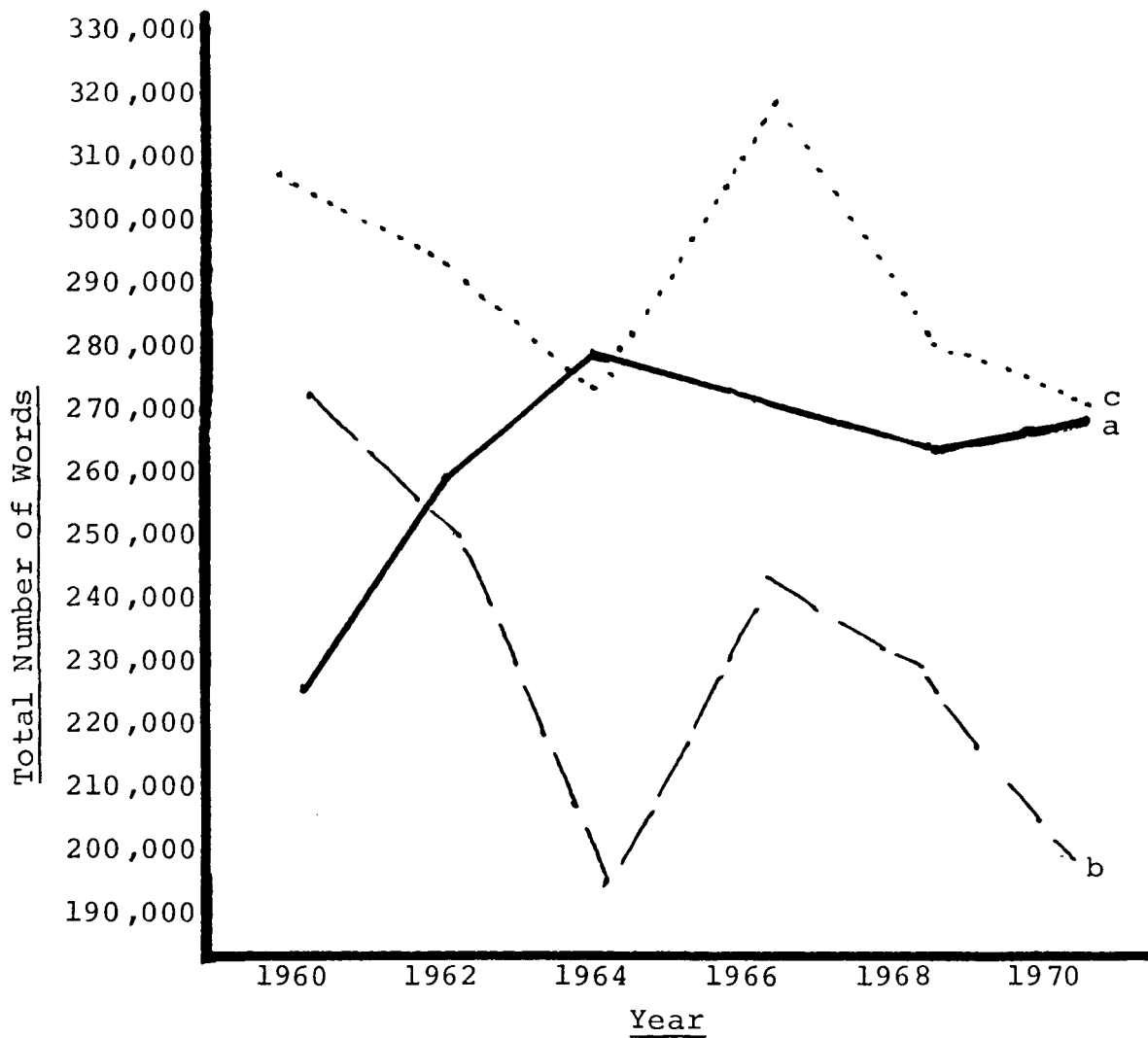
The total number of words of editorial content (excluding advertising) per issue of the three magazines is recorded in Table 3. With the exception of 1964, McCall's generally has higher word totals than the other two publications, while Ladies Home Journal consistently has the fewest number of words after the year 1960. The number of words in Good Housekeeping steadily increases until 1966 when a slight downward shift can be noted. This decrease, however, seems to be reversing slightly in 1970. McCall's and Ladies Home Journal follow the same general pattern, which declines from 1960 through 1964, peaks in 1966 and then falls off again.

The figures for the total number of words analyzed excluding fiction, non-fiction biographies and autobiographies, poetry and "Letters to the Editors", etc. are also computed. These figures show many of the same trends as the total wordage figures (see Appendix).

The total number of words devoted to fiction declines for all these magazines in the ten years from 1960 to 1970. Ladies Home Journal shows the clearest trend with a continuous decrease in the number of words of fiction each year. McCall's shows the most dramatic drop over the ten year period from 108,000 words to 26,000 words. Good Housekeeping has the

Table 3. Total number of words per year in the combined months of February, July and November (rounded to the nearest 1,000 words)

Magazine	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	229,000	261,000	283,000	273,000	262,000	263,000
<u>Ladies Home Journal</u>	274,000	251,000	195,000	242,000	288,000	203,000
<u>McCall's</u>	309,000	298,000	270,000	320,000	284,000	264,000



- a - Good Housekeeping
 b - Ladies Home Journal
 c - McCall's

Figure 1. Total number of words per year in the combined months of February, July and November

smallest drop from 96,000 words to 82,000 words.

Category Analysis

The next method of analysis involves the 31 category value system. Perhaps the best way to present the results of this analysis is a value-by-value discussion of the results.

Food

The one value represented most often in the sample is food. For the three magazines together, this value represents from approximately 1/5 to 1/3 of their content by paragraph.

McCall's devotes the most paragraphs (by percentage) to food over the ten year span. Its content ranges from a low of 25.5% in 1966 to a high of 40% in 1962. Ladies Home Journal shows a trend toward increasing food content. In 1966, it devoted 7% of its content to food, but by 1968, this content jumped to 29%. In 1970 however, it dipped slightly to 28%. Good Housekeeping is the most consistent of the three. Its food content ranges only from 21% in 1960 to 30% in 1964 with an average of 25%.

Looking at Figure 3, there appears to be a trend toward stabilization of food content at somewhere between the 25 to 30% mark.

Table 4. Total number of words of fiction in the combined months of February, July and November (rounded to the nearest 1,000 words)

Magazine	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	96,000	109,000	91,000	95,000	77,000	82,000
<u>Ladies Home Journal</u>	133,000	123,000	72,000	58,000	52,000	50,000
<u>McCall's</u>	108,000	150,000	59,000	88,000	50,000	26,000

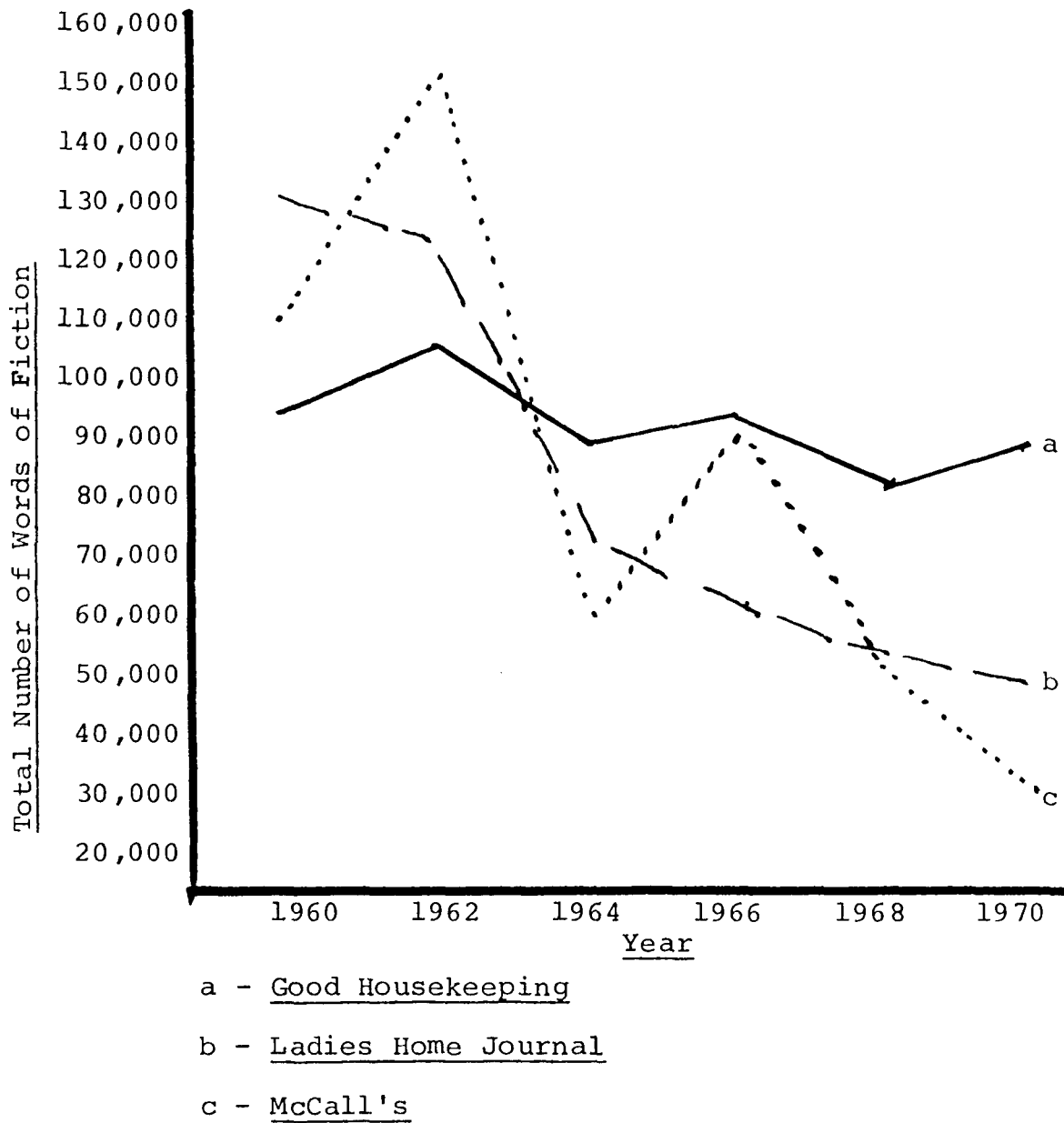


Figure 2. Total number of words of fiction in the combined months of February, July and November

Table 5. Percentage of yearly non-fictional content devoted to food (rounded to the nearest whole per cent)

Magazines	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	21	25	30	26	23	24
<u>Ladies Home Journal</u>	7	12	11	26	29	28
<u>McCall's</u>	32	40	32	26	34	31

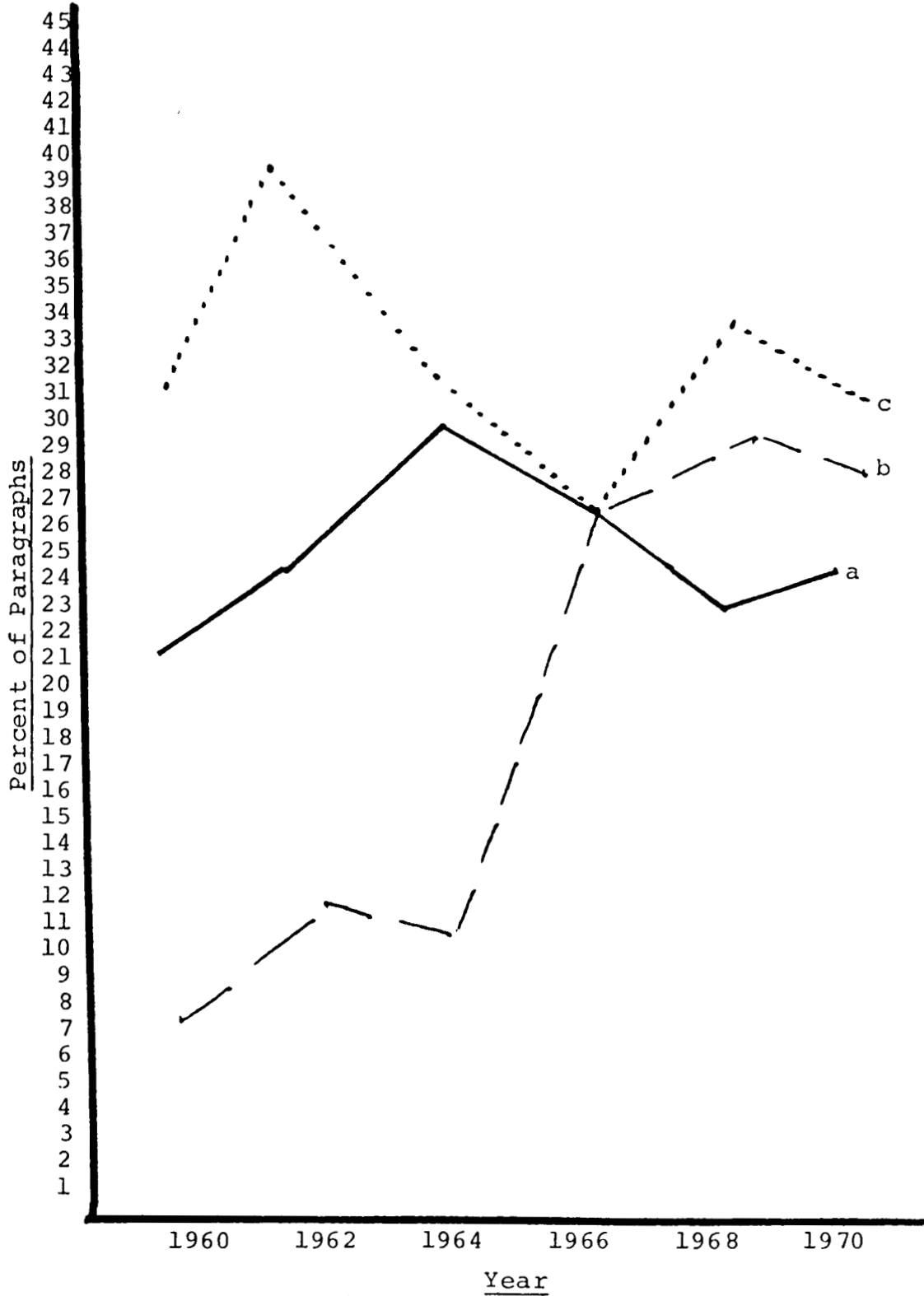
Adjustment

The importance of the adjustment value is indicated by the figures in Table 6. Ladies Home Journal and McCall's seem to follow a similar pattern with a general trend toward decreasing the amount of content devoted to adjustment.

The largest contrast is shown by Ladies Home Journal with 20% of its content devoted to adjustment in 1960 and only 5% in 1970. Good Housekeeping, on the other hand, seems to have a slight increasing trend. It begins with 4% in 1960

Table 6. Percentage of yearly non-fictional content devoted to adjustment (rounded to nearest whole per cent)

Magazine	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	4	7	4	5	7	9
<u>Ladies Home Journal</u>	20	17	10	24	10	5
<u>McCall's</u>	14	4	8	11	7	8



- a - Good Housekeeping
- b - Ladies Home Journal
- c - McCall's

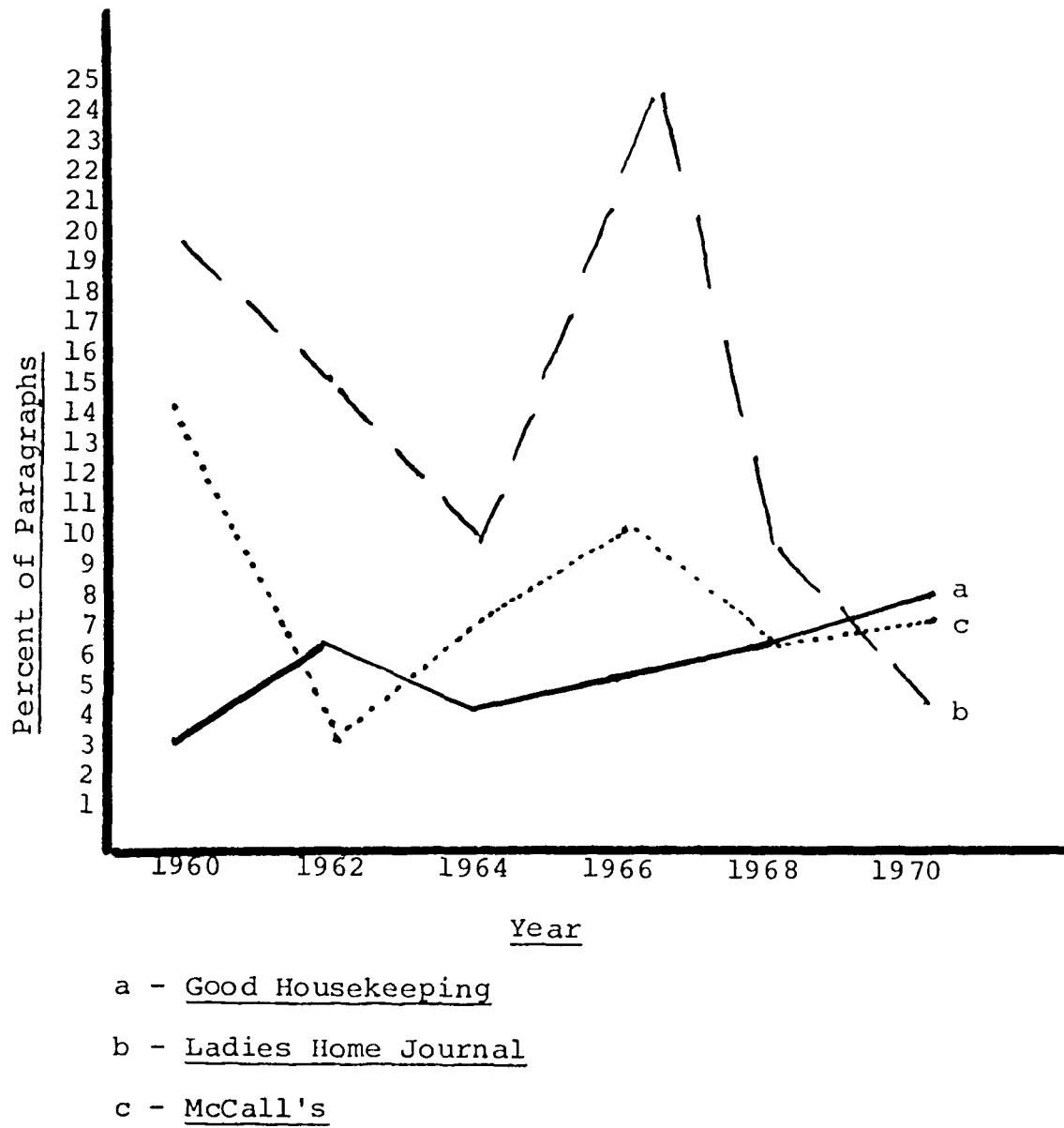


Figure 4. Percentage of yearly non-fictional content devoted to adjustment

and rises to 9% by 1970. All three magazines, however, seem to be settling on somewhere between 5 and 10% for material concerned with adjustment.

Health

Health is another of the more frequent values in women's magazines. Good Housekeeping differs from the others in both amount of space devoted to health (11% in 1960 and 15% in 1970) as well as in a slight upward trend over the ten years. McCall's seems to have slightly decreased the percentage of its health material. In 1960 it began with 7%, rose to 8% in 1962, dipped to 4% in 1968 and rose again to 6% in 1970. Ladies Home Journal is the most irregular of the three with a downward trend in the years 1960 through 1964 and an upward trend beginning in 1968.

Table 7. Percentage of yearly non-fictional content devoted to health (rounded to the nearest whole per cent)

Magazine	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	11	12	11	15	13	15
<u>Ladies Home Journal</u>	13	9	4	4	5	9
<u>McCall's</u>	7	8	4	6	4	6

Ownership

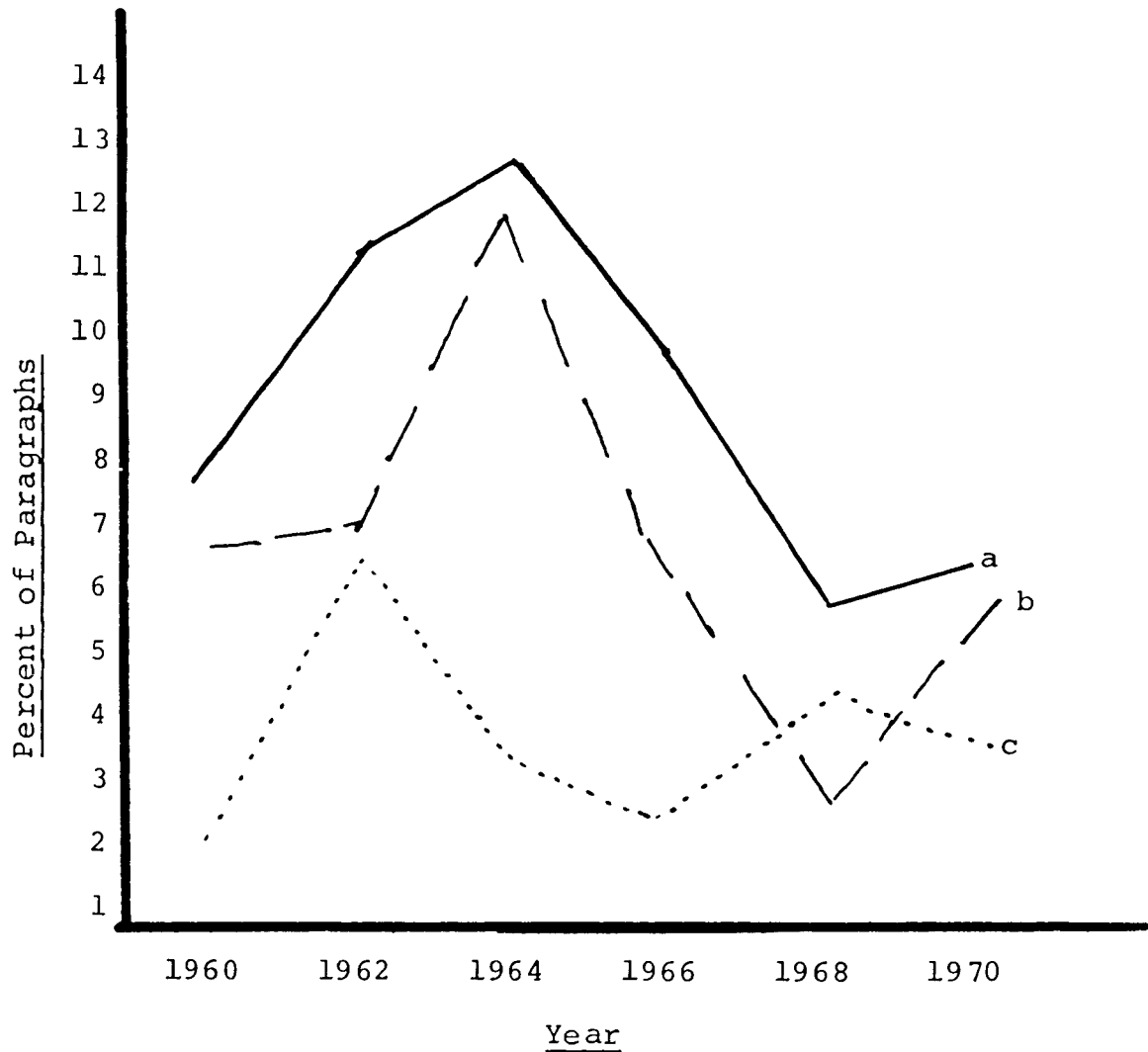
The ownership value, which includes not only ownership of goods but also interior decoration and consumer affairs, is also a recurrent value in women's magazines. Both McCall's and Ladies Home Journal seem to keep the quantity of ownership material fairly constant. In 1960, Ladies Home Journal began with 4% of its content devoted to ownership and ended with 7% in 1970. McCall's, on the other hand, had 5% in 1960 and by 1970 had increased only to 7%. Good Housekeeping seems to be decreasing its material in this area. In 1960, it had 15% and by 1970 this dropped to 8%. Again the three publications seem to be clustering around the 7-8% mark.

Table 8. Percentage of yearly non-fictional content devoted to ownership (rounded to the nearest whole percent)

Magazine	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	15	12	11	8	11	8
<u>Ladies Home Journal</u>	4	7	9	8	4	7
<u>McCall's</u>	5	5	9	8	5	7

Appearance

Appearance, the value category containing the beauty and clothing items, also occurs frequently. Good Housekeeping consistently devotes the most space to this category. While McCall's, however, (with the exception of 1968) usually contains the lowest per cent of appearance material.



a - Good Housekeeping

b - Ladies Home Journal

c - McCall's

Figure 5. Percentage of yearly non-fictional content devoted to appearance

Table 9. Percentage of yearly non-fictional content devoted to appearance (rounded to the nearest whole percent)

Magazine	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	8	11	12	9	5	6
<u>Ladies Home Journal</u>	7	7	11	7	2	6
<u>McCall's</u>	2	6	3	2	4	3

As can be seen in Table 9 and Figure 5, interest in appearance peaked in 1964 for both Good Housekeeping and Ladies Home Journal with 9 and 7% respectively and has since followed a downward trend with both magazines converging at the 6% point. McCall's, on the other hand, has been rather consistent in its appearance content beginning with 2% in 1960 and ending with 3% in 1970.

New experience

Still another category, which appears often in women's magazines, is that of new experience (encompassing radio, television, theatre, parties and hobbies). In this category, McCall's varies the most. In the years 1960 through 1964, there is a trend toward increased material about new experience (9, 10 and 12% respectively), but in 1966, there is a sharp drop to 3%, followed by still another rising trend in 1968 (7%) and 1970 (10%). Good Housekeeping seems to be using this value slightly less often in 1970 (3%) than in 1960 (6%), while Ladies Home Journal seems to be increasing

their use of new experience (6% in 1960 and 8% in 1970).

Table 10. Percentage of yearly non-fictional content devoted to new experience (rounded to the nearest whole percent)

Magazine	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	5	3	4	3	4	3
<u>Ladies Home Journal</u>	6	4	7	5	8	8
<u>McCall's</u>	9	10	12	3	7	10

Security

In this category, Ladies Home Journal vacillates with peak years in 1962 (12%) and 1968 (13%) and a sharp drop to 1% in 1964. Good Housekeeping also varies widely, but its beginning percentage of 3% differs little from the 4% observed in 1970. McCall's varies less than its competitors and seems to be decreasing its material on security (2% in 1960 as compared to 1% in 1970).

Table 11. Percentage of yearly non-fictional content devoted to security (rounded to the nearest whole percent)

Magazine	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	3	2	9	2	5	4
<u>Ladies Home Journal</u>	5	12	1	6	13	9
<u>McCall's</u>	2	4	2	5	1	1

Knowledge

The Knowledge category including books, education and history, occupies a small but consistent portion of women's magazines. McCall's and Good Housekeeping remain fairly constant in their use of knowledge material. In 1960, McCall's devoted 3% of their content to knowledge. By 1970 this had dropped to 2%. In the same way, Good Housekeeping began in 1960 with 2% and by 1970 had lowered this percentage to 1%. Ladies Home Journal also dropped the amount of material about knowledge over the 10 years (6% in 1960 and 1% in 1970), but it reached a peak of 13% in 1964. Again there seems to be a convergence of all three magazines in 1968 and 1970 around the 1-3% mark.

Table 12. Percentage of yearly non-fictional content devoted to knowledge (rounded to the nearest whole percent)

Magazine	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	2	5	5	5	3	1
<u>Ladies Home Journal</u>	6	2	13	0	1	1
<u>McCall's</u>	3	5	3	3	2	2

Group Unity

Group Unity, the category which includes the patriotic and public action values of the system, occupies still another small, but consistent, part of the editorial mix of women's magazines. All three publications devote approximately 2-4%

of their content to group unity. Of the six years studied, Good Housekeeping devoted 2% of its content to group unity in four of them with the other two years sliding to 1% and rising to 3%. McCall's has a slightly higher percentage of 4% in 1960 which changes only to 3% in 1970. Ladies Home Journal showed a somewhat stronger downward trend by going from 6% in 1960 to 2% in 1970. Again all three magazines are clustered between 2 and 3% in 1970.

Table 13. Percentage of yearly non-fictional content devoted to group unity (rounded to the nearest whole percent)

Magazines	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	2	2	2	1	3	2
<u>Ladies Home Journal</u>	6	5	3	1	1	2
<u>McCall's</u>	4	2	6	3	4	3

Love-Sex

The Love-Sex category also commands a consistent share of content. Good Housekeeping and Ladies Home Journal seems to be decreasing their content in this area, while McCall's has increased its proportion of love-sex material. In 1960, Good Housekeeping and McCall's had 2% of their material on love and sex, but by 1970, Good Housekeeping had dropped to 1%, while McCall's rose to 3%. Ladies Home Journal changed more noticeably going from 4% in 1960 to 2% in 1970. There is

still the familiar trend for all of the magazines to settle on between 1 and 3% of their material in this category.

Table 14. Percentage of yearly non-fictional content devoted to love-sex (rounded to the nearest whole percent)

Magazine	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	2	2	1	3	3	1
<u>Ladies Home Journal</u>	4	4	3	3	6	2
<u>McCall's</u>	2	2	1	3	3	3

Family-Love

Family-Love, (family relations) while not as popular as the love-sex category, still manages to occupy roughly 2-3% of the editorial content. Good Housekeeping started with 5% of its content used for family-love in 1960. From 1962 to 1968 this figure remained at 2% but dipped slightly in 1970 to 1%, McCall's began in 1960 with 1% and ended in 1970 with the same figure. Ladies Home Journal shows the largest change from 7% in 1960 to 0.3% in 1970.

Table 15. Percentage of yearly non-fictional content devoted to family-love (rounded to the nearest whole percent)

Magazine	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	5	2	2	2	2	0
<u>Ladies Home Journal</u>	7	2	2	1	2	0
<u>McCall's</u>	1	2	3	2	4	1

Safety

One of the more distinct differences between the three magazines seems to occur in the treatment of the value, safety. In this category, Good Housekeeping seems to be the leader. In all years, but 1960, Good Housekeeping consistently gives more paragraphs (by percentage) to safety than its competitors. Figure 6 shows a consistent upward trend from 0.3% in 1960 to 6% in 1968 with a dip to 4% in 1970. Ladies Home Journal has tended to keep its safety content stable at 1% (with the exception of 1968) throughout the ten years. McCall's although irregular seems to be lessening the number of paragraphs it devotes to safety (from 2% in 1960 to 0.2% in 1970). There appears to be no trend toward convergence of the three publications around a similar percentage in this category.

Table 16. Percentage of yearly non-fictional content devoted to safety (rounded to the nearest whole percent)

Magazine	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	0	3	3	5	6	4
<u>Ladies Home Journal</u>	1	1	1	1	2	1
<u>McCall's</u>	2	0	1	3	0	0

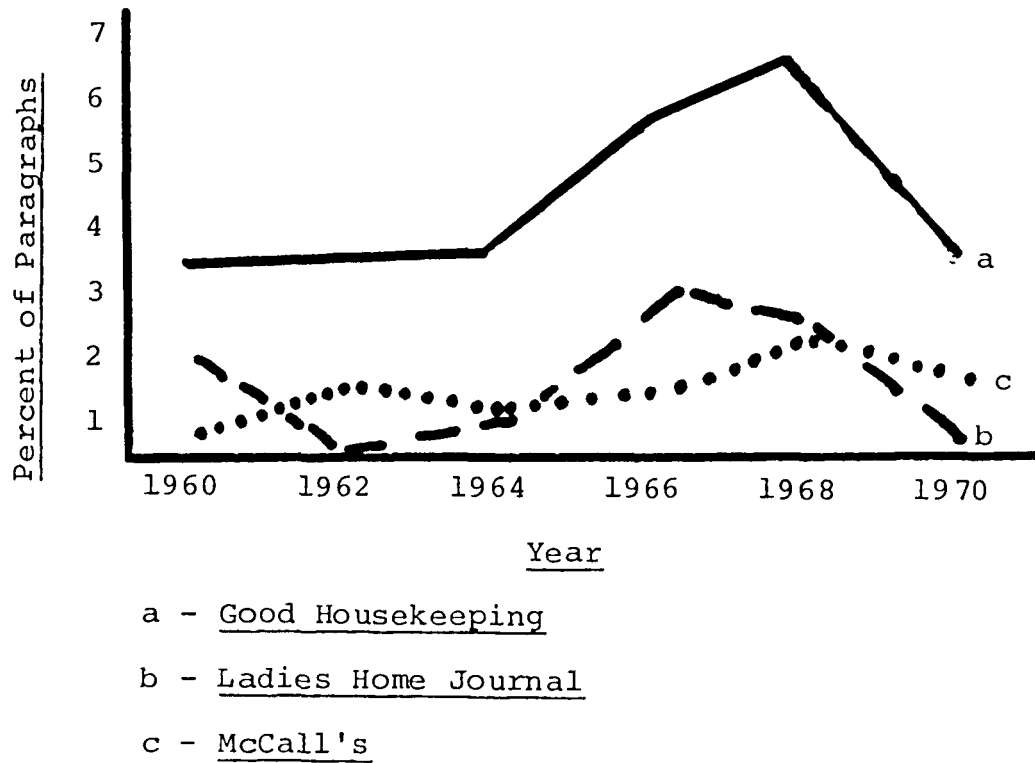


Figure 6. Percentage of yearly non-fictional content devoted to safety

Achievement, rest and humor

The three values of achievement, rest and humor represent approximately 1-2% each of the total content of women's magazines. For achievement content, all three magazines began in 1960 with 2% of their content concerned with the achievement value. By 1970 Good Housekeeping had dropped to 1%, while Ladies Home Journal went up to 4%, and McCall's remained at 2%.

In the rest category, McCall's seems to dominate with an upward trend noticeable (with the exception of 1968) from 1% in 1960 to 4% in 1970. Ladies Home Journal remains fairly constant at 1% in all years except 1964 when it rose to 4%, and Good Housekeeping seems to be decreasing its rest content from 2% in 1960 to 0.2% in 1966) at the beginning of the decade, but 1968 and 1970 show a slight increase to 1% and 3% respectively.

Humorous paragraphs seem to serve as filler material. Good Housekeeping keeps its strictly humorous content to 1% or below, while Ladies Home Journal has almost no humor with the exception of the year 1962 when the percentage rose to 5%. McCall's, however, tries to include humorous pieces with its percentage varying from 6% to 4%. Its humor percentages are too erratic, however, to indicate a trend.

Table 17. Percentage of yearly non-fictional content devoted to achievement, rest and humor (rounded to the nearest whole percent)

Magazines	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
<u>GOOD HOUSEKEEPING</u>						
Achievement	2	3	2	2	1	1
Rest	2	1	1	0	1	3
Humor	1	1	1	0	0	1
<u>LADIES HOME JOURNAL</u>						
Achievement	2	2	2	1	1	4
Rest	1	1	4	1	1	1
Humor	0	5	1	0	0	1
<u>McCALL'S</u>						
Achievement	2	3	2	2	3	2
Rest	1	1	3	6	0	4
Humor	3	1	4	3	4	2

Beauty, justice and personality

Beauty, justice and personality occupy approximately 1% each of the editorial content of women's magazines and show noticeable differences among publications.

In the beauty area, which includes such topics as literature, art and music, Ladies Home Journal went from no content in 1960 and 1962 to peaks of 4.3% in 1964 and 3.9% in 1966. Then it dropped sharply to 0.3% in 1970. Good Housekeeping shows a slow, but consistent upswing in this type of content from no material in 1960 to 1% in 1970. McCall's seems to be leveling at the 1% mark after starting 1960 with 1.8%. Again the three magazines appear to be

meeting at the 1% level.

For the value of justice, McCall's seems to be the most consistent in its coverage. With the exception of 1962, it maintained a 1% level until 1970 when it rose to 1.9%. Good Housekeeping has slightly higher values than McCall's, but is more inconsistent. It began in 1960 with 1.6% and rose to 3.4% in 1970. Ladies Home Journal with the exception of a 1964 high of 2% kept its justice content below 1%.

In the area of personality, Ladies Home Journal appears to be the leader. It kept the percentage of its content about personality at 2% or higher throughout the period, while McCall's and Good Housekeeping tended to keep this type of material below 2%. It should be noted that all three of these publications increased their content in 1970. Figure 7 shows McCall's and Good Housekeeping have followed similar patterns since 1964.

Obedience, morality, religion, aggression, determination, economic value and no value

The value categories of obedience, morality, religion, aggression, determination (will, courage), economic value and no value (material used for transition), all occupy between 1% and 0.5% each of the content of these three publications. Since there are only slight variations between years as well as among the three magazines, the results are presented in Table 19.

Table 18. Percentage of yearly non-fictional content devoted to beauty, justice and personality (rounded to the nearest tenth of a percent)

	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
<u>GOOD HOUSEKEEPING</u>						
Beauty	0	0.2	0	0.4	0.8	1.0
Justice	1.6	1.6	0.2	1.2	0.2	3.4
Personality	2.9	1.9	0.9	0.8	0.4	0.7
<u>LADIES HOME JOURNAL</u>						
Beauty	0	0	1.0	4.3	3.9	0.3
Justice	0	1.0	2.0	0	0.3	0.1
Personality	1.9	1.8	5.8	3.1	3.2	3.7
<u>McCALL'S</u>						
Beauty	1.8	0.8	0.8	0.4	1.4	0.7
Justice	1.1	0	0.7	0.9	1.2	1.9
Personality	0.2	1.3	3.0	2.4	1.1	1.8

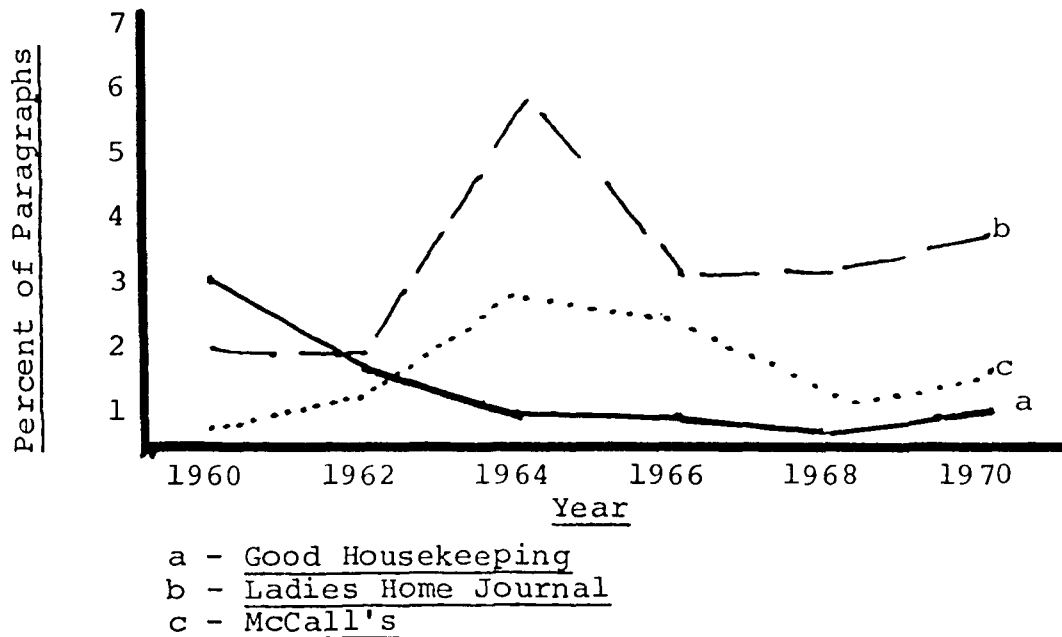


Figure 7. Percentage of yearly non-fictional content devoted to beauty, justice and personality (rounded to the nearest tenth of a percent)

Table 19. Percentage of yearly non-fictional content devoted to seven value categories (rounded to the nearest tenth of a percent)

	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
<u>GOOD HOUSEKEEPING</u>						
Obedience	0.6	2.2	0.4	1.2	2.2	0.9
Morality	0	0.4	0	0	0	1.0
Religion	0.5	0.9	1.6	0.5	0.1	1.1
Aggression	0.1	1.2	0	0.2	1.2	1.1
Determination	0.3	0.9	1.1	0.5	1.1	1.0
Economic Value	0.1	1.1	0.5	0.7	1.1	0.7
No Value	0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
<u>LADIES HOME JOURNAL</u>						
Obedience	0.4	1.7	0	0	0.1	0
Morality	0.7	0.3	5.1	0	0.1	0.4
Religion	1.9	0.4	0.2	0	1.2	0.3
Aggression	3.1	3.2	0.2	0	1.0	0.2
Determination	0.4	0.5	1.7	0.7	0.1	0.3
Economic Value	0	0	1.0	0.5	0.3	0
No Value	0	0	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.1
<u>McCALL'S</u>						
Obedience	0.1	0	0	0.3	0.6	0.3
Morality	0.3	0.7	0.1	3.0	2.4	2.0
Religion	0.2	0.1	1.7	3.2	3.5	0.3
Aggression	0	0.1	2.2	1.1	1.0	0.7
Determination	0.1	0.8	0.7	0.4	0.7	1.1
Economic Value	0.1	4.6	0.7	0.9	0	0.4
No Value	0	0.2	0.4	1.0	1.0	1.0

Happiness, self-fulfillment, friendship, independence, dominance and activity

Six of the 31 values each occupy 0.5% or less of the content of women's magazines. Again these values differ very little from year to year and from magazine to magazine. Table 20 shows what differences do exist.

Table 20. Percentage of yearly non-fictional content devoted to six value categories (rounded to the nearest tenth of a percent)

Magazine	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
<u>GOOD HOUSEKEEPING</u>						
Happiness	0	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.1	0.2
Self-Fulfillment	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.4
Friendship	0	0	0	0.2	0.2	0.7
Independence	0.1	0.5	0	0.3	0.1	0.2
Dominance	1.3	0	0.2	0.1	0	0
Activity	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3
<u>LADIES HOME JOURNAL</u>						
Happiness	1.1	0.4	0.6	0.8	0.2	0.2
Self-Fulfillment	0.2	2.1	1.5	0.6	0.4	0.2
Friendship	1.5	0.3	0.3	0.9	0.5	0.4
Independence	0.2	0.2	0.1	0	0.1	0.2
Dominance	0.2	0.3	0.6	0	0.2	1.0
Activity	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.2	0.5	1.4
<u>McCALL'S</u>						
Happiness	0.1	0.9	0.5	0.4	0.8	0.1
Self-Fulfillment	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.9
Friendship	0	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.4	2.9
Independence	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.1	1.2	1.4
Dominance	0.5	0	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.4
Activity	1.0	0	0.5	0.2	0.9	0.2

Summary

In order to get a clearer picture of the differences between magazines, an average percentage of each magazine for the six years was calculated (see Table 21). These percentages indicate that Good Housekeeping devotes noticeably more of its content to health, safety, ownership and appearance than its competitors, while McCall's leads in the food and new experience categories, and Ladies Home Journal is the leader in

Table 21. Composite percentages of non-fiction content from 1960 to 1970 (rounded to the nearest tenth of a percent)

Value	<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	<u>Ladies Home Journal</u>	<u>McCall's</u>
1. Food	24.7	20.7	32.0
2. Love-Sex	2.0	3.8	2.4
3. Rest	1.3	1.1	2.5
4. Activity	0.1	0.5	0.5
5. Health	12.9	7.1	5.8
6. Safety	4.0	1.4	0.8
7. Family-Love	2.5	2.7	2.2
8. Friendship	0.2	0.7	0.7
9. Independence	0.2	0.1	0.6
10. Achievement	1.7	1.9	2.4
11. Self-Fulfillment	0.3	0.7	0.3
12. Dominance	0.2	0.3	0.3
13. Aggression	0.6	1.2	0.9
14. Security	3.9	8.3	3.1
15. Humor	0.7	0.8	2.9
16. New Experience	3.9	6.3	8.4
17. Beauty	0.4	2.0	1.0
18. Economic Value	0.7	0.3	1.0
19. Ownership	10.6	3.2	5.4
20. Knowledge	3.6	3.2	2.8
21. Happiness	0.4	0.5	0.3
22. Morality	0.4	0.8	1.6
23. Justice	1.3	0.4	1.3
24. Obedience	1.3	0.3	0.2
25. Religion	0.8	0.7	1.6
26. Personality	1.2	3.1	1.6
27. Group Unity	2.0	2.5	3.7
28. Appearance	8.2	6.1	3.9
29. Determination	0.8	0.5	0.6
30. Adjustment	8.1	15.2	8.2
31. No Value	0.7	0.5	0.7
Total	99.8	100.0	99.7

the adjustment and security areas. The six most frequent categories for all three magazines are food, adjustment, appearance, health, ownership and new experience.

Directional Scale Analysis

The third method of analysis was the determination of the direction of each paragraph concerning the individual publication's approval or disapproval of the topic. The major result of this part of the analysis is the fact that the majority of paragraphs are in the neutral category. Table 22 shows the percentage of paragraphs which were directional in nature. In all cases they were below 1.5%.

Table 22. Percentage of directional paragraphs from 1960 to 1970 (rounded to the nearest tenth of a percent)

Magazine	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
<u>GOOD HOUSEKEEPING</u>						
++	0.4	0.3	0.7	0.7	1.0	1.1
--	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.4
Total	0.7	0.6	0.9	1.1	1.3	1.5
<u>LADIES HOME JOURNAL</u>						
++	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.6	0.5
--	0.5		0.6	0.3	0.5	0.4
Total	.6	.2	.9	.6	1.1	.9
<u>MCCALL'S</u>						
++	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.1		0.2
--	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.1
Total	1.0	1.1	1.2	0.2	0.1	0.3

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this investigation has been explained as an attempt to describe and understand the content of women's magazines from 1960 to 1970. This author's interest in the topic was aroused by the complaints of Women's Liberation leaders about the irrelevancy of women's magazines for the modern woman. The task of this study has been solely to catalog the values presented in Good Housekeeping, Ladies Home Journal and McCall's in order to evaluate their content. The question of whether these values are irrelevant to modern women can not be objectively answered in a study of this kind. The most this author hoped to achieve was an objective definition of the values, together with a study of the manifest content of the three women's magazines over a ten year period.

The sample drawn for this study included the February, July and November issues of each publication for the six even-numbered years between 1960 and 1970. Three methods of analysis were used. The first involved recording the total number of words found in the combined three issues of each magazine. Several types of content such as advertising, pictures and "Letters to the Editor" were excluded. In addition, the total number of words of fiction was also recorded, but this fictional material was not analyzed for values expressed.

The second measurement tool was the 31-category value

system. Each paragraph of the 54 issues (with the exceptions already noted) was placed into one of these value categories. Once the appropriate category was chosen, the paragraph was then coded as being positive, negative or neutral in relation to the value. This then provided the third measure of the study.

The figures for the total wordage of each publication per year showed a tendency toward reduction of the total number of words for both Ladies Home Journal and McCall's, while Good Housekeeping increased its total number of words during the period. The fierce competition between Ladies Home Journal and McCall's might explain this trend in part. Since both publications have adopted an elaborate high-gloss appearance, the high cost of such competition may have forced a reduction in the total volume of the editorial content. Good Housekeeping, on the other hand, has traditionally remained aloof from its competitors and its opposite trend may be one manifestation of this policy. It is interesting to note that from 1964 on Good Housekeeping's total wordage has also decreased. This may have resulted from recent attempts to look more like its competitors.

Advertising also has an effect on the total number of words in each issue of a publication. The rather similar curves for Ladies Home Journal and McCall's seen in Figure 1 most likely reflect the changes in advertising of many of

their common clients. One reason that the Good Housekeeping curve did not show the same changes may be its Seal of Approval. The added prestige of having this Seal might serve as an incentive for advertisers to choose this publication rather than the other two when advertising budgets are small.

The trend revealed by the total number of words of fiction is clearly downward for all three publications in the ten year span. McCall's experienced the largest drop of 124,000 words. While Good Housekeeping varied the least with only a 27,000 word change.

This change in emphasis can be explained in several ways. One important factor is the influence of television. Bogart (3) believes television has taken away a great deal of the housewife's leisure time. Therefore, she has less time to read women's magazines. Since fiction pieces are some of the longest, the housewife may no longer take the time to read them. More importantly, however, the day-time television "soap-opera" and the evening dramatic series may be satisfying much of the homemaker's interest in fiction. Rather than reading fiction, the housewife now watches it on her television set.

Still another reason for the decline in the total number of words devoted to fiction is the shortage of editorial space. Two factors may have contributed to this shortage. The high cost of production may have caused the total amount

of space devoted to editorial content to decrease. Also new topics such as electronic ranges, birth control and pollution may have increased the competition for space. As a result of these factors, space has apparently been shifted from fiction to other areas.

The results of the 31-category value analysis show several trends which were anticipated by the author. First, the value which occupied the largest percentage of content by paragraph was food. This finding is supported by Bogart (3), who found that material dealing with food, health and children rose 28% from 1938 to 1963.

This preoccupation with the food value was expected for several reasons. First the topic is one of unflinching interest to most readers. It is a subject which is always current and one in which most people consider themselves experts. The advent of many convenience foods as well as the increasing interest of the general public in gourmet foods may also explain in part the emphasis on food. This interest has probably also been boosted by television programming ("Julia Child," "The Galloping Gourmet") as well as advertising.

Still another reason for the popularity of the food value in the three publications may be the ease with which the value lends itself to photographic treatment. Since the busy homemaker may read these publications in short

(ten minute) spurts, articles with few words and many pictures are well suited to this type of reader. Food, lending itself well to this type of treatment, is an ideal topic. The author hypothesizes that if photographs were included in this study, the percentage of food content would rise still higher.

The importance of a second value, adjustment was also anticipated. As mentioned previously, women's magazines have traditionally used personal problems and individual case studies as an important part of their format. Since adjustment is the principal value in many of these articles, it is to be expected that this value would have a high frequency. It might also be noted that editors apparently have assumed a continuing interest of their readership in psychology and in self analysis. Therefore, the inclusion of articles about psychological adjustment to life as well as the "test yourself" type articles have continued to appear as part of the editorial mix. The decreasing trend in this area for McCall's and Ladies Home Journal may indicate that the editors are reconsidering their assumption. More likely, however, the pressures of limited space have made it impossible to include as much of this type of copy as before. The upward trend identifiable in Good Housekeeping seems to indicate this publication is adopting editorial policies similar to those of its competitors--perhaps in an attempt to maintain its position

as third in the women's magazine field.

Health, like food, is a perennially popular topic, and it seems consistent that the health value should be one of those discussed most often in women's magazines. Bogart (3) again predicts these findings by indicating that health content increased 28% from 1938 to 1963. In this value category, Ladies Home Journal and McCall's showed a slight downward trend, but both include a rather large proportion of health content in 1970, 9% and 6% respectively. Good Housekeeping however, devoted noticeably more content to health than its competitors (15% in 1970). This difference is to be expected, if it is recalled that Good Housekeeping was involved in the early attempts to pass the Pure Food and Drug law. This keen interest in health is a tradition in the Good Housekeeping format.

Another point which should be mentioned is that because of the construction of the value scale, such topics as birth control, abortion, artificial insemination and other sexually related health topics were not included in this value category, but in the love-sex category. Therefore, it can be assumed that the actual percentage of health paragraphs (as considered in every-day usage) would actually be higher. Also it should be noted that because of the more conservative editorial policy of Good Housekeeping, it is conceivable that Good Housekeeping would include less of this type of

material than its competitors. This author suggests the differences among publications concerning the health value may not be as great as the figures indicate.

Both the ownership and appearance values were also frequent values appearing in women's magazines. The ownership value, which includes such things as the purchase and care of goods, housing, interior decoration and many of the topics commonly referred to as consumer affairs, occupied from 3.2% to 10.6% of the paragraphs of the three women's magazines. Good Housekeeping used the ownership value most often with a range of 15% in 1960 and 8% in 1970. This lead in the ownership value might be expected because of the existence of the Good Housekeeping Institute, whose function is to test and report on goods of all kinds.

The reasons for the popularity of the ownership value in all three publications are much the same as those for the food value. First, in a consumer oriented society, with a high level of discretionary income, the topic of ownership is continually popular. In addition the publicity gained by consumer movements, such as the one headed by Ralph Nader, make this value current. From the production standpoint, the subjects of housing and interior decoration lend themselves well to photography and to the easy-reading type of article. As with food, this author believes if photography were included in this study, the proportion of content devoted

to ownership would be higher.

The appearance value has many of the same characteristics as ownership. This category, which includes beauty items as well as fashion and clothing construction, is one which is traditionally a favorite in women's magazines. The downward trend shown by the curves in Figure 5 seems to be more indicative of change in method of presentation than of a shift in the importance of the value. This category perhaps more than any of the others is affected by pictorial representation. The author observed while reading the 54 issues that much of the material which would normally be classified in this category was presented pictorially either in photographs or artist's drawings. Much of this material, especially in the area of fashion, then, was not included in this study. It is this author's opinion that the emphasis on appearance is not decreasing, but rather the material is being presented pictorially rather than verbally.

As with ownership, the appearance value is always current. Frequent style changes, in fashion as well as personal grooming, provide new subjects for articles. The recent wave of interest in clothing construction has helped to make appearance a frequent value in editorial content. McCall's might be expected to lead in this area because of its beginnings as a pattern catalog, but the figures show that McCall's was consistently lower in this value than its competitors.

Part of this may be accounted for by McCall's elaborate use of photography as well as its seeming lack of interest in beauty articles.

Still another frequent value in women's magazines is new experience. This category, which includes such things as television, movies, theatre, parties and hobbies, serves as a catch-all classification for anything that is new, unusual or entertaining. This value along with the values of security and group unity seem to be stable parts of the editorial mix. The three values seem to have changed only slightly over the ten year period. It is interesting that despite the rather unusual political events of the Sixties, the frequency of the group unity value has changed only slightly, and this was most often in a downward direction.

Still another trend can be found in the area of knowledge. Since this value category contains most of the educational material, it might be hypothesized that it would increase in frequency during the ten years because of the greater demand for higher education in the Sixties. This, however, was not the case. The frequency of knowledge material decreased in all three publications. The reason for this decrease may be an assumption on the part of the editors that the value is more appropriately handled in other types of periodicals.

Another area expected to increase in importance was the love-sex category. As a result of the "sexual revolution"

of the Sixties and the popularity of such topics as birth control and abortion, it might be expected that the frequency of this value would increase during this time. In actuality, the findings indicate that the emphasis on this value changed only slightly. It may be hypothesized that the reason for the consistency on the love-sex category is not a lessening of interest in the value, but rather that the magazines were already using a great deal of this kind of material before the Sixties. When controversial material in the love-sex category became current subjects for discussion, the publications replaced some of the more traditional sex material (such as how to remain sexually attractive) with articles on the new subjects.

The safety value provides one of the few sharp contrasts among publications. In this area, Good Housekeeping seems to be the leader. It consistently devoted a larger proportion of its content (4%) to safety than either Ladies Home Journal (1.4%) or McCall's (0.8%). During the ten year period, Good Housekeeping increased its safety content, Ladies Home Journal remained the same and McCall's decreased its content slightly. One reason for the difference in publications is again Good Housekeeping's long-standing interest in consumer welfare and safety. The Good Housekeeping Institute has taken on the responsibility of testing many consumer products for both quality and safety. It has been Good Housekeeping's

traditional policy to pass this information on to its readers. As a result, Good Housekeeping presents a noticeably larger proportion of safety material than its competitors.

The values of family-love, rest and achievement occupy a small but consistent share of editorial content. None of the publications showed any marked changes in these values over the ten year span.

Another value, which did show some variation, however, was humor. Good Housekeeping appeared to keep its content below 1% while Ladies Home Journal had no strictly humorous content in three out of the six years studied, and McCall's showed a much larger proportion of humorous pieces varying from 6% to 4%. It should be noted that the percentages for this category are distorted by two factors. One is the exclusion from this study of the short filler material traditionally found at the end of women's magazine articles to round out columns. Much of this material was humorous and perhaps would augment the frequency of this value. Also the exclusion of cartoons may have changed the total amount of humorous material in all three publications. The second factor is the necessity for the coder to make a decision between the humorous style of a paragraph and the serious value it is treating. In all cases where the serious value was discernible, the paragraph was coded for that value rather than humor. Despite these difficulties, a rather apparent

difference in content is discernible in McCall's. This can perhaps be explained by McCall's policy of humorous anecdotes is filler material on pages inserted for regional advertising.

Still another value worthy of note is justice. With the developments in civil rights and the Women's Liberation movement during the Sixties, it might be expected that the justice value would take on increasing importance during the period. This value however, changed little during the ten years. One reason might again be a decision by the editors that this value is better handled by some other medium, perhaps television or general news magazines.

Most of the other values analyzed in the study changed little over the ten year period. It appears that the lack of substantial change in values such as religion, aggression, happiness, independence, and dominance indicates a basic policy of these publications to maintain a consistent, somewhat traditional, balance of content.

Perhaps more informative than the figures for an individual publication in a specific year were the composite figures for each of the publications over the ten years. These figures showed trends which were not apparent when each figure was considered independently.

Based on the averages for each value over the ten years, McCall's appears to concentrate more paragraphs on the values

of food, humor, and new experience. The differences in the food value can be partially explained by the format used to present recipes. This format involves more paragraphs than the formats of Ladies Home Journal and Good Housekeeping. Despite this contrast in presentation, the variation in percentage of food paragraphs still seems large enough to support the hypothesis that a basic difference exists.

A possible reason for the difference in humor content has already been mentioned, but the difference in the new experience category can be explained in several ways. First McCall's consistently runs an article called, "Sight and Sound" which deals with television, radio, movies, theatre and similar topics. This feature coupled with occasional features about movie, television or theatre personalities seems to have boosted the percentage of paragraphs devoted to this value. In addition, the new experience category also includes such things as handicraft, decorative sewing and other types of hobbies. The emphasis on new experience may be due, in part, to McCall's history as a pattern company and its interest in promoting patterns for these types of activities.

Good Housekeeping on the other hand, seems to predominate in the areas of health, safety, ownership and appearance. Reasons have already been given for some of these differences. It would seem to this author that there is an observable

effort by Good Housekeeping to present strictly informative material and avoid the more controversial topics. Another manifestation of a rather conservative policy is the slightly higher percentage of paragraphs in the obedience category. While this percentage is not vastly different from that of Ladies Home Journal and McCall's, it does show a leaning toward a traditional law and order position.

Finally, Ladies Home Journal seems to rely more on the psychological value categories for its content. The most obvious differences occur in the adjustment, security, personality and beauty categories. It seems that Ladies Home Journal provides more material which could be classified in the Social Sciences rather than material dealing with the utilitarian acts of living and running a household. The leadership of Ladies Home Journal in the values mentioned may be due in part to articles by Dr. Benjamin Spock and others who discuss the psychology of rearing children or living in general.

The third method of analysis used was the directional scale created by Budd, Thorp and Donohew (4, p. 54). In all cases, the majority of paragraphs in each publication was strictly neutral. Both Good Housekeeping and Ladies Home Journal seem to be increasing the number of paragraphs with directional content slightly, while McCall's seem to be moving in the opposite direction. All three publications seem to

hesitate in taking a position on any topic. This reluctance can perhaps be explained by the tradition of objective journalism in our country. Also the absence of a forceful editor with a high degree of autonomy may help to explain the conservative stance of these publications. This author believes that women's magazines are about to change. The criticisms by Women's Liberation leaders may cause women's magazines to take positions on at least some issues.

In the preceding discussion some of the factors involved in the hypotheses stated in Chapter 2 have been covered, but an individual discussion of each of the hypotheses might prove helpful.

Hypothesis I states that the values found in the three magazines are the same. Although some of the differences have been noted, the publications appear to be essentially the same for most values (22 out of 31 categories differed by 2% or less among the three magazines). The differences which do exist involve the values food, health, safety, humor, new experience, ownership, appearance, adjustment and security. These differences indicate that Good Housekeeping is concerned mainly with the utilitarian values of health, safety, ownership and appearance, while Ladies Home Journal focuses on the psychological values of security and adjustment, and McCall's concentrates on food and new experience. It is the opinion of the author that the three publications will continue

to be very much alike. The pressures of competition may force them to change, but it seems likely that the changes will be in the same direction. The prospect for the next few years seems to be in the direction of greater social consciousness and the values of justice, aggression, morality, and group unity would be the most likely to increase.

Hypothesis II which states that the majority of the content of women's magazines deals with the non-controversial issues about home life such as food, clothing, interior decoration, beauty aids, child care, health and handicrafts, seems to have been confirmed by the findings. A glance at Table 23 shows that the seven categories mentioned comprise 72.4%, 60.0% and 64.5% of the content of Good Housekeeping, Ladies Home Journal and McCall's respectively.

Table 23. Percent of total non-fictional content devoted to seven utilitarian values (rounded to the nearest tenth of a percent)

Value Magazine	<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	<u>Ladies Home Journal</u>	<u>McCall's</u>
Food	24.7	20.7	32.0
Health	12.9	7.1	5.8
Safety	4.0	1.4	.8
New Experience	3.9	6.3	8.4
Ownership	10.6	3.2	5.4
Appearance	8.2	6.1	3.9
Adjustment	8.1	15.2	8.2

The contention that the majority of the content of women's magazines is devoted to topics directly concerning women in the home rather than national or international subjects (stated in hypothesis III) is also supported by the findings in Table 23. This author noted when reading each of the issues that there was very little if any mention or international subjects except as they are related to films, the theatre or the war in Vietnam. National topics, while slightly more numerous, were at a minimum. It seems likely that in future years more and more stories on national affairs will appear in women's magazines, but it is unlikely that international affairs will be used to any great extent in these publications.

Hypothesis IV, relating to a common life style described by all three magazines is not specifically confirmed by the data. It is still in this author's opinion a viable statement, however. Judging from the similarity of values among publications and from the author's experience in reading the publications, the life styles reflected in the magazines are similar. The life styles depicted are those of affluent middle-class families, although occasional articles reflect the life-styles of the very poor and the very rich.

Furthermore, while there is no objective evidence to confirm hypothesis V (the values presented in the three women's magazines support the role of the woman as wife and mother to

a greater extent than they support her role as career woman and social agent), an examination of the percentages of the group unity and achievement categories, (which include several facets of women as career women or social agents) indicates that these values are less frequently present than the adjustment, security and family-love and love-sex categories (which include the family-rearing values.) From these figures, it might realistically be concluded that the role of the woman presented in women's magazines is primarily that of a wife and mother.

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APPENDIX

Fifty-Category Value Scale by White¹

I. GOALS:

A. Physiological:

- Food (Fo) - Eating or drinking, satisfying hunger or thirst
- Sex (Sx) - Sex in the physical sense; intercourse, sexual kissing, sexual attractiveness
- Rest (Re) - Absence of work or effort (physical or mental); absence of fatigue, or recovery from it; sleep; easiness of tasks, short hours, vacations
- Activity (Ac) - Physical (not mental) activity; sports, athletics, outdoor life
- Health (He) - Absence of disease; recovery from illness or injury
- Safety (S) - Physical security; absence of pain, physical aggression, injury or death, and no fear or danger of these things
- Comfort (Co) - A miscellaneous category for all bodily satisfactions not already mentioned; warmth when cold, coolness when hot, the taste of food (as distinguished from "having something to eat"), candy, cigarettes, defecation, urination, etc.

B. Social:

- Sex-Love (L) - Being liked or loved by the opposite sex, or associating with the opposite sex; dates, dancing, romance, marriage, love in marriage
- Family-Love (Lo) - The kind of love or companionship that is given by mother, father, sister, brother, or child; being breastfed or held on a parent's lap. Having a home or being at home, having children
- Friendship (F) - Having friends or being with friends, being liked approved or accepted; belonging to a group, especially a group of one's own age and sex; being understood.

¹See Reference (29).

C. Egoistic:

- Independence (I) - Freedom, liberty; not being dominated or interfered with; not being bound by promises, naturalness, spontaneity, not being bound by hampering inhibitions
- Achievement (A) - Success of superiority demonstrated in action
- Recognition (R) - Social recognition of ability, achievement or importance, respect, prestige, status; rank, promotion; notice, attention; class position and the external criteria of class position; "good" family, living in a "good" residential district; not being looked down upon or shamed, embarrassed or laughed at
- Self-regard (Sf) - Pride, self-confidence, no feelings of inferiority, self-respect, inner integrity
- Dominance (Do) - Power over people; authority; leadership, influence
- Aggression (Ag) - The goal which is implied when feelings of anger or hostility are admitted; fighting, hurting, destroying, killing, threats of violence; punishing, retaliating, winning a war or a fight (not a game or competition)

D. Fearful:

- Emotional Security (Se) - A miscellaneous category representing the absence of any non-physical type of fear or danger including
- a) Peace of mind; not being worried or anxious
 - b) Stability; permanence, no sudden change
 - c) Familiarity, no unpleasant strangeness
 - d) Seclusion; privacy, not seeing people, not seeing a particular person
 - e) Concealment of what might cause social disapproval
 - f) Forgetting or putting out of one's mind what causes anxiety
 - g) Not entering a situation that may cause anxiety
 - h) Physically leaving or escaping from an anxiety-producing situation

Economic Security (ESe) - Being sure of at least a minimum income or standard of living not losing one's job; savings, absence of debt, being able to pay bills, having insurance

Sex-Love Security (LSe) - Not losing one's wife or husband

E. Playful:

New Experience (N) - A miscellaneous category for play fun or "good times" in general; the "interestingness" of any activity; change, variety, relief of boredom; movies, comics, radio programs, watching athletic events, reading fiction

Excitement (Ex) - A higher intensity of new experience; feeling or intensity of feeling, considered as an end in itself; fascination, glamor, thrills, adventure; gambling, drinking; horror stories, the fascination of what is dangerous or forbidden

Beauty (B) - Pleasure in sights or sounds; art, music, poetry, color, rhythm, grace of movement; singing; beauty in nature.

Humor (H) - Laughter, kidding, nonsense; sence of humor; references to something funny, or as causing laughter

Creative Self-expression (Cr) - Imagination, daydreams, fantasy, "making things" in which at least some element of imagination or originality is involved

F. Practical:

Practicality (P) - The realistic or efficient adaptation of means to ends; the realistic elimination of means which are unattainable, ends which are unattainable, or means which do not lead to the end in view, resigning oneself to the inevitable; what is useful, convenient, effective; what is necessary; what is possible

Economic Value (E) - Money, prosperity; high wages, profits, low prices; high standard of living

Ownership (O) - Ownership of the material, objects which are owned.

Work (W) - Working long or hard (considered as a desirable thing) not being lazy; doing a necessary task, or doing it well; good workmanship, having a job.

G. Cognitive:

Knowledge (K) - Mental content corresponding to "reality" --both the having of such content and the degree of its "truth" or correspondence with reality; acts: logic, wisdom, understanding; books, education; thinking, planning

H. Miscellaneous:

Happiness (Ha) - The subjective aspect of value-in-general, joy, contentment cheerfulness; hope.

Value-in-general (V) - The most general value-concept; welfare, luck, advantage

II. STANDARDS OF JUDGEMENT:

A. Moral

Morality (M) - "Good" in a moral sense, conscience, right or wrong

Truthfulness (Tr) - Truth-speaking and truth-acting, not lying, not concealing the truth; keeping promises; keeping implicit promises, doing what one is relied upon to do, being reliable

Justice (J) - Equality; fairness or equal opportunity, fairmindedness or openmindedness

Obedience (Ob) - Complying with the wishes of persons in authority and also with impersonal rules or laws; discipline, law-enforcement

Purity (Pu) - Sex morality, virginity, "clean" thoughts, and especially avoidance of the more tabooed forms of sex: masturbation, incest, homosexuality; avoiding anal thoughts or actions; toilet training

Religion (Rl) - Prayer, worship, belonging to or going to church, holiness; Christianity; any respectful reference to God, Christ, the Bible, etc.

B. Social (or moral-social):

Pleasant Personality (PL) - The qualities that make a person a pleasant comparison, "personality"; being likable or loveable; being a "good fellow"

Likeness or Conformity (Li) - Being like others in general or like a particular person; imitation; custom, fashion; also, playing a socially defined role; do what is expected

Manners (Ma) - Politeness, courtesy; being socially correct, proper, respectable

Modesty (Mo) - Not too much self-approval; not being conceited or snobbish; also not too much effort to impress one's personality upon others; giving others a least equality of recognition; not showing off or demanding attention; not being over-ambitious

Giving or Generosity (G) - Acting in the interest of others; unselfishness, helping others, kindness: taking care of others

Tolerance (T) - Absence of blame, anger or hostility; not quarreling

Group Unity (U) - Identifying with or cooperating with a group; loyalty, patriotism, public spirit; active participation in group activities

Strength (St) - Physical size or strength

Determination (D) - Intensity or tenacity of motivation, especially in the face of difficulty or danger. Will persistence; bravery, courage; not crying or complaining; decisiveness; hardness, toughness, masculinity

Intelligence (In) - Mental ability; all "good" intellectual qualities such as memory, logic, objectivity, intuition

Appearance (Ap) - Good appearance; being beautiful or good-looking, the appearance of one's own body, face or clothes, good clothes, new clothes.

D. Miscellaneous:

Carefulness (C) - A miscellaneous category, covering any behavior-pattern which requires frequent acts of attention, adjustment, or inhibition. For example:

- a) Caution, self-control
- b) Accuracy, attention to details
- c) Thoroughness
- d) Neatness, orderliness
- e) Not smoking or drinking
- f) Moderation, not going to extreme
- g) Calmness, not getting excited
- h) Quietness, not talking too loud or too much

Cleanliness (Cl) - Absence of dirt, refuse, unpleasant smells, etc.

Culture (Cu) - Culture in the popular (not the anthropological) sense of the word; all miscellaneous and often vague concept, including all customs, traits, etc. which in a given society are associated in people's minds with "higher" social strata, with civilization as opposed to barbarism or with men as opposed to animals; refinement, breeding, being a "gentleman"; self-improvement

Adjustment (Ad) - Mental health, balance, sanity, maturity, growth or self-fulfillment or a personality considered as a whole

Table 24. Total number of words per year in the combined months of February, July and November excluding fiction, non-fictional biographies and autobiographies, poetry, "Table of Contents" and "Letters to the Editor" (rounded to the nearest 1,000 words)

Magazine	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
<u>Good Housekeeping</u>	131,000	150,000	159,000	175,000	166,000	202,000
<u>Ladies Home Journal</u>	133,000	116,000	90,000	181,000	164,000	153,000
<u>McCall's</u>	168,000	143,000	198,000	227,000	205,000	159,000